
The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast

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The Indigenous Languages of the Southeast

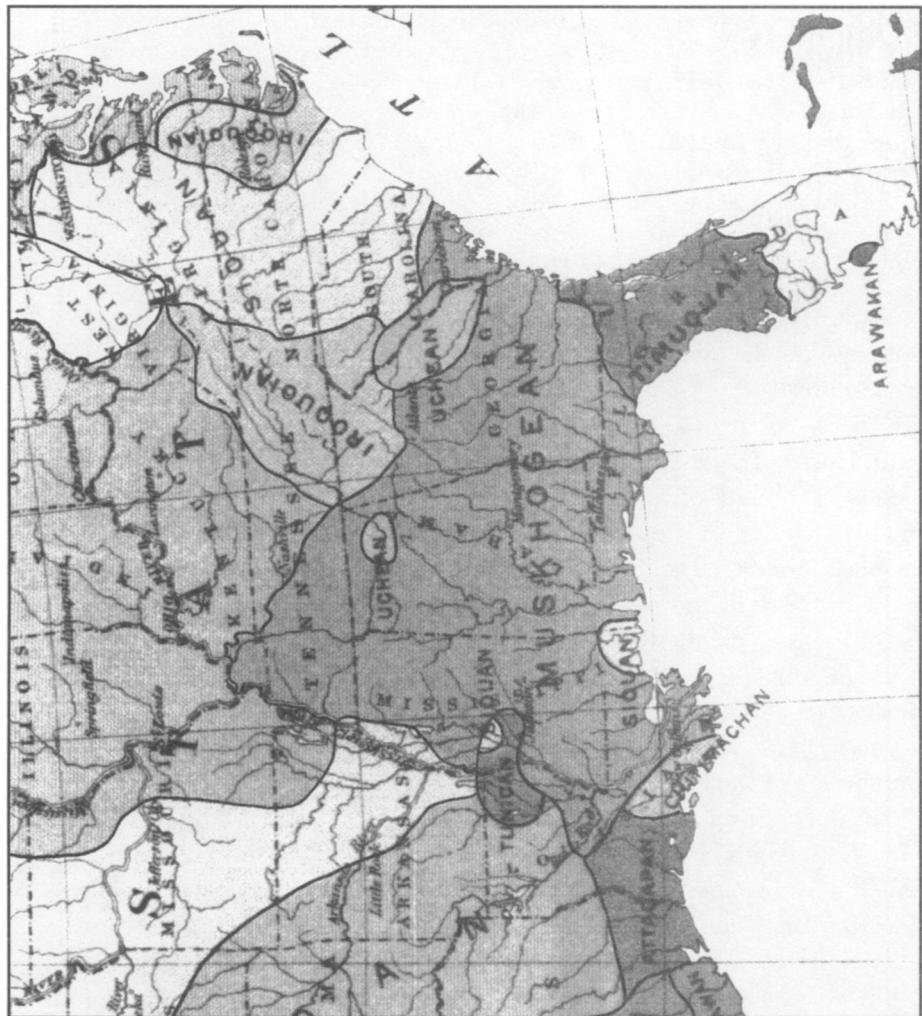
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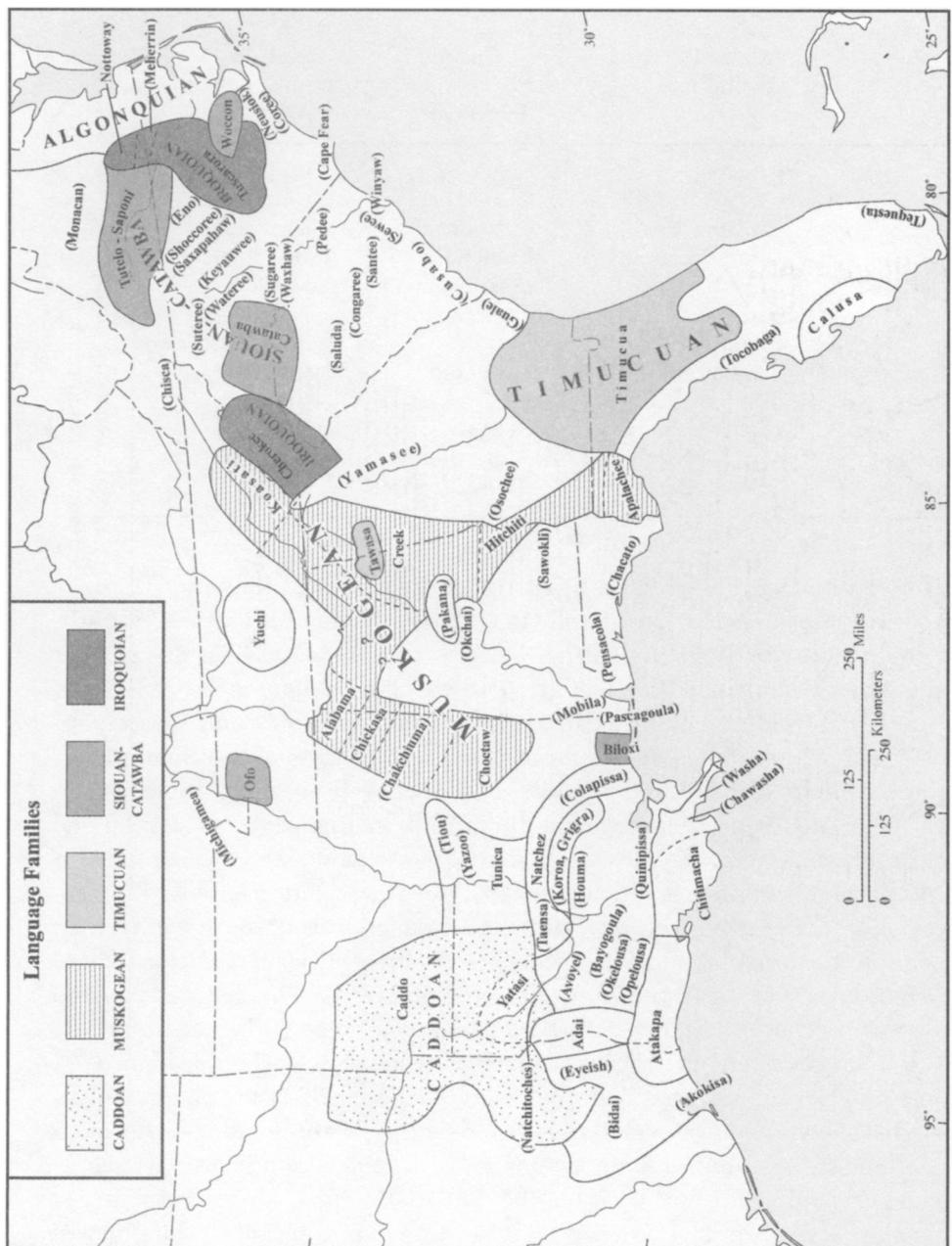
Abstract. For over one hundred years, the conventional view has been that the languages of the Southeast (roughly the southeastern quadrant of the United States) belonged to a relatively small number of language families, of which Muskogean and Siouan were the most widespread. The available evidence, however, including historical records extending back nearly five centuries, shows the Southeast to have been an area of great linguistic diversity and supports the presence of Muskogean and Siouan-Catawba languages only in relatively restricted areas. The reality is that a very large number of the languages spoken by small local populations, and in some cases by larger groups, are undocumented, and it is likely that additional language families were represented among these lost languages. A new map of the indigenous languages of the Southeast reflects a more realistic assessment of the current state of knowledge.

