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MINOR VOCABULARIES OF TUTELO AND SAPONI

by
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Preface to the 2002 edition

Combined from the names of the only two tribes for which we have any linguistic data, Tutelo-Saponi is a name given for convenience to the language(s) of all the Virginia Siouans including the Tutelo, Saponi, Occaneechi, Stenkenock and Meipontsky. About these latter idioms we know nothing directly—but according to William Byrd (Boyd 1929) the Occaneechi and the Stenkenock spoke the same language as the Saponi, and it is likely the Meipontsky did as well.

Any distinction, however, we may want to draw between two dialects named "Tutelo" and "Saponi" is probably artificial. Both Tutelo (derived from an Iroquois term) and Saponi (preferred by the English) were names frequently used to refer to all the Virginia Siouans in addition to two specific divisions thereof. By the time any linguistic data from these peoples was recorded, they had all settled together at Fort Christanna in what is now Brunswick County Virginia, and there had probably been too much mixing, dislocation, and confusion of usage to give us any idea how their individual varieties may have differed, if at all. Byrd states that the "most considerable" nations there—the Sapponys, the Occaneches, and Steukenhocks—"all of them now go under the Name of the Sapponys," but in the Albany Conference of 1722 reference is made to "the Christanna Indians whom you call Todirichroones that we comprehend under the name, the Saponies, Ochineeches, Stenkenocks, Meipontskys and Toteroes" (cited in Mooney, p. 45).

The most detailed source for the Tutelo-Saponi language is an extended grammatical description by Horatio Hale (1883; see vol. 23 of this series) based on his interviews with Nikonha, the last full-blooded Tutelo, and other individuals who remembered some of the language. Hale's treatise, in addition to the fragmentary word-lists and occasional scattered terms that are reprinted here, are enough to allow linguists to place Tutelo into an Ohio Valley subgroup with Ofo and Biloxi, two languages recorded on the Louisiana Gulf Coast (see p. 61). Both the fact of this grouping as well as the name given to it may seem strange, but there is evidence that the Ofo and Biloxi migrated to Louisiana from a homeland along the Ohio River, where archaeological data has tended to confirm a Siouan presence (Swanton 1943; Hunter 1978).

The two samples of Tutelo printed in this volume are "salvage vocabularies," that is to say, they were not taken from conversations with a fluent speaker, but were rather pieced together from whatever scraps of the language could be remembered by individuals who had once heard it spoken.

The first published data on Tutelo after Hale was an article for the *American Anthropologist* in 1913, written by Edward Sapir, one of the most prominent and intellectually gifted linguists of the early 20th century. He collected his vocabulary in 1911 on Six Nations Reserve along the Grand River in Ontario, from a Cayuga named Andrew Sprague who had been adopted by Tutelos and had acquired thereby some limited memory of their lan-

guage. Sapir's Tutelo transcriptions are distinctive for their phonetic detail, and most of his introduction (p. 13) is occupied in explaining them.

A second and very similar Tutelo vocabulary collected by Leo Frachtenberg followed in the next issue of the *American Anthropologist*, though it was actually the earlier of the two, having been collected in 1907. He also obtained it on the Six Nations Reserve in Ontario but his informant was Lucy Buck, said to be the last of the Tutelos on the reservation who could remember anything of the ancestral language. Buck was unable to speak English, so Andrew Sprague served as a translator from her native language Cayuga. Frachtenberg also tells us that a certain John Buck, who could not be located, was said to still speak Tutelo "fluently." This is perhaps true, but his proficiency in Tutelo may well have been overestimated just as Sprague's had been for Sapir. Hale makes it clear that there were still "several half-castes…who know the language" after the death of Nikonha in 1871, and some of these were very probably members of the Buck family, including perhaps Lucy and John themselves, who would have been alive at the time.

There is a strong coincidence in both the Sapir and Frachtenberg vocabularies, not just in the Tutelo forms as would be entirely expected, but also in semantic range. About half the English words in both vocabularies are the same or near matches, including some rather specific terminology such as "lacrosse stick," "dizzy man", and "buck (deer)." The question thus arises whether Sprague's recollection of Tutelo for Sapir had been artifi-

cially bolstered by his translating for Frachtenberg four years earlier, especially since the latter makes no mention of Sprague's knowledge of Tutelo. On the other hand, the last speakers of a language are prone to retain "formulaic expressions…and vocabulary for culturally salient items," as evidenced in Long Island salvage vocabularies which repeatedly list the same terms (Rees-Miller 1998).

We have less direct evidence regarding Saponi since there are only two minor sources which purport to preserve any words of it: a word-list of 46 terms and phrases from Fort Christanna made by John Fontaine (1716), and a few translated creek names given in William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line* (1728). Both of these sources are problematic since, as we shall see, neither of them are purely Siouan.