1. Introduction. The Southeast culture area of aboriginal North America was linguistically extremely diverse. In addition to the handful of languages that survived to be studied in the twentieth century, and the long extinct Timucua and Apalachee languages that are documented thanks to the labors of Spanish missionary linguists in the seventeenth century, there was in earlier times a profusion of tongues about which almost nothing is now known beyond a few words (Kimball 1993:39; Martin 2004). This linguistic diversity is surveyed here on the basis of research conducted in connection with the preparation of *Southeast*, volume 14 of the *Handbook of North American Indians* (Fogelson 2004).¹

A comparison of the Southeast portion of the linguistic map of John Wesley Powell (here in the rarely seen revision of 1915) (map 1) and the map from the chapter on “Languages” in the *Southeast* volume (map 2) reveals only marginal disagreements in the classification (table 1). The *Handbook* classification leaves Adai separate from Caddoan and Natchez separate from Muskogean, as in the original Powell classification (Powell 1891a, 1891b). Calusa is recognized as distinct, since there are some Calusa data and they cannot be identified with any neighboring language. Arawakan, posited as a guess for a colony of Cuban origin in southwest Florida (Mooney 1907; Sapir 1929), is omitted as being completely unknown, and Algonquian is omitted as not being in the Southeast, as defined, at first contact.



Map 1. The Southeast section of Powell (1915), showing the whole area except southern Florida and West Virginia assigned to language families. (Boundaries between language families have been electronically enhanced.)



Map 2. The languages and major language families of the Southeast at their earliest documented locations as mapped by Goddard (in Fogelson 2004:69). The names of linguistically undocumented groups are in parentheses.

Table 1. Language Families on the Powell and *Handbook* Maps of the Southeast

	POWELL (1891b)	POWELL (1915)	GODDARD (IN FOGELSON 2004)
FAMILIES	Adaizan Algonquian Attacapan Caddoan Chitimachan Iroquoian Muskhogean Natchesan Siouan Timuquan Tonikan Uchean	(in Caddoan) Algonquian Arawakan Attacapan Caddoan Chitimachan Iroquoian Muskhogean (in Muskhogean) Siouan Timuquan Tunican Uchean	Adai (not in Southeast) Atakapa Caddoan Calusa Chitimacha Iroquoian Muskhogean Natchesan Siouan-Catawba Timucuan Tunican Yuchi
UNASSIGNED AREAS	Coastal North and South Carolina	South Florida, West Virginia	Over 50% of total area

The two maps differ greatly, however, in the extent of the areas that are linguistically unclassified. On Powell (1915) the only blank areas are in southern Florida and West Virginia (which is outside the Southeast). This differs from the map that accompanied Powell (1891b), on which the only unassigned section was the coastal plain in the Carolinas (except for Tuscarora and Woccon enclaves). Both Powell maps assign large areas to Muskogean and Siouan. The map in the *Southeast* volume, in contrast, leaves well over half the area unclassified, greatly restricting the amount of territory assigned to Muskogean and Siouan-Catawba. Here, the date represented is the mid-sixteenth century for the Muskogean languages, Yuchi (which is not precisely located), Tawasa, Cherokee, and Catawba; the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century for Timucua and peninsular Florida; 1682 for the lower Mississippi River (where the Grigra later succeeded the Koroa at approximately the same location); and 1675–1750 for the undocumented interior languages, the Gulf Coast, and the western area. Ofo is mapped where the Monsoupelea were encountered in 1673. Virginia and Carolina Algonquian, Nottaway, Meherrin, Tuscarora, and Michigamea are shown to clarify relative locations, but are not in the Southeast as here defined (n. 1). Additional undocumented languages could be shown, especially in parts of Florida, but their number and distinctness are uncertain.

This article is primarily concerned with drawing attention to the undocumented or little documented languages in the blank areas of the new map, the evidence for classifying a few of them, and what is known and not known about those that cannot be classified.

1.1. The analysis of place names and ethnic names. In the absence of other data, the analysis of place names and ethnic names has played a large role in attempts to classify the peoples of the Southeast (Mooney 1894; Gatschet 1902; Speck 1935; Swanton 1911, 1922, 1936, 1946:216–19; Hudson 1990:67–91; Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992; Rudes 2004). For a number of reasons, however, conclusions reached by this method are unreliable. The spelling of Indian languages in European orthography is at best approximate, and even with a reasonable guess as to the language of origin of a name, its exact phonemic shape may be indeterminate. The cultural aspects of the naming of places and groups in the Southeast have not been systematically studied, and consequently we do not know what sorts of things names might reasonably be expected to mean or refer to. Thus, with imperfect guidance on the shape of a given name and no guidance on its possible meaning beyond assumed universal constraints of reasonableness, the chances of finding a plausible-looking match in a well documented language are fairly good, and they are further improved if an exact match to an attested word is not insisted on. In these circumstances, however, the ease of finding a match is an indication of the imprecision and unreliability of the method, rather than of its accuracy. It goes well beyond what has been established as fact to claim, for example, that the names in the De Soto and Pardo narratives provide “*certain* historical proof . . . that Siouan peoples connected with the Catawba once occupied all of” the area of South Carolina traversed by these expeditions (Swanton 1936:378–79; Swanton’s emphasis). The only defensible position regarding the analysis of untranslated early names is that any claim must be considered unconvincing unless, minimally, there is an exact match of the whole name with an attested whole word. (Rudes [2004] presents a generally more optimistic discussion of putative Catawban place names, but with similar criticisms of earlier attempts.)

There are also inherent difficulties in trying to judge the relatedness of languages on the basis of remarks about successful communication through interpreters and leaders (Hudson 1990:78). Multilingualism was common in the Southeast, and knowledge of languages must have been common among those who interacted with outsiders.

To illustrate the problems inherent in the kinds of analyses that have been given for names in the Southeast, some of the best supported putative Muskogean etymologies of place names proposed by Booker, Hudson, and Rankin (1992) are reviewed in sections 1.1.1–1.1.3. It should be noted, however, that these authors are themselves at pains to point out the limitations of the method and express many of their conclusions with qualifications, including suggestions that some groups may have used Muskogean as a contact language or *lingua franca* (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:437, 439).

1.1.1. The suggested analysis of “Cofitachequi.” The members of the Hernando de Soto expedition first heard the name of Cofitachequi (*Cutifachiqui*,

Cofachiqui), the great regional center on the Wateree River in present-day South Carolina, when they were on the Oconee River in 1540 among people who would later be one of the components of the Yamasee (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:272, 2:267).² Creek has a word *ko·fitá* ‘to scoop out’ (stem *ko·f-* + infinitive ending *-ita*), and Hitchiti has a word *čiki* ‘house, dwellings, town’, which is said to be found “in numerous names recorded by De Soto, Pardo, et al.” (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:419–20). The Creek word is, in effect, conceded to be irrelevant, however, since Muskogean grammar does not allow a verb to be compounded with a following noun. There might be (or might have been) an unrecorded Hitchiti (or Yamasee) cognate of Creek *ko·f-*, but even assuming this there is no explanation of how the name is formed. None of the other claimed early names that incorporate Hitchiti *čiki* is cited, and there is thus no clear, analyzed example with which to compare the proposed etymology. In fact, the authors’ lengthy list of place names from the Juan de Pardo expedition does not contain any other name that ends with “-chiqui” or the like (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:437–40), although the De Soto reports do record the name Capachequi from the area north of Apalachee (Hudson 1997: 149). While a place name in a language related to the known Muskogean languages that alludes to semisubterranean houses (as suggested by Robert L. Rankin p.c. 2004) is conceivable, the proposed analyses are speculative constructs that are not supported by attested parallels and are thus essentially arbitrary. And even if Cofitachequi was a place name in Hitchiti or a closely related language, the lack of similar names from the Catawba-Wateree valley makes it more likely to have been what the town was called by those living to the west, where this name was first heard, than a name that originated locally.

1.1.2. The suggested analysis of “Canos.” Pardo and his notary refer to Cofitachequi as Canos, and in one place the notary adds “which the Indians call Canosi and, for another name, Cofetazque” (Hudson 1990:298, 301). Booker, Hudson, and Rankin analyze Canos (Canosi) as “apparently” a Creek word containing the “incorporating root” *kan-* ‘ground, land’ and a diminutive suffix *-osi* (1992:420). This analysis is buttressed by reference to the use of the word *caney* ‘house of the cacique’ in one of the accounts from the De Soto expedition of the nearby town of Talimeco (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:280). But Creek *kan-* ‘ground’ is a compounding element (reduced from *i·kaná*) that can be used only before a full noun or verb stem, the diminutive suffix used on Creek nouns is *-oci* (Jack B. Martin p.c. 2004), and Spanish *caney* ‘Indian chief’s house or meeting house’ was not learned in South Carolina, but rather borrowed from island Arawakan (Friederici 1960:126).

1.1.3. The suggested analysis of “Guiomae.” A satellite town of Cofitacheque that was apparently near where the Congaree and Wateree rivers join to form the Santee had a name that was recorded as Hymahi (Himahi) and Aymay

by the chroniclers of the De Soto expedition (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:81, 194, 275), while the notary of the Pardo expedition called the place “*GuiomaE*” and the cacique there “*EmaE Orata*” (Hudson 1990:258–59). Booker, Hudson, and Rankin (1992:420) suggest that the longer name contains Creek *kí·* ‘mulberry’ and an element *-omi-* ‘be’, though no parallels are cited and the shape of the name concededly does not conform to Creek grammar. This interpretation does not provide a reasonable interpretation for the shorter name (Hymahi, etc.), unless it is assumed, as the authors do, that the two ostensible forms of the name are two distinct words that are “not related at all.” The argument thus rejects the rare clue to morphological structure that the names appear to furnish, while arguing for an analysis that lacks robust support in the known patterns of Muskogean stem formation. The etymologizing of a putative word of a single syllable violates the authors’ own well-taken position that ostensible matches for short, monomorphemic words are inherently unreliable (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:420).

1.2. Lexical evidence. The linguistic classification of the undocumented languages of the Southeast by Albert S. Gatschet (1884–88) and John R. Swanton (1911, 1922) relied heavily on identifications and analyses of the scattered words and personal names contained in early accounts. Given the advances in linguistic knowledge and methodology since their time, it is evident without detailed discussion that this work is not reliable as it stands and must be completely redone. A systematic collection of these words and names from the original sources, with full particulars of their attestation and context of use, may or may not permit conclusions about the languages they come from, but it would be a place to start. This work has not been undertaken here.

2. Language families. Twelve documented language families are known from the time of first European contact in the Southeast, some with relatives elsewhere: Adai, Atakapa, Caddoan, Calusa, Chitimacha, Iroquoian, Muskogean, Natchesan, Siouan-Catawba, Timucuan, Tunican, and Yuchi. These are here surveyed in geographical order, from north to south beginning in the east. Only languages for which there is direct linguistic evidence or explicit contemporary testimony are included in this section.³

2.1. Siouan-Catawba. The Siouan-Catawba family is represented by two sharply distinct components: a branch of the widespread Siouan family called Ohio Valley Siouan (after its presumed precontact location) and the two Catawban languages. Ohio Valley Siouan had two subbranches, Virginia Siouan and Southeastern Siouan (Oliverio and Rankin 2003:177).

2.1.1. Virginia Siouan. In 1670–71, Virginia Siouan was spoken by four named groups: the Monyton, Tutelo, Saponi, and Occaneechi. The Monyton were

found in the Ohio Valley, very likely along the lower course of the Kanawha River in West Virginia, and the other three groups were in Virginia, along the middle and upper course of the Roanoke-Staunton river and on the upper New River (Alvord and Bidgood 1912; Lederer 1958; Briceland 1987: 124–40; Davis 2002:150).⁴ The only documented presence of Virginia Siouan in the Southeast was along this narrow salient from the Ohio Valley, extending up the Kanawha-New river and down the Roanoake-Staunton to about the present Virginia–North Carolina state line. The Siouans have sometimes been described as living on the Virginia Piedmont, but the Tutelo were west of the Blue Ridge Mountains until at least 1674 (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:225).

Suffering hostilities from other Indians and English riffraff, the Siouans in Virginia moved frequently in the 1670s and later. In 1701, the Saponi and Occaneechi were on the North Carolina Piedmont and the Tutelo were in the “Westward Mountains” (Lawson 1709:47). Subsequently, these groups moved nearer the coast, living from about 1714 to 1733 at Fort Christanna on the Meherrin River (south of Lawrenceville in Brunswick County, Virginia), where groups called Stuckanox (“Steukenhocks,” misprinted “Stenkenocks”) and (once) “Meipontskys” are also mentioned as residing (O’Callaghan 1853–87, 5:673). The Fort Christanna Indians were collectively called Tutelo (“Totero,” Mohawk “Todirichroones”) or Saponi (“Sappony,” “Saponey”) (O’Callaghan 1853–87, 5:673; Catesby 1731–43, 2:xi; Byrd 1929:310; John Fontaine in Alexander 1971:305). Governor Alexander Spotswood referred to them as “a people speaking much the same language . . . tho’ still preserving their different Rules” (Brock 1882–85, 2:88), while William Byrd (1901:245, 1929:308–10) described them a bit later with less qualification as “Speaking the Same Language, and using the same Customs.”

Virginia Siouan was most fully documented under the name Tutelo on Six Nations Reserve in Ontario, where it was found by Hale (1883). In 1705, before the founding of Fort Christanna, Beverley reported that the language of the Occaneechi was used as a regional lingua franca, “understood by the Chief men of many Nations,” whose languages differed greatly, “so that Nations at a moderate distance, do not understand one another” (1947:191). Presumably this was the language of the short vocabulary collected at Fort Christanna in 1716 as Saponi (Alexander 1971), which incorporates some Algonquian and Iroquoian loanwords (Goddard 1972), and under the name Saponi a number of translated place names were also recorded (Byrd 1929; Mooney 1894:46; Hoffman 1964: 217; Rankin 1980). Both Spotswood and Byrd name the Occaneechi among the consolidated peoples that spoke the same language. The speech of the Monyton can be classified on the basis of Abraham Wood’s explanation of their name in 1674 as “mony signifying water and ton great in theire language” (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:221), words that can be identified as Virginia Siouan *mənɪ* ‘water’ and *itʰə* ‘big’ (Oliverio and Rankin 2003:165; Robert L. Rankin p.c. 2003).

2.1.2. Southeastern Siouan. The Southeastern Siouan subbranch of Ohio Valley Siouan comprises two languages, Ofo and Biloxi. The Ofo were first encountered in 1673 by Jacques Marquette when they were recent refugees from the Ohio Valley living on the east side of the Mississippi River in present Tennessee. Marquette called them the “Monsapelea,” the name that appears on later French maps as Mosopelea (Mosapelea, Mozopelea), designating eight villages in the upper Ohio Valley marked as “destroyed,” presumably by Iroquois war parties (Tucker and Temple 1975: plates 5, 7, 59; Swanton 1923, 1946:165–66; Rankin 1979). They later lived among the Tunics, and what is known of their language was recorded from the last semispeaker among the Tunica in Louisiana in 1908 (Dorsey and Swanton 1912:4, 12).

The Biloxi were found by Pierre Le Moyne d’Iberville in 1699 on the Gulf Coast of the present-day state of Mississippi (McWilliams 1981:45); they may have had slightly earlier contacts with Spaniards (Waselkov and Gums 2000: 25–26). They later moved west of the Mississippi River, and their language was recorded in Louisiana by Gatschet in 1886 and James Owen Dorsey in 1892–93 (Dorsey and Swanton 1912:9).

2.1.3. Catawban. The known Catawban languages are Catawba and Woccon. Catawba survived into the twentieth century on the Catawba Reservation near Rock Hill, South Carolina, where the last three speakers died in the 1950s and 1960s. These speakers preserved some distinctions between two traditional dialects, Esaw (or Catawba proper) and Saraw (Rudes 2003:219–21; Young and Siebert 2003:271, 273). For example, in some words Esaw had a word-initial *n*—where Saraw had *y*—(*Esaw nūčę*, Saraw *yúčę* ‘beans’), and in others Esaw had *a* in the initial syllable while Saraw had *i* (*Esaw kat-*, Saraw *kit-* ‘break, break in two’) (Rudes 2003:220).