The Fort Christanna vocabulary was preserved in the *Journal of John Fontaine*, first published in 1853 by Fontaine's great-grandniece Ann Maury. The 1853 edition, however, omitted the vocabulary entirely, which therefore went entirely unknown even as the *Journal* became "a much-quoted source of early Virginia history." Compounding the problem, in the years subsequent to Maury's publication the original manuscript had been lost. We might never had known Fontaine recorded a vocabulary if Maury had not made a handwritten copy of the original *Journal* in 1840. This copy, containing "considerable material" never published by Maury, was later acquired by Colonial Williamsburg and there came to the attention of Dr. Edward Alexander who recognized the

linguistic importance of the data and saw to its publication (Alexander 1971).

The vocabulary is found in the section "The Indians at Fort Christanna," under the journal entry for April {15}, 1716. No source is mentioned, it being matter-of-factly introduced with "Here are some of the Indian words." The assumption would be that Fontaine recorded them himself, though Alexander speculates that he had not the time to do so and suggests instead the Reverend Charles Griffin, who taught the Indian school at Fort Christanna.

Fontaine's vocabulary is not actually called Saponi, though he does say the Christanna residents are "called Saponey Indians." His list betrays a curiously mixed character, and has every indication of being a contact language, perhaps in fact the "general language…understood by the Chief men of many Nations" that Beverley claimed in 1705 "to be that of the Occaneeches." (Goddard 1996). Analysis of the 46 entries (Alexander 1971) showed 16 to be Siouan, 10 Algonquian, four which could be Siouan or Algonquian, and two which could be Algonquian or Iroquoian; 14 could not be properly identified with any language family. Some of the difficult words could be the result of copying errors obscuring the original forms, but the mixed nature of the list is indisputable. Fontaine's numerals are most obviously Algonquian, in a dialect, however, that is not otherwise known (Goddard 1978). The Siouan terms are concentrated among the other words and in particular the phrases and sentences.

In Fontaine's original text, the numbers from 12-19

are not given; however after the entry for "Eleven…Os nacout" is a note reading: "And so add *Os* all along until you come to 19", which apparently includes this last number, since the next entry is the word for twenty. Following this rule, I have taken the liberty of extrapolating all the missing forms and entering them in the vocabulary in square brackets.

The only other source for Saponi is in William Byrd's *History of the Dividing Line betwixt Virginia and North Carolina* (Boyd 1929), documenting his surveying travels as a Virginia commissioner during the year 1728. Byrd completed the writing of his *History* around 1738 with an eye towards publication, though it was not until well after his death that it was finally published in 1841. In the intervening period, a manuscript *Secret History of the Line* had found its way into the library of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, perhaps as a result of the sale of Byrd's library there in 1778. His *Secret History* generally follows the plan of the *History* though it is considerably shorter. With its partially mocking tone and unflattering accounts of the men's behavior, the *Secret History* was most likely never intended for publication, and probably predated the more formal account.

One of the Indian members of the surveying expedition was a Saponi from Fort Christanna whose English name was Bearskin. To him most of Byrd's linguistic data can be credited, though admittedly many of the words and place-names preserved by Byrd are ascribed only to "Indians" in general, not any particular tribe. Certainly, Byrd himself states that **Ohimpa-moni** is Saponi, and

although he does not affirm it directly for **Moni-seep** and **Massamoni**, these have obvious Siouan etymologies that match their stated meaning. Yet the other place-names are less transparent, and some Indian words Byrd defines in the text are pure Algonquian: **rockahominy**, **tomahawk** and **cohunks** are typical Powhatan forms. These last terms do not occur in the *Secret History*, suggesting Byrd added them upon later recollection, as opposed to recording them on-the-spot from Bearskin. One common noun though, **maosti** (beard of the turkey cock), called only "Indian" in the *History*, not only appears in the *Secret History* under the form **ma-ooty** but is explicitly there called a Saponi word.

The headwords as listed here and their variants are taken from the *History*; deviations from these forms in the *Secret History* are noted under the abbreviation S.H.

There is some extremely fragmentary but nevertheless clear evidence that Tutelo-Saponi had extended its reach over the foothills of the Alleghenies into the Kanawha Valley in West Virginia. This evidence comes from a letter of August 22, 1674 by Abraham Wood to John Richards (Alvord and Bidgood 1912), which describes the travels of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur into the Appalachians during 1673-1674.

During these travels Arthur stayed with a transmontane nation called the Tomahitons to learn their language; these are traditionally identified, although on hardly any evidence, with the Cherokee. After accompanying their warriors on a series of raids, Arthur is called upon to par-

ticipate in yet another expedition: “Now ye king must goe to give ye monetons a visit which were his frends, mony signifying water and ton great in theire language.”

The Moneton town was said to be located ten days due north from Tomahiton “upon a very great river” running northwest, which is widely held to be the Kanawha. If the Moneton were the same people as the “Mohetan” whom Batts and Fallam encountered in 1671 (Alvord and Bidgood 1912), they had recently moved northwest into the Kanawha Valley from a settlement along the New River, close to the modern border between Virginia and West Virginia.

It is difficult to determine exactly which specific tribe is meant by Wood’s ambiguous phrase “in theire language.” Because “their” clearly points us to a plural referent, the most likely possibility is that it refers to “ye Monetons”, or possibly both the Tomahitan and the Moneton, with an attendant implication that their languages were the same. The only other referent in the sentence, “ye king”, is singular, and if Tomahitan alone was intended we would expect the phrase “in *his* language.” This analysis may be reading too much into it however; as a tribe the Tomahitans were mentioned just one sentence before, and it would not be unreasonable for them to be carried over as an implied subject here.

In any case, even from this tiny linguistic fragment it is clear that whatever language supplied Moneton was a Siouan language akin to, if not identical with, the Tutelo-Saponi: cf. Hale **manī**, Sapir **meni-**, Fontaine **money**, Byrd **moni/mony**, and Hale **itáñi** and **itān** (great);

Sapir -**ịdę́'ⁿ** (big). Cognates can be found for these words across many Siouan languages, but none match so readily as the Tutelo and Saponi forms.

It follows from this that the linguistic source of the name Moneton cannot be Cherokee, which is an Iroquoian language. Therefore either the Tomahitan and Moneton spoke two different languages, or the identification of the former with the Cherokee is mistaken.

After difficulties with their Virginia neighbors, the Tutelo-Saponi quit Christanna, this time migrating north to Pennsylvania along the Susquehanna River into the orbit of the Five Nations. Indeed, the same Iroquois that once confessed having towards the Tutelo "so inveterate an enmity that we thought it could only be extinguished by their total extirpation" admitted the remnant of this same nation into their Confederacy in 1753 (Hale 1883). Adopted by the Cayuga, the Tutelo were permitted to sit in as a junior member in the deliberations, and retained the right to address the council in their native language, a prerogative that was being exercised as late as the 1870s (White 1978). But within a few decades the language had lost all of its fluent speakers, and it fell to scholars to gather up the last linguistic remnants of the Virginia Siouan tribes.

—Claudio R. Salvucci, series ed.

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A Tutelo Vocabulary by Edward Sapir

While on Six Nations Reserve, Ontario, in August, 1911, I was told of a Cayuga Indian named Andrew Sprague who had had opportunity during his childhood to hear Tutelo spoken fluently and who was supposed to remember considerable of it. As Tutelo is an extinct language, I thought it imperative to rescue from oblivion what was still to be obtained and thus add, if only a mite, to what had already been put on record. As a matter of fact, it turned out that Andrew remembered only very little indeed of Tutelo, and what small amount of material could be obtained from him was extorted with some difficulty. No attempt will here be made to discuss the data. They are given for what they are worth in the hope that they may at some future time prove of use to the student of comparative Siouan linguistics. If in nothing else, perhaps the words listed are of value because they have been recorded with greater phonetic accuracy than is generally attained in mere vocabularies.

Phonetic Note

Short vowels:
a, as in German *Mann*
ä, as in English *hat*
e, as in English *met*
ẹ, as in French *été*
i, as in English *bit*

i̯, as in French *fini*
o̯, as in French *beau*
u, as in English *put*

Long vowels:
ā, as in German *Kahn*
ē, as in German *See*
ī, as in German *Sie*
ō, as in German *Sohn*
ū, as in German *gut*

Nasalized vowels:
ą, as in French *quand*
ą̈, as in French *vin*
ę, nasalized open *e* (not as open as in French *vin*)
ǫ, nasalized close *o* (*o̯*), not open as in French *bon*
ų, nasalized open *u*
ą̄, long *ą*
ǭ, long *ǫ*

Diphthong:
ai, as in German *mein*

Stopped Consonants:
b, d, g, sonant stops as in English
p, t, k, ts, "intermediate" stops
p, –, k, ts, unaspirated surds
p‘, t‘, k‘, ts‘, aspirated surds
tś‘, aspirated *tś* (midway between *ts* and *tc* of English *church*)

Continuants:
w, as in English
y, as in English
h, as in English
s, as in English
c, as in English *she*
θ, interdental spirant, as in English *thick*
l, (approximately) as in English
r, trilled *r* (alveolar?). In *k'ęk'ųk'arę́waya r* sounded much like *l*
m, as in English
n, as in English
ŋ, as in English *sing*

Miscellaneous:
', glottal stop
-a'ᵃ (and similarly for other vowels), broken vowel, second part of which is murmured ("echoed")
ˁ, final breath release
ⁱ, occurs once as glide vowel from *c* to *e*
´, main stress
`, secondary stress

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA
OTTAWA, ONTARIO

TUTELO—ENGLISH

(Sapir)

Agás, *six*.

Babősgǫ'^{o}, *deer buck*.
Bēbahé'^{e}, *pepper*.
Bī, *five*.
Bīlá̋huk', *thank you!*
Bitsk̲á', *ten*.
Bí̋wā, *good*.
Blǭs, *one*.

Dābadá̋'^{a}, *down river*.
Dalúsgik', *cat*.

Gāk'saginagǫ'^{ǫ}, *silver armlet*.
GwA'gilí̋da, *I must go home*.

Hadit'gilé̋da, *he's gone home*.
Hęhé gidāya k'ęk'ų'aŕe̋waya, *surely, everything is all right*.
Hé̋mǭ, *frog*.
Henī́gu, *I*.