The Esaw and Saraw dialects presumably trace back to two aggregations of small tribes that coalesced after the Tuscarora War of 1711–13, the Catawba-Esaw on the Catawba River and the Cheraw-Saraw on the Pee Dee River. The modern Catawba people descend from these two ethnically and linguistically diverse components (section 3.2), and it is uncertain which earlier historical groups spoke varieties of the language now known as Catawba. Catawba is shown (map 2) in the area where the Pardo expedition encountered the Catapa, Ysa, and Joara in 1567 (Hudson 1990:260, 264–65, 277, 311, 315), on the hypothesis that these towns spoke the dialects known today as Esaw and Saraw. (See also sections 3.2.1, 3.2.16, 3.2.17.)

Woccon is known from a vocabulary recorded in the early eighteenth century by John Lawson (1709:225–30), who also published word lists of Carolina Algonquian (“Pampticough”) and Tuscarora. The Woccon people lived in the coastal plain of northeastern North Carolina on Contentnea Creek, between present-day Goldsboro and Greenville. Woccon is located (map 2) following

Mooney (1894) and Tukchiray (1983:410–16); its omission from the revisions of the Powell map must be due to a simple oversight.

2.2. Iroquoian. Cherokee, the single member of the Southern Iroquoian branch of the Iroquoian family, has been spoken in western North Carolina from the time of earliest contact to the present. Within the historical period, Cherokee expanded westward into areas of the upper Tennessee Valley earlier inhabited by Muskogean speakers.

In 1540, the De Soto expedition traversed a province called Chalaque in the Catawba River valley in North Carolina, well to the east of what is otherwise known to be Cherokee territory (Hudson 1990:84, 119, 1997:186; Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:280, 2:307–9). While it is likely that this name is the same word as the Cherokee self-designation *tsalaki*, it is possible that it was used for some other group in some local language.⁵

2.3. Timucuan. Two Timucuan languages are known, Timucua and Tawasa.

Timucua was spoken in several minimally divergent dialects in northeastern Florida, where it was studied by Spanish missionaries in the seventeenth century.

Tawasa is attested by a vocabulary collected (as “Towásá”) from a refugee named Lamhatta by Col. John Walker in King and Queen County, Virginia (well east of Richmond), in 1708 (Bushnell 1908; Swanton 1929b). A 1675 letter by Bishop Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderón names the Tawasa (“Toássa”) as the first in a list of the fourteen towns of a Tawasa confederacy (“la Prou(inci)a de la Toássa”) (Wenhold 1936:10, plate 5); these must have been on the Coosa and Talapoosa rivers in eastern Alabama, where several of the towns named were later found among the Upper Creeks (J. R. Swanton in Wenhold 1936:5).⁶ A Spanish report from 1686 refers to the Province of Tawasa (“Tabasa,” “Tavasa”), apparently in the same area, as evidently comprising at least six towns (Boyd 1937; Galloway 1995:178–80; Hann 1988:62). Soon after this the Tawasa towns were affected by the general hostilities that raged throughout the region, in part intertribal and in part provoked by Carolina English slavers. Lamhatta’s map (Waselkov 1989:313–20) seems to show these towns both in refugee locations (in west Florida and perhaps elsewhere) and also in their earlier locations in the interior, where there are six unlabeled circles that are said to represent the ten confederated towns. In the end, the Tawasa were reduced to a single village that resided among several tribal remnants near the French colony at Mobile and later joined the Creek Confederacy (Waselkov and Gums 2000:31–32).

It is uncertain how extensively Timucuan languages may have been spoken in eastern Alabama; all members of a confederacy need not have been linguistically related, and the towns named as belonging to the Tawasa confederacy were, on later evidence, linguistically diverse. The presence of apparent Creek loanwords in the Tawasa vocabulary (Martin 2004:78) points to close

contact with Muskogean-speaking towns in the interior region where Creek was spoken.

The Tawasa are placed (map 2) in the area where the town Tuasi (Toasi) was visited by De Soto's expedition in 1540 (Swanton 1946:190; Hudson 1994:[77], 86), but it is possible that this was actually the town in the Tawasa confederacy that Calderón refers to as Tubâssi, which he distinguished from Toâssa (Wenhold 1936:10).

2.4. Calusa. Calusa, spoken in southwestern Florida, is known from a few words reported by Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda (1944), which match no other language.⁷

2.5. Muskogean. The Muskogean languages spoken in the interior escaped intensive contact with Europeans until the eighteenth century and are still spoken today. The Hitchiti-speaking towns along the middle Chattahoochee River were the core of the Lower Creeks. The Creek-speaking towns on and near the Coosa and Talapoosa rivers in present-day northeastern Alabama were the largest contingent of the Upper Creeks. Alabama and Koasati form a separate branch of the family, but in the sixteenth century the Alabama were in present northeastern Mississippi, where they appear as Alibamo, Alimamu, and Limamu in the reports of the De Soto expedition (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:106, 109, 237, 299; Hudson 1994:[76], 90), while the Koasati were in the upper Tennessee River Valley in eastern Tennessee (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:426–30). Chickasaw and the dialectally more diverse Choctaw are only now diverging to the point of being separate languages; in the sixteenth century they were part of a Western Muskogean dialect continuum just south of the Alabama in eastern Mississippi. The Chakchiuma were between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw and were reported in the eighteenth century to speak the same language as the Chickasaw (Le Page Du Pratz 1758, 2:226); they would have been a third political entity speaking Western Muskogean. The Ibitoupa (Ouitoupa) and the Taposa (Tabousa), two small tribes that had moved into the Chakchiuma village on the upper Yazoo River by 1726 (Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville in Rowland and Sanders 1927–32, 3:531; Galloway in Goddard et al. 2004), most likely also had similar speech. Apalachee, spoken in west Florida, became a written language in Spanish missions and as a consequence is documented by a letter of 1688 to the king of Spain (Kimball 1987, 1988), but it ceased to be spoken among the remnant of the Apalachee in Louisiana in the nineteenth century.

2.6. Yuchi. Yuchi was spoken in the sixteenth century in the upper Tennessee Valley not far from the Koasati towns. The Yuchi ("uchi," "huchi") are mentioned in the reports of the Pardo expedition as being in league with others against the Spaniards (Hudson 1990:223–24, 270), but the exact location of their

towns is not known.⁸ When they were visited by European traders in the late seventeenth century, they were somewhat lower down on the Tennessee River and known by their Shawnee name *tahokale* (pl. *tahokale·ki*)⁹ or its Illinois equivalent Taogaria (Delisle 1701).

Powell (1891b) mapped the Yuchi in eastern Georgia along the Savannah River. This conflates the assumed sixteenth-century location of Cofitachequi, which was thought to be Yuchi on the basis of an etymology suggested by Gatschet (1884–88, 1:18–19), and the location of some early eighteenth-century Yuchi settlements (Powell 1891b:126). The revised map (Powell 1915; map 1) expanded this area slightly and added the late-seventeenth-century location of the Yuchi on the Tennessee. Cofitachequi is now known to have been on the Wateree River in eastern South Carolina (Hudson 1994:[77], 82–83), and it has no demonstrated connection to the Yuchi.

2.7. Tunican. The Tunican family consists of the well-documented Tunica language, which survived into the twentieth century, and the languages of several other groups that are classified with it on the slenderest of evidence.

Le Page Du Pratz (1758, 2:221–23, 226) reported that the Tunica had a distinct language that abounded in the sound [r], which was absent from Natchez and the Muskogean languages, and that four other tribes also pronounced [r]: the Grigra, Koroa, Tiou, and Yazoo. In the case of the Tiou there is also explicit testimony that their language was like or the same as Tunica from a Jesuit missionary (François Jolliet de Montigny in Delanglez 1939:228 n. 30) and a colonial administrator (Jean-Baptiste Martin Dartaguiette Diron in Mereness 1916:46). In fact, Tunica and Timucua are the only languages known from eastern North America that have both *l* and *r* in phonemic contrast, while Muskogean and Natchez have only *l*. Le Page's statements about [r] can probably be relied on as, in effect, a classification of these five languages as closely related. This is not made less likely by Jacques Gravier's statement that his fellow Jesuit Antoine Davion, who was learning Tunica, had reported that Yazoo and Tunica were two different languages (Thwaites 1896–1901, 65:130).