Kcémbāi nǫní', *tobacco*.
Kc^{i}embái'^{i}, *pipe*.
Kųká̋k', *grandfather*.

Má̋ksāpà'^{a}, *bread*.
Má̋p'ayeŋk', *cow, ox, cattle*.

Mą˙gana˙ga’[a], *white*.
Mą˙ganą˙kasít˙, *negro*.
Maŋgidá˙, *my cousin*.
Mą̄sgōlǫ́’˙, *pig*.
Māθę́’[e], *knife*.
Mat̲si̲gǫ́yǫ, *salt*.
Meni’īgāt˙ē’ą́’[a], *kettle* (evidently contains **meni-** “water”).
Meni’īgōdǫ̀, *jug*, *jar*, *glass*, *bottle*.
Mi̲hą́(i)st̲ìk˙, *man*.
Mi̲hą mą˙ganą́˙ga’[a], *white man*.

Nā, *three*.
Ni̲hét̲sgahęk˙, *dizzy man*.
Ni̲sk̲á˙, *child, children*.
Nǭs, *two*.
NyAgutsgÁhèk˙, *dizzy woman*.

P̲elą́k˙, *eight*.

Sak̲ú́, *seven*.
Sęk˙, *nine*.

Ts˙uŋk˙, *dog*.
Ts˙uŋg̲idę́’[e], *horse* (literally, “big dog”).
Ts˙uŋg̲íwe˙, *wolf* (literally, “like a dog”).
T̲ū, *four*.

Ūdaphái'^{i}, *up river*.
Uŋgidáʻ, *his cousin*.

Wādēwī́, *sugar*.
Wāgētsʻį'^{i}, *to dance*.
Wākʻnį́endabēwā, *I'm going to bed*.
Wālútʻ mā́ksāpà'^{a}, *eat bread*.
Wārẹ́wáʻ, *woman*.
Wāsaksẹ́'^{i}, *shorts in grinding corn*.
Wahǫkʻmẹ́'^{i}, *false face*.
Wetʻgilī́da, *let's go home*.
Wōhẹ́'^{ɛ}, *soup*.

Yą̄hẹ́'^{ɛ}, *lacrosse stick*.

ENGLISH—TUTELO

(Sapir)

All right, surely everything is, *hęhę́ gidāya kʻękʻųkʻ arę́waya*.
Armlet, silver, *gākʻ saginagǫ́'ᵉ*.

Bed, I'm going to, *wākʻ nį́endabēwā*.
Bottle, *meni'īgōdǫ̀*.
Bread, *mą́ksāpà'ᵃ*.

Cat, *dalúsgikʻ*.
Cattle, *mą́pʻayeŋkʻ*.
Child, *nįsḵáʻ*. **Children**, *nįsḵáʻ*.
Cousin, my, *maŋgidáʻ*. **His cousin**, *uŋgidáʻ*.
Cow, *mą́pʻayeŋkʻ*.

Dance, to, *wāgētśʻį́'ⁱ*.
Deer buck, *babǫ́sgǫ́'ᵒ*.
Dizzy man, *nįhę́tsgahękʻ*. **Dizzy woman**, *nyʌgutsgʌ́hękʻ*.
Dog, *ts uŋkʻ*.
Down river, *dābadą́'ᵃ*.

Eat bread, *wālútʻ mą́ksāpà'ᵃ*.
Eight, *pelą́kʻ*.

Face, false, *wahǫkʻmę́'ⁱ*.
Five, *bī*.
Four, *ṭū*.
Frog, *hę́mǭ*.

Glass, *meni'īgōdǫ̀.*
Go home, I must, *gwʌ˓gilī́da.* **Let's go home,** *wet˓ gilī́da.* **He's gone home,** *hadịt˓gilɛ́́da.*
Good, *bī́wā.*
Grandfather, *kǫkā́k˓.*

Home, I must go, *gwʌ˓gilī́da.* **Let's go home,** *wet˓ gilī́da.* **He's gone home,** *hadịt˓gilɛ́́da.*
Horse, *ts˓uŋgidɛ́́'ᵉ.*

I, *henī́gu.*

Jar, *meni'īgōdǫ̀.*
Jug, *meni'īgōdǫ̀.*

Kettle, *meni'īgāt˓ē'ą́'ᵃ.*
Knife, *māθɛ́́'ᵉ.*

Lacrosse stick, *yą̈hɛ́́'ᵋ.*

Man, *mịhą́(i)st̲ìk˓.* **White man,** *mịhą mą˓ganą́˓ga'ᵃ.*

Negro, *mą˓ganą˓kasít˓.*
Nine, *sɛ̨k˓.*

One, *blǭs.*
Ox, *mā́p˓ayeŋk˓.*

Pepper, *bēbahę́'ᵉ*.
Pig, *mą̄sgōlǫ́'ʿ*.
Pipe, *kcⁱembái'ⁱ*.

River, down, *dābadą́'ᵃ*. **Up river,** *ūdapháiⁱ'ⁱ*.

Salt, *mat̲si̲gǫ́yǫ*.
Seven, *sak̲ų́*.
Shorts in grinding corn, *wāsaksę́'ⁱ*.
Six, *agás*.
Soup, *wōhę́'ᵉ*.
Stick, lacrosse, *yą̈hę́'ᵉ*.
Sugar, *wādēwį́*.

Ten, *bitsk̲á'ʿ*.
Thank you!, *bīlą́huk'ʿ*.
Three, *nā*.
Tobacco, *kcémbāi nǫní'*.
Two, *nǭs*.

Up river, *ūdapháiⁱ'ⁱ*.

White, *mą'ʿganą́'ʿga'ᵃ*. **White man,** *mi̧hą mą'ʿganą́'ʿga'ᵃ*.
Wolf, *ts'ʿuŋgíwe'ʿ*.
Woman, *wārę̨wá'ʿ*.

Contributions to a Tutelo Vocabulary by Leo J. Frachtenberg

Besides the present list, there are in existence two other Tutelo vocabularies. Of these, the earliest was collected by Horatio Hale on the Grand River reservation, Ontario, in 1883,[1] while the latest attempt to obtain a vocabulary of this extinct dialect was made by Dr. Edward Sapir.[2] My own material was collected under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology, on the Grand River reservation, Ontario, in July, 1907. My informant was Lucy Buck, an old Tutelo woman, who remembered only the few words and phrases that are herein recorded. As she was unfamiliar with English, it was necessary for me to obtain this scanty material by using as an interpreter Andrew Sprague, a Cayuga, who in his early youth had been adopted by the Tutelo tribe.

As is well known, Tutelo (and Saponi) form a subdivision of the great Siouan family. They lived in North Carolina at a very early date. During one of their frequent raids, the Iroquois took these two tribes along with them northward.[3] According to information obtained from Andrew Sprague, the Tutelo were admitted into the Confederacy of the Iroquois, thereby forming the sixth

[1] Published in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, March 2, 1883.

[2] See *American Anthropologist*, N.S., Vol. 15, No. 2, April–June, 1913, pp. 295–297.

[3] See James Mooney, The Siouan Tribes of the East, *Bull. 22, Bur. Am. Ethnology*, Washington, 1895.

nation of the Iroquois League—by which we may assume that the Tutelo and the Saponi were adopted with the Tuscarora. Sprague also informed me that at all the Iroquois festivals it is customary to sing a few Tutelo songs in deference to that tribe.

At the time this material was collected, only two Tutelo families survived, namely, the Williams and Buck families. No member of the Williams family remembered a single word of their former tongue. Of the Buck family, Lucy was the only one who seemed to know a few words of her language. She told me, however, that the head of her family, John Buck, who at the time was a fugitive from the reservation, could speak Tutelo fluently. I made several fruitless attempts to locate him.

This material is presented in the form in which is was given to me. No attempt to verify the words by means of other vocabularies has been made, owing chiefly to the fact that I deemed the material obtained highly unreliable, as a glance at the various confusing terms given for the different cardinal numerals will show.

The appended song was rendered toward the close of the Iroquois Strawberry festival, at which I happened to be present. Sprague told me that it was a Tutelo song. No translation could be obtained.

Song

Yohenigo ho enigo knehe′ⁿgo yani
mehe′ⁿgo nehe^{n}gi knehe^{n}g nu^{n}gik.
Knehe^{n}go go yani knehe^{n}go mehe^{n}go
yahawe knehe^{n}g yahawa nu^{n}gik knehe^{n}go.

Yenigo enigo knehe^{n}g koya′ni enigo
knehe^{n}g yahawe knehe^{n}g.

SILETZ, OREGON
September, 1913

TUTELO—ENGLISH

(Frachtenberg)

Aka′s, *six*.

Babō′sko^{n}, *buck deer*.
Bala$^{i'}$n, *eight*.
Bala$^{i'}$n, *four*.
Bī′wa, *nice, good; also "thank you"*.
Bilahe′^{n}k, *thank you*.
Bisōka′, *fish*.
Būz, *six*.
Butsk, *ten*.

Dagiku′, *to tear into pieces*.
Dawinā′k, *sister*.

Ē′ho^{n}, *mother*.
E′hu^{n}, *mother*.

Gisā′, *wooden spoon*.
Gwī, *ten*.
Gwīs, *ten*.

Hadit kilē′da, *he went home*.
Hē′kᴇru^{n}ska′, *yearling (deer)*.
Hē′mo^{n}, *frog*.
Hīnā′, *my mother* (?).

Kagsagīnakō′^{n}, *bracelet*.
Kanulo′^{n} nixa nīso′^{n}, *coon*.

Kcimbaī′, *pipe*.
Kcimbaī′ nonē′, *tobacco*.
Kē′ko^{n}g, *I will*.
Kēko′^{n}g e^{n}he′^{n} alewa′yo, *in everything you are right*.
Kise′n, *two*.
Kise′^{n}g, *two*.
Ko′^{n}ke^{n}k, *grand*.
Ksapū′ne, *where is our bread*.
Kse^{n}k, *nine*.