The Tunicans are placed east of the Mississippi (map 2), where they were found by La Salle in 1682, but there is evidence that they were earlier west of the river. In 1541, the De Soto expedition visited a town in northeastern Arkansas called Pacaha, where the Spaniards were offered two women, sisters of the chief (or other women of rank), who were named Mochila and Macanoche (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:121). The second name appears to be the equivalent of Tunica *mákha* ‘beloved (one)’ + *núhči* ‘woman’, perhaps a title of a type found elsewhere in the Southeast rather than a personal name (Rankin 1993:215–16). It is not possible to say whether this expression attests an additional Tunican language or an early attestation of Tunica itself or of one of the putative Tunican languages mentioned by Le Page.

2.8. Natchesan.¹⁰ Although the Natchez were destroyed as an autonomous entity in 1730, the Natchez language survived into the twentieth century in the Natchez remnant among the Creeks. In 1682, the Natchez towns were near the east bank of the Mississippi, and across the river to the west were the villages of the culturally similar but politically antagonistic Taensa. Two missionaries who were beginning to learn Natchez, François Joliet de Montigny and Jean-François Buisson de St. Cosme, reported that the Taensa spoke the same language (Swanton 1911:22).

There is evidence that a third Natchesan language was spoken by the Colapissa, who lived on the lower Pearl River and nearby at the end of the seventeenth century.¹¹ André Pénigault recalled two daughters of a Natchitoches chief who were staying in a Colapissa village, one who was twenty years old called Oulchogonime “la bonne fille” (‘the good girl’), and one who was eighteen years old, but taller, called Ouilchil “la belle fileuse” (‘the pretty spinner’) (McWilliams 1953:107).¹² Both these names can be interpreted as Natchez or something very similar, and since the real names of the girls would have been in the Caddoan language of the Natchitoches, these must have been nicknames they acquired in the Colapissa village. “Oulchogonime” transparently contains Natchez *ho·L* ‘girl’ and *soko·ni·* ‘good, beautiful’, which combine in this order with exactly the meaning Pénigault gives (Geoffrey D. Kimball p.c. 2002);¹³ the final unexplained “-me” (presumably for [-m]) must be an element of either an earlier stage of Natchez or a related dialect or language. Ouilchil is apparently Natchez **wiLsi·L* ‘big thread’, formed from *wiL* ‘thread’ and the suffix *-si·L* ‘big’ (Geoffrey D. Kimball p.c. 2002). Although ‘Big Thread’ seems appropriate for a girl who was taller than her older sister, literally translated into French this would come out as *le grand fil*, which does not work as a female name since the French word for ‘thread’ is of masculine gender. Apparently Pénigault avoided this awkwardness, rather cleverly, by substituting the partially cognate name of a character in a French folktale, *la Belle Fileuse*.

2.9. Chitimacha. The Chitimacha language survived into the twentieth century in the original Chitimacha territory west of the lower Mississippi. Bienville reported in 1726 that the Washa and Chawasha, two small tribes immediately to the east, spoke “almost the same language,” which was “also . . . almost the same” as Chitimacha (Rowland and Sanders 1927–32, 3:527–28).

2.10. Atakapa. Atakapa was spoken along the western Gulf Coast of Louisiana, where descriptive materials were collected by Gatschet from the last fluent speakers in 1885 at Lake Charles (Swanton 1929a; Gatschet and Swanton 1932). There were also two earlier vocabularies, one collected by Jean Béranger in 1721, apparently from captives who lived on Galveston Bay, and one collected by Martin Duralde in 1802 at Poste des Attakapas (Saint Martinville) in the easternmost part of Atakapa territory. A number of words, in particular number

words, are different in the Duralde and Gatschet records (Gatschet and Swanton 1932:21; Grant 1995:46), and Swanton classified the Duralde vocabulary as Eastern Atakapa, distinct from the Western Atakapa of the other sources, a classification followed by Goddard (1996a:8). Others have concluded that the vocabularies do not differ enough to be considered separate languages (Martin 2004:79), and Atakapa is shown as a single language in the *Southeast* volume (map 2). Swanton believed that the Béranger vocabulary represented the speech of the Akokisa, who lived inland from Galveston Bay, but Martin (2004:79) argues that no ethnic name is ascribed to the vocabulary in the primary sources and that there is no evidence to connect it to the Akokisa (see section 3.6.1 below).

2.11. Adai. Adai is known from a vocabulary recorded in 1806 or 1807 by John Sibley, who had earlier reported that the language “differs from all other, and is so difficult to speak or understand, that no nation can speak ten words of it” (Sibley 1806:50–51; Freeman 1966:69).¹⁴ The Adai lived between the Red and Sabine rivers in western Louisiana. Soon after the original Powell classification appeared in 1892, Powell accepted Gatschet’s arguments that Adai should be classified as Caddoan, and it was absorbed into Caddoan in all revisions of the map (Powell 1891b:46; Goddard 1996b:305; Lesser and Weltfish 1932:2, 14; Taylor 1963:131). More recently, the consensus has been that the Sibley materials are not adequate to demonstrate an affinity of Adai to Caddoan or any other language family (Goddard 1996a; Campbell 1997:143, 400; Mithun 1999:326).

2.12. Caddoan. The Caddo language was spoken in several dialects by the Hasinai and Kadohadacho band clusters in East Texas and either side of the Red River where the present-day states of Oklahoma, Texas, Arkansas, and Louisiana come together. The Caddo language of the twentieth century was a koine based principally on the dialect of the Kadohadacho (Wallace L. Chafe p.c. 2004).

A number of other groups that were in northern Louisiana are conventionally classified as Southern Caddoans on the basis of nonlinguistic evidence and historical associations, but even granting the linguistic significance of these associations it is not clear whether they spoke dialects of Caddo or related languages. For the Ouachita and the Doustioni there is no data.

The Yatasi and Natchitoches were reported by Sibley (1806:50, 58) to speak the same language, which was different from all others, though they also spoke Caddo. Later, in sending Thomas Jefferson a Natchitoches vocabulary, having previously sent him one of Caddo, Sibley explained that “this nation from intermarriages with the Caddos and living so much Amongst them use their language,” and he left a blank in Jefferson’s printed vocabulary form for the items that “are caddo words” (Sibley 1805). A Yatasi vocabulary collected in the 1880s by Gatschet (1882–88) documents a divergent dialect of Caddo, with

phonological differences and some differences in basic vocabulary (Wallace L. Chafe p.c. 2004), and the Yatasi were recalled as Caddo speakers in the twentieth century (Lesser and Weltfish 1932:2). It is possible that Yatasi-Natchitoches became more and more like the emergent Caddo koine in the course of the nineteenth century, and that Gatschet's Yatasi vocabulary has even fewer of the originally distinct words of Yatasi-Natchitoches than the language had in Sibley's day.

3. Poorly documented languages. Besides the languages classed here into the twelve language families of the Southeast, there are a great many others with no or extremely minimal linguistic documentation. For some of these, there is contemporary testimony that they were different from some or all other languages or that they were the same as some other language. In a few cases, single words are attested, or a handful of words of dubious provenance.

These languages are surveyed here in geographical sets. Each section ends with a listing and discussion of the unclassified languages in the area. These lists are limited to putative languages or language varieties, but imputation of distinctness to undocumented languages is inherently inferential and imprecise. There are also, of course, a great many other local and ethnic labels in the sources whose status as linguistic entities is even less determinate. Because of the dearth of data, the rubrics in these lists should be considered highly tentative as linguistic entities.

3.1. The Virginia Piedmont. The relevant primary data on the peoples of the Virginia Piedmont north of the Staunton-Roanoke river come from John Smith and John Lederer. Smith obtained information about this area in the years 1607–8 from personal reconnaissance and from his Algonquian guides. He published town names, with some variation in spelling, in his *Map of Virginia* of 1612, both in the text (Barbour 1986, 1:165) and on the map (Barbour 1969, 2: facing p. 374, 1986, 1:186–89), and in the reprinted version of this in his *Generall Historie* of 1624 (Barbour 1986, 2:119). He gives the names of five towns of “the Monacans,” including Monahassanugh (map spelling), Monasukapanough (map; Monasickapanoughs in *Generall Historie*), Mowhemcho (map), and Rassawek (map), and of seven towns of “the Mannahoacks,” including Tanxsnitania (map) and Stegara (map).¹⁵ He goes on to say that the Mannahoacks are “all confederats with the Monacans though many different in language” (Barbour 1986, 1:165).

In another place Smith (Barbour 1986, 1:150) lists the “several nations of sundry languages” surrounding Powhatan’s territories as the “Monacans,” the “Mannahokes,” three Iroquoian tribes, and five Algonquian tribes, and he comments that “Al those not any one understandeth another but by Interpreters.”

John Lederer, who traveled in the area in 1670, lists the “Nations” of the “Highlands” of Virginia as: “Mahoc, Nuntaneuck, alias Nuntaly, Nahyssan,

Sapon, Managog, Mangoack, Akenatzy, and Monakin, &c. One language is common to them all, though they differ in Dialects" (1958:10). He also refers to "Sapon, a Village of the *Nahyssans*," and to "the *Nahyssan* Indians" (Lederer 1958:22, 23).¹⁶ Of these, the Mangoack are the Northern Iroquoians of eastern North Carolina and Virginia, the Akenatzy are the Occaneechi, the Nahyssan and Sapon are the Saponi, and the Monakin are the Monacan. Lederer's 1671 commission refers to "Naasones" (Nahyssan) and "Askeneethees" (Occaneechi) but not Saponi (Lederer 1958:99).

3.1.1. Mooney's Eastern Siouans. In 1895, the Bureau of American Ethnology published James Mooney's monograph *The Siouan Tribes of the East* (Mooney 1894), which established the conventional view of the ethnic and linguistic relationships of the Indians of Virginia and the Carolinas that has prevailed to the present time. Building on Hale's determination of the Siouan affiliation of Tutelo and Gatschet's and Dorsey's linking of the two Catawban languages with the Siouan family (Powell 1891b:112; Swanton 1936:371, 373), Mooney pulled together evidence that he claimed established that the numerous small groups on the Piedmont and the Coastal Plain from the Potomac River in Virginia to the Broad and Santee rivers in South Carolina were speakers of Siouan languages, excluding only the well-known Algonquian and Northern Iroquoian peoples of coastal Virginia and northeastern North Carolina.

Powell's and Mooney's use of the term Siouan for the family here called Siouan-Catawba obscured the great divergence between the Siouan languages in the narrower sense and the Catawban languages, a point emphasized already by Swanton (1936:374), but often ignored. The Virginia Siouan languages are much more closely related to Crow and Mandan, on the upper Missouri River, than they are to Catawba and Woccon, spoken in nearby states. Phrased in the terminology used here, Mooney's claim was essentially that the undocumented languages of Virginia were Siouan, while those of the Carolinas were Catawban.

3.1.2. The Monacan and Manahoac. Mooney's basis for saying that the languages of the Monacan and the Manahoac were Siouan was a few proposed equations of group and village names and the suggestion that a Siouan morpheme might be present in some variants of these. He claimed that the name of the Monacan town "Monasickapanough may possibly be the original of Saponi" (Mooney 1894:27; cf. 37); later this became the somewhat weaker assertion that "the name . . . may have some connection with Saponi" (Mooney in Hodge 1907–10, 1:931). He further claimed that the name of the Monacan town Monahassanugh was both the same as the word Nahyssan (Lederer's ethnic name for Saponi: see section 3.1), which he took to be the Tutelo self-designation [*yesaⁿ*], and the same as "Hanohaskie," one of the variants of the name of the upper Saponi town in 1671 (Mooney 1894:31; Mooney in Hodge 1907–10, 1:931). He

believed that the self-designation was “used both specifically and collectively” and therefore appeared in the names of various towns and groups in different places (Mooney 1894:35).

Mooney linked the Manahoac to the Tutelo-Saponi on the basis of two of the names of Lederer’s “Nations” of the “Highlands” of Virginia that had one language in common (see section 3.1). He suggested that Lederer’s Managog was a “misprint” for Manahoac (Mooney 1894:18; Hodge 1907–10, 1:796), and that Lederer’s Mahoc was “possibly identical [to Manahoac] although given as distinct” from Managog (Mooney in Hodge 1907–10, 1:796; cf. Mooney 1894:18). These equations would make the Manahoac speakers of Tutelo-Saponi, if Lederer’s reference to one common language is taken literally. In addition, Mooney (1894:18) equated the name of the Manahoac group Smith called Stegara (see section 3.1) with that of the Stuckanox who are named among the Fort Christanna refugees (see section 2.1).

Mooney also offered the linguistic argument that the names *Monakan* and *Manahoac* and those of some of the Monakan towns contained a “prefix *mo* or *ma*” that was “perhaps” to be identified with “the Siouan locative root *mo* or *ma*, signifying place, earth, or country” (Mooney 1894:22; cf. 27). He had in mind the word for ‘earth’ found as Tutelo [amāni], [amāi] (Hale 1883:38) beside [ma-] in the compound for ‘salt’ (Oliverio and Rankin 2003:172–73); Dakota [maka] (Riggs 1852:136); and Hidatsa [ắma] (Matthews 1877:131).

These name equations proposed by Mooney must be considered extremely dubious evidence. There is a Siouan word for ‘earth’ that can be reconstructed as Proto-Siouan **awə-* (Oliverio and Rankin 2003:173), the **w* being often reflected as [m] before the nasalized vowel, but the assumption that the names contain this is arbitrary and their analysis is incomplete. Most of the names are presumably, in fact, from Virginia Algonquian, the language of the men that supplied the information to Smith and one that, being Algonquian, would have had many initial elements of the shape *m-vowel-n-* that would be equally plausible as components in Smith’s names.¹⁷ One obvious Algonquian name is that of the Monakan town Rassawek (at the fork where the Rivanna River joins the James; see section 3.1), an Algonquian word meaning ‘the fork’. This is the exact cognate of Munsee Delaware *lē·xawē·k* ‘that which is forked’ (O’Meara 1996:146), the singular participle of Delaware |laxawe-| ‘be forked’ (with |laxaw-| < Proto-Algonquian *θa?θaw- ‘forked’), a word attested also in plural form as the Northern Unami Delaware place name ⟨Lechauweki⟩ ‘the forks’ (Heckewelder 1834:357), referring to the branching trails at the place where the Lehigh River joins the Delaware River.¹⁸ The name of the Manahoac town Tanxsnitania (section 3.1) is pidgin Algonquian for ‘little Nitania’, combining *tanx* ‘little’ (Strachey 1953:203; Lederer 1958:11) and a name Nitania.¹⁹

Smith recorded the name of a captive from the Manahoac town of Hasinninga (Hassinnunga) as Amoroleck (Barbour 1986, 2:175). If this recording can be relied on as accurately attesting a phonemic contrast between /r/ and /l/, it

points to an otherwise unknown language, since the nearest known languages with this contrast are Timucua and Tunica (section 2.7).

Smith's statements that the Monacan and Manahoac spoke different languages and that, in fact, the components of the Manahoac by themselves spoke several ("many") languages (section 3.1) undercut any claim that the Monacan and Manahoac groups all spoke Virginia Siouan. The "one language in common" referred to by Lederer (section 3.1) is almost certainly the Virginia Siouan lingua franca referred to by Beverley in 1705 (section 2.1), given the inclusion of both Iroquoians and Siouans in Lederer's list of those speaking it. Thus, even if Manahoacs are among those on Lederer's list, and even if the Stuckanox are the same as the Stegara (despite the unexplained differences between these names), no conclusion can be firmly drawn about the original languages of these groups. Since one of the few facts recorded about the Manahoac is that they were a linguistically diverse grouping, Manahoac is not mapped here as an undocumented language.