Māpaye^{n}g, *cattle*.
Māxkanakā′sit, *negro*.
Ma′^{n}gelī′da, *let us go home*.
Mankīda′, *my cousin*.
Matcigo^{n}yo′^{n}, *salt*.
Maṭe′^{n}, *knife* (ṭ as in english “thin”).
Menī′kate′o^{n}, *bottle, kettle, vessel (for water)*.
Meniīgoto′^{n}, *bottle, kettle, vessel (for water)*.
Mīha^{n}stī′k, *fire*.
Mihā′^{n}, *man*.
Mō^{n}skūlo′, *pig*.
Mo^{n}gitcī′, *dance*.
Mo^{n}pa$^{i'n}$, *cattle*.
Moskulū$^{i'}$, *pig*.

Nī′li, *seven*.
Nī′swa, *five*.
Nīska′, *child*.

Nihilī′, *eight*.
Niska′, *child*.
Niswā′, *six*.
No^{m}p, *two*.
No^{m}paye′^{n}, *cow*.
Nonī′k wax̣ ē′n dahē′wa, *all people go to bed*.
No^{n}s, *one*.

Ōtap′ai′, *up (river)*.

Pebahē′, *pepper* (probably English).
Pūs, *cat*.

Sagā′, *nine*.
Sago′m, *seven*.
Sago′m, *three*.

Tabatā′, *down (river)*.
Tcino′^{n}kehe, *male buck* (sic).
Tsō^{n}gidā′ye^{n}k, *colt*.
Tso^{n}gide′^{n}, *horse*.
Tso^{n}k, *dog*.
Tup, *four*.

Wā′kasī′k, *girl*.
Wā′xkanaka, *white man*.
Wākcapā′, *bread*.
Wālu′t maksapā′, *eat bread!, come to dinner!*

Wāyutkaʼ, *pigeon*.
Waʼksākpaⁱʼ, *bread*.
Wadēwīʼ, *sugar*.
Wagītcīʼ, *dance*.
Wahukmīʼ, *falseface (mask)*.
Waluʼt, *to eat*.
Waluʼt waksaksiʼ, *take some soup!*
Wariwāʼ, *woman*.
Waxkanaʼka, *white man*.
Wayāʼsuⁿtka, *pigeon*.

Yakūʼtskaheʼⁿg, *dizzy man*.
Yawenōʼⁿ, *seven*.
Yawinōʼⁿ, *eight*.
Yeⁿhēʼ, *lacrosse stick*.
Yūtkayēʼk, *black bear*.

ENGLISH—TUTELO

(Frachtenberg)

Bear, black, *yūtkayē′k*.
Bed, all people go to bed, *nonī′k wax˙ē′n dahē′wa*.
Bottle, *menī′kate′o^{n}*, *menīgoto′^{n}*.
Bracelet, *kagsagīnakō′^{n}*.
Bread, *wākcapā′*, *wa′ksākpa^{i}′*. **Eat bread!,** *wālu′t maksapā′*. **Where is our bread?**, *ksapū′ne*.
Buck deer, *babō′sko^{n}*.
Buck, male (sic), *tcino′^{n}kehe*.

Cat, *pūs*.
Cattle, *māpaye^{n}g*, *monpai′n*.
Child, *nīska′*, *niska′*.
Colt, *tsō^{n}gidā′ye^{n}k*.
Come to dinner!, *wālu′t maksapā′*.
Coon, *kanulo′^{n} nixa nīso′^{n}*.
Cousin, my, *mankīda′*.
Cow, *no^{m}paye′^{n}*.

Dance, *mongitcī′*, *wagītcī′*.
Deer, buck, *babō′sko^{n}*. **Yearling (deer)**, *hē′kᴇru^{n}ska′*.
Dinner, come to dinner!, *wālu′t maksapā′*.
Dizzy man, *yakū′tskahe′^{n}g*.
Dog, *tso^{n}k*.
Down (river), *tabatā′*.

Eat, to, *walu′t*. **Eat bread!**, *wālu′t maksapā′*.
Eight, *bala^{i}′n*, *nihilī′*, *yawinō′^{n}*.

Falseface (mask), *wahukmī′*.
Fire, *mīha^{n}stī′k*.
Fish, *bisōka′*.
Five, *nī′swa*.
Four, *bala^{i}′n*, *tup*.
Frog, *hē′mo^{n}*.

Girl, *wā′kasī′k*.
Go, let us go home, *ma′^{n}gelī′da*. **All people go to bed**, *nonī′k wax·ē′n dahē′wa*. **He went home**, *hadit kilē′da*.
Good, *bī′wa* .
Grand, *ko′^{n}ke^{n}k*.

Home, he went, *hadit kilē′da*. **Let us go home**, *ma′^{n}-gelī′da*.
Horse, *tso^{n}gide′^{n}*.

Kettle, *menī′kate′o^{n}*, *menīgoto′^{n}*.
Knife, *maṭe′^{n}*.