There are also unresolved problems concerning the name Nahyssan and the names Mooney suggests are its synonyms. Lederer's use of "Nahyssan" for the Saponi (section 3.1) agrees with Edward Bland's use of "Nessoneicks" for people on the Roanoke-Staunton river upstream from the "Occonacheans" (Occaneechi) in 1650 (Salley 1911:16). Both sources use this name for the Saponi, but not for the Occaneechi, who are named separately, and not explicitly for the Tutelo, who are not mentioned. There is no linguistic explanation for the obvious differences between "Nahyssan" and the Tutelo self-designation [yesaⁿ] that would permit these to be directly equated,²⁰ and there is even less justification for equating these words with the Saponi town name "Hanohaskie."²¹

The name Nahyssan was, however, also used for Indians that do not seem to be Saponis. Lederer (1958:16) refers to "Mahocks and Nahyssans" fighting the Pamunkey and killing their chief (which happened in 1656), and Maryland documents of 1661 refer to "the Cynaco or Naijssone Indians" and "Cynacs or Nayssone Indians" who had killed some English (Archives of Maryland, in Hoffman 1964:214–15). The town of the Mahoc (Mahock) that Lederer skirted past and mapped in 1670 was where Mohawk Creek enters the James River (Bushnell 1930:10), and it is evident that "Mahoc(k)" is, in fact, his spelling of *Mohawk*, just as "Cynaco" and "Cynacs" are two of the many spellings of *Seneca* that appear in southern sources in the early period.²² Neither name is to be taken literally; rather both are vernacular collective terms for the "western and inland Indians" that settled on the James River in 1656 and later elsewhere (Virginia Assembly Report in Hoffman 1964:209). Some of these are known to have been Iroquoian-speakers, but it is, of course, possible that some were Siouan-speakers.

Bland also refers to seeing oldfields of the "Manks Nessoneicks" twelve miles south of Petersburg, Virginia, apparently near Rowantee Creek (Salley 1911:19; Briceland 1987:89). "Manks Nessoneicks" is a pidgin Algonquian name

meaning ‘great Saponi’ (with added English *-s*), but since this is a descriptive nickname, it does not necessarily imply that these people were thought to be closely related to the Saponi.

3.2. The Carolinas. The linguistic diversity of the Carolinas was evident to early observers. William Gale wrote from Albemarle, North Carolina, in 1703 that “every Towne or nation hes its particular King & different language” (Gale 1907:734–35). Lawson, who traveled through the Carolinas in the same period, remarked that

the Difference of Languages, that is found amongst these Heathens, seems altogether strange. For it often appears, that every dozen Miles, you meet with an *Indian* Town, that is quite different from the others you last parted withal; and what little supplies this Defect is, that the most powerful Nation of these Savages scorns to treat or trade with any others . . . in any other Tongue but their own, which serves for the *Lingua* of the Country . . . [Lawson 1709:225]

Similar observations were made on the South Carolina coast (Waddell 1980: 24–25). The cacique of Kiawah there in 1670 was described as “a very ingenious Indian & a great Linguist in this Maine” (Carteret in Cheves 1897:167; Waddell 1980:27), an indication that he spoke an impressive number of languages.

The Catawba nation, which was formed in the eighteenth century by the amalgamation of many small peoples of the Carolinas, is described by James Adair as consisting “about the year 1743 . . . of almost 400 warriors, of above twenty different dialects”; he proceeds to “mention a few of the national names of those, who make up this mixed language;—the *Kátahba*, is the standard, or court dialect—the *Wateree*, who make up a large town; *Eenó*, [catchword:] *Charàh*, [. . .]*wah*, now *Chowan*, *Canggaree*, *Nachee*, *Yamasee*, *Coosah*, &c.” (1775:224–25).²³ As even this short list includes languages of at least four language families, Adair must be using “dialects” to mean ‘languages and major dialects’. After conflicts and epidemics, all these peoples were reduced after 1760 to a single Catawba town (Merrell 1989:199).

3.2.1. Other Catawban languages. It is not known how many of the peoples that formed the latter-day Catawba Nation spoke dialects of Catawba or other Catawban languages, beyond the fact that Adair’s (1775:224) statement that there were more than twenty “dialects” among the Catawba means that there were at least twenty speech varieties that were not identical to Catawba proper. The twentieth-century tradition that the two dialects still evident in the speech community in its last years were those of the Saraw and Esaw is anchored in the historical record by the identification of these group names with the towns the Spaniards referred to as Xuala or Joara and as Ysa or Ysaa.²⁴ The equation of Joara with the Saraw is supported by Cherokee (*Suwa’li*), the name evidently used for these people (Mooney 1900:509, 532), and by Lederer’s statement about

the Appalachian Mountains, jumbled as it is, that “at *Sara* . . . they take the name of *Suala*; *Sara* in the *Warrennuncock* dialect being *Sasa* or *Sualy*” (1958:9).²⁵

A number of the other component groups of the Catawba have names for which Catawba etymologies have been offered, but the record suggests that these were guesses by modern speakers of Catawba or by linguists and were based on a knowledge of similar words rather than on a Catawba tradition of their existence as ethnic names. Gatschet (1902) and Speck (1935) both proposed Catawba etymologies for local place names, some of which are also group names, but both made it clear that these were offered as explanations of the English names and were not obtained as the names of traditional ethnic groups. Gatschet argues explicitly that *Wateree* and *Santee* were in origin river names and not tribal names. Speck says that the *Wateree* were “no longer remembered in the traditions of the Catawba,” and as for the *Pedee*, “neither river nor tribe are known to the present Catawba, but the name may be turned into a meaning in their dialect” (1935:221). Speck (1935:220–21) gives similar qualifications in connection with other names.²⁶ Of the Catawba names for groups given by Siebert (Young and Siebert 2003) only those that differ in shape from their English equivalents seem immune from this problem. The Catawba self-designation *yɪ i-suwa* ‘Esaw, people of the river’ also seems secure, as it is confirmed by Speck (1935:204). On the other hand, the status of the name given for the *Saraw* (Catawba *yɪ sá·ra·?* ‘people of the peninsula’) seems to be undercut by the statement of Speck (1935:214) regarding the historical names *Cheraw* and *Sara* that “to the recent generations of the Catawba no tribe is remembered under any form of the name.”²⁷ Similarly, the name *yɪ ká·ta·pu* ‘people of the fork’ (Young and Siebert 2003:272) is not given as a name for the Catawba, but is evidently an inferred etymology for this, one that had also been suggested by Swanton (in Speck 1935:204 n. 6). Speck (1935:204) reports a completely different native explanation that was evidently based on the English term. Early spellings appear to point to a long vowel in the second syllable and a medial [b]: Spanish *Catapa*, *Cataba*, pl. *Catapes* (Hudson 1990:260, 264, 277); *Cuttanbas* (Cumming 1998: plate 46A); *Cuttambas* (Herman Moll in Cumming 1998: plate 50); *Cattauboes* (Cumming 1998:263); *Kátahba* (Adair 1775:223).²⁸ The etymologies suggested by Rudes (2004) are based on better knowledge of Catawba than Gatschet and Speck had, but remain educated guesses.