Lacrosse stick, *ye^{n}hē′*.

Male buck (sic), *tcino′^{n}kehe*.
Man, *mihā′^{n}*. **Dizzy man**, *yakū′tskahe′^{n}g*. **White man**, *wā′xkanaka* , *waxkana′ka*.
Mask, falseface, *wahukmī′*.
Mother, *ē′ho^{n}, e′hu^{n}*. **My mother (?)**, *hīnā′*.

Negro, *māxkanakā′sit*.
Nice, *bī′wa*.
Nine, *kse^{n}k, sagā′*.

One, *no^{n}s*.

Pepper, *pebahē′*.
Pieces, to tear into, *dagiku′*.
Pig, *mōnskūlo′*, *moskulūi′*.
Pigeon, *wāyutka′*, *wayā′su^{n}tka* .
Pipe, *kcimbaī′*.

Right, in everything you are right, *kēko′^{n}g e^{n}he′^{n} alewa′yo*.

Salt, *matcigo^{n}yo′^{n}*.
Seven, *nī′li* , *sago′m*, *yawenō′^{n}*.
Sister, *dawinā′k*.
Six, *aka′s*, *būz*, *niswā′*.
Soup, take some soup!, *walu′t waksaksi′*.
Spoon, wooden, *gisā′*.
Stick, lacrosse, *ye^{n}hē′*.
Sugar, *wadēwī′*.

Take some soup!, *walu′t waksaksi′*.
Tear into pieces, to, *dagiku′*.
Ten, *butsk*, *gwī*, *gwīs*.
Thank you, *bī′wa*, *bilahe′^{n}k*.

Three, *sago′m*.
Tobacco, *kcimbaī′ nonē′*.
Two, *kise′n*, *kise′ⁿg*, *noᵐp*.

Up (river), *ōtap‘ai′*.

Vessel (for water), *menī′kate′oⁿ*, *meniīgoto′ⁿ*.

Went, he went home, *hadit kilē′da*.
Where is our bread?, *ksapū′ne*.
White man, *wā′xkanaka*, *waxkana′ka*.
Will, I will, *kē′koⁿg*.
Woman, *wariwā′*.

Yearling (deer), *hē′kᴇruⁿska′*.

SAPONI—ENGLISH

(Fontaine)

Agohele, *shoes*.
Apato bokso, *hat*.

Conopanan, *come to bed*.

Hodke tock ire chunkete posse, *is this the way to the horse head*.
Honis, *stockings*.

Ikiron, *what you please*.
Impough, *sword*.
Inking, *presently*.

Jog de log, *how d'ye do?*
Joquahingnomotsonan, *I am going to be sured*. [A misprint: Alexander suggests "saved" or "served" —ed.]
Jow, *four*.

Ke ly pomerin, *will you kiss me?*
Keneha, *yes*.
Kenepaskiniwiky, *my service to you Queen*.
Ketaugh, *nine*.
Ketemaghketersinaw, *I thank you sir*.
Kihoe, *come here*.

Lonoughte, *breeches*.

Machneto dufas, *wig*.

Mahinkt, *powder*.
Makasoons, *shoes*.
Mankey, *shot*.
Massons, *eight*.
Mecouremechin, *you are very welcome*.
Metaugh, *no*.
Metough, *ten*.
Mihu mima mikito, *my dear wife*.
Mikta, *gun*.
Miktoke, *shot bag*.
Moka, *snake*.
Money, *water*.
Monotisnock, *stay*.
Mosnukhe, *otter*.
My, *the sun*.

Nacout, *one*.
Nos, *three*.

Ohenopse, *brother*.
Opockhe, *coat*.
Opockhe hassa, *shirt*.
[Os jow], *fourteen*.
[Os ketaugh], *nineteen*.
[Os massons], *eighteen*.
Os nacout, *eleven*.
[Os nos], *thirteen*.
[Os prance], *fifteen*.

[Os quiock], *sixteen*.
[Os tappons], *seventeen*.
[Os tock], *twelve*.

Prance, *five*.

Quiock, *six*.

Tabike, *powder horn*.
Takabosque, *twenty*.
Tappons, *seven*.
Tock, *two*.

ENGLISH—SAPONI

(Fontaine)

Breeches, *lonoughte*.
Brother, *ohenopse*.

Coat, *opockhe*.
Come here, *kihoe*. **Come to bed**, *conopanan*.

Eight, *massons*.
Eighteen, [*os massons*].
Eleven, *os nacout*.

Fifteen, [*os prance*].
Five, *prance*.
Four, *jow*.
Fourteen, [*os jow*].

Gun, *mikta*.

Hat, *apato bokso*.
Horn, powder horn, *tabike*.
How d'ye do?, *jog de log*.

Is this the way to the horse head, *hodke tock ire chunkete posse*.

Kiss, will you kiss me?, *ke ly pomerin*.

My service to you Queen, *kenepaskiniwiky*.

Nine, *ketaugh*.
Nineteen, [*os ketaugh*].
No, *metaugh*.

One, *nacout*.
Otter, *mosnukhe*.

Please, what you please, *ikiron*.
Powder, *mahinkt*.
Powder horn, *tabike*.
Presently, *inking*.

Seven, *tappons*.
Seventeen, [*os tappons*].
Shirt, *opockhe hassa*.
Shoes, *makasoons*; *agohele*.
Shot, *mankey*.
Shot bag, *miktoke*.
Six, *quiock*.
Sixteen, [*os quiock*].
Snake, *moka*.
Stay, *monotisnock*.
Stockings, *honis*.
Sun, the, *my*.
Sured, I am going to be, *joquahingnomotsonan*. ["served" or "saved"?]
Sword, *impough*.

Ten, *metough*.
Thank, I thank you sir, *ketemaghketersinaw*.
Thirteen, [*os nos*].
Three, *nos*.
Twelve, [*os tock*].
Twenty, *takabosque*.
Two, *tock*.

Water, *money*.
Welcome, you are very, *mecouremechin*.
Wife, my dear wife, *mihu mima mikito*.
Wig, *machneto dufas*.

Yes, *keneha*.

A Word-List of Saponi

So soon as the Horses cou'd be found, we hurry'd away the Surveyors, who advanct the Line 9 Miles and 254 Poles. About 3 Miles from the Camp they crosst a large Creek, which the Indians call'd Massamoni, Signifying, in their Language, Paint-Creek, because of the great Quantity of Red ochre found in its banks. This in every Fresh tinges the Water just as the same Mineral did formerly, and to this day continues to tinge, the famous River Adonis, in Phoenicia, by which there hangs a celebrated fable.

Three Miles beyond that we past another Water with difficulty, call'd Yaypatsco, or Bever Creek. Those industrious Animals had damm'd up the water so high, that we had much ado to get over…

About three Miles and a half farther we came to the Banks of another creek, call'd, in the Saponi Language, Ohimpa-moni, Signifying Jumping Creek, from the frequent Jumping of Fish during the Spring Season.

Here we encampt, and by the time the Horses were hobbled, our Hunters brought us no less than a Brace and a half of Deer, which made great Plenty, and consequently great content in our Quarters.

—William Byrd, 1728.

Moni-seep, *shallow water*.
Massamoni, *Paint-Creek*. S.H. **Mossamory**, **Massamony**.
Yaypatsco, *Beaver Creek*. S.H. **Yapatoco**, **Yapatsco**.

Ohimpa-moni, *Jumping Creek*. S.H. **Ohimpamony** "an Indian name which signifys *Fishing Creek*", also S.H. **Uhimpamory**.

Tewahominy, *Tuskarooda Creek*. Also **Tewaw-hommini**. S.H. **Tewahominy**, **Tewakominy**.

Hicootomony, *Turkey-Buzzard River*. S.H. **Hico-ottmony**, **Hico-atto-moni**, **Hico-ottomoni**.

Rockahominy, *parched Indian corn reduced to powder*.

Cohunks, *wild geese*.

Maosti, *the beard of the Wild Turkey Cock*. S.H. **Maooty**, "signifying in the Sapponi-Language, *a Turkey's Beard*."

Tomahawks, *hatchets*.

Wicco-quoi, *creek named so from the Multitude of Rocks over which the water tumbles in a Fresh, with a bellowing noise*.

Two words of Moneton or Tomahitan

Now ye king must goe to give ye monetons a visit which were his frends, mony signifying water and ton great in theire language. Gabriell must goe along with him. They gett forth with sixty men and travelled tenn days due north and then arived at ye monyton towne situated upon a very great river att which place ye tide ebbs and flowes. Gabriell swom in ye river severall times, being fresh water, this is a great towne and a great number of Indians belong unto it, and in ye same river Mr. Batt and Fallam were upon the head of it as you read in one of my first jornalls. This river runes north west and out of ye westerly side of it goeth another very great river about a days journey lower where the inhabitance are an inumarable company of Indians, as the monytons told my man which is twenty dayes journey from one end to ye other of ye inhabitance, and all these are at warr with the Tomahitans. When they had taken theire leave of ye monytons they marched three days out of thire way to give a clap to some of that great nation, where they fell on with great courage and were as curagiously repullsed by theire enimise.

Mony, *water*.
Ton, *great*.

CLASSIFICATION OF THE SIOUAN LANGUAGES

- EASTERN SIOUAN
  - *Catawba*
  - *Woccon*
- WESTERN SIOUAN
  - Missouri River
    - *Hidatsa*
    - *Crow*
  - *Mandan*
  - Mississippi Valley
    - Dakotan
      - *Sioux*
      - *Assiniboine*
      - *Stoney*
    - Dhegiha
      - *Omaha-Ponca*
      - *Osage*
      - *Kansa*
      - *Quapaw*
    - Chiwere-Winnebago
      - *Chiwere (Otoe, Missouri, Iowa)*
      - *Winnebago*
  - Southeastern
    - *Ofo*
    - *Biloxi*
    - ***Tutelo-Saponi***

(sources: Foster 1996; Goddard 1996)

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