While the equations of *Ysa* (*Ysaa*) with Catawba *yɪ i-suwa* ‘Esaw’ and of *Joara* with *Saraw* are among the more certain results of the investigation of Catawba ethnic names (even if *Saraw* is not from Catawba *sá·ra·?*), these pairings have discrepancies in shape of a degree that would be easier to accept if Catawba proper (Esaw) and *Saraw* were formerly more distinct, as separate languages, than they appear to be as dialects of modern Catawba. On this hypothesis, the Esaw and *Saraw* of the sixteenth century spoke two distinct Catawban languages that later converged into a Catawba koine within the emergent

Catawba speech community, retaining a few distinct words, but apparently adopting a largely uniform grammar.²⁹ In fact, the word *yɪ* ‘man, person’ directly attests such recent leveling of the dialects. For the last speakers, this word was apparently normally the same in both dialects (Rudes 2003:250; Young and Siebert 2003:272), but it was earlier *nɪ* in Esaw and *yɪ* in Saraw, with the regular consonant correspondence (see section 2.1.3 above). Esaw *nɪ* ‘man, person’ is found as a component of the Esaw word *nɪkɪča*· ‘husband’, beside Saraw *yɪkɪča*· (Rudes 2003:244, 248, 250), and was evidently recorded by Gatschet (Mooney 1894:69) and Siebert (Blair A. Rudes p.c. 2004). The Esaw word was also, as would be expected, a component of the Esaw self-designation, which the last speakers knew as *yɪ i-suwa*· ‘Esaw’, but which is attested from the 1720s with an initial [n-] as “Nasaw” (Waselkov 1989:322), spelling something like **nɪ i-suwa*.³⁰ It may be significant that in the early English spellings the second component of the Esaw self-designation appears to be more similar to the Spanish rendering “Ysa” than to the modern Catawba form.

The following sections (3.2.2–21) list the most prominent groups in the Carolinas whose languages are unaccounted for. Some of these could have spoken languages similar to or related to known languages. Additional group names are found, but they are difficult to establish as likely candidates for speaking additional languages. For instance, when eighteenth-century sources on the Catawba refer to some component groups by rarely attested names while at the same time lacking the names of well-known component towns, it is most likely that these less familiar names reflect not the presence of additional groups but the consolidation of better-known groups in new towns and the use of names from different languages.³¹

3.2.2. Cape Fear. The Cape Fear Indians lived on the southern coast of North Carolina. They are separately enumerated in Col. John Barnwell’s listing of the Indian troops that fought under him against the Tuscarora in 1712 (J. Barnwell 1898:394), and they are named in other local records (Taukchiray 1983:437–39).

3.2.3. Cheraw. The Cheraw were closely associated with the Saraw, and it was earlier assumed, incorrectly, that these were the same people with a variable name (Mooney 1894:56–57). The association dates to 1567, when caciques of the Cheraw (“Chara”) and Adini informed Pardo of their desire to shift their political allegiance from Wateree (“Guatari”) to Saraw (“Joara”) (Hudson 1990:93, 279). It seems likely, then, that the Cheraw would have lived for a time in one of the Saraw towns that were on the Dan River in North Carolina until the early eighteenth century. After the Saraw and Cheraw moved to the Pee Dee River in South Carolina, they were at first referred to jointly by either name and eventually came to be called the Cheraw.

Adair (1775:223) gives the Cheraw (“Charàh”) as one of the groups comprised in the Catawba nation that spoke “different dialects” (see section 3.2 above, n. 24).

3.2.4. Congaree. The Congaree lived on the Congaree River in South Carolina, where they had a village near the mouth of Congaree Creek south of the site of Columbia. They took refuge with the Catawba in the winter of 1716–17, though at least some were for a time in North Carolina before their final absorption into the larger group (Merrell 1989:105; Saunders 1887:372; Tauxchiray 1983:457).³²

Lawson (1709:27–28), who was traveling with a trader who spoke the Congaree language, reported that it was different from the language of the Wateree and recorded one word of it: *< Cassetta>* ‘chief’. Congaree was also unintelligible to the Waxhaws (Lawson 1709:40–41). Given his access to someone with a speaking knowledge of Congaree, the fact that Lawson says nothing that would indicate mutual intelligibility between Congaree and Santee argues against there being an obvious relationship between these two languages, especially when taken with the remarks on linguistic diversity in his account of the area where they were spoken (see section 3.2.14). Adair (1775:224) listed the “Canggaree” as one of the component groups of the Catawba that had a distinct “dialect.”

3.2.5. Coree. The Coree lived near Cape Lookout between the tidal estuary of the Neuse River and Bogue Sound in Carteret County, North Carolina. Lawson (1709:58, 234) refers to them as the “Cores,” but also lists them as the “Connamox,” with villages “Coranine” and “Raruta.” William Gale’s 1703 list of Indian groups in the area has “Cores, Corennines, Connamocksoks” (Gale 1907:735). If *Core* is not just a shortening of *Coranine* within English, it could be the singular of the Carolina Algonquian name attested by the plural “Cwareuuoc” (Quinn 1955, 1: plate 8).³³ “Connamox” must be their name in another language, as is also perhaps “Coranine”; possibly one of these was their name in their own language.

Lawson wrote:

I once met with a young *Indian Woman*, that had been brought from beyond the Mountains, and was sold as a Slave into *Virginia*. She spoke the same Language, as the *Coranine Indians*, that dwell near *Cape-Look-out*, allowing for some few Words, which were different, yet no otherwise, than that they might understand one another very well. [Lawson 1709:171]

Since Lawson had taken vocabularies of Tuscarora, Carolina Algonquian, and Woccon, this statement must indicate that the Coree did not speak a language closely related to any of those. Mooney (1894:8) speculated without further evidence that they “may have been of the same stock” as the Cherokee, i.e., Southern Iroquoian.

3.2.6. Cusabo. There is evidence from contemporary statements regarding intelligibility that a single fairly uniform language was spoken on the South Carolina coast from the lower Savannah River to the Wando River, east of

Charleston (Waddell 1980:23–33, 2004). This language was different from the Guale language west of the Savannah, and from the language of the Sewee on Bull’s Bay. In statements about the distinctness of their language, the Spaniards referred to the Cusabo speakers as the province of Escamacu or Santa Elena (Hann 1996a:125), names for the group nearest the Guale. Variants of the name Cusabo began to be used for various combinations of the small Indian groups of the South Carolina coast in the early eighteenth century, but originally it was the name of one of these local peoples (Waddell 1980:114).

What appear to be a few words of this language are known from René Laudonnière’s (1975) sixteenth-century account and a few attestations of the contact jargon spoken between the English and Indians in the area in the late seventeenth century (Waddell 1980:31; Cheves 1897:19, 165–68, 199–201; Lawson 1709:70–71). For example, the word for ‘bad, enemy’ is recorded as ⟨Skorrye⟩ (Cheves 1897:167) and ⟨Skerry⟩ (Lawson 1709:70–71).

Joseph Dalton, writing from Charlestown in 1671, reported that the Savannah River was “called by the Indians Westo bou signifying the enemies River a sort of Indians at enmity with ours” (Cheves 1897:382). Henry Woodward referred to it in 1674 as “the Westoe River” (Cheves 1897:459). The element ⟨bou⟩ or ⟨boo⟩ appears in many place names in coastal South Carolina, sometimes written separately. Swanton thought that the resemblance between Cusabo ⟨bou⟩ ‘river’ and Choctaw ⟨bok⟩ ‘river’ “point[ed] toward Muskogean relationship,” explaining that “the final -k in many Choctaw works is barely distinguishable as pronounced” (1922:23–24). There is no reason to think that this resemblance is anything more than a coincidence, however. The only cognate of Choctaw *bo·k* ‘river’ is in Chickasaw *abo·kosi?*(?) ‘river, creek’, which has an unidentified *a-* and diminutive *-oši?* (Pamela Munro p.c. 2004; Munro and Willmond 1994:7). The older form of the Choctaw word was *bayok* ‘a smaller river, a river forming part of a delta’ (Gatschet 1884–88, 1:113; phonemicized), which is likely to be much more significant for its ultimate historical derivation than contemporary phonetic details. The word has no etymology, and its isolated occurrence in Western Muskogean may indicate that it is a borrowing from one of the many unknown languages spoken by peoples who were neighbors of the Choctaw and Chickasaw.

3.2.7. Hooks and Backhooks. Lawson refers to “the *Hooks and Backhooks* Nations” as being in 1701 near Winyah Bay, South Carolina (1709:23). Perhaps these were the same as the Huaq and Pahoc, two of the many “provinces” recorded for the area in 1526 (Swanton 1922:37).³⁴

3.2.8. Keyauwee. The Keyauwee lived on the North Carolina Piedmont and, when visited by Lawson (1709:48, 50) in 1701, were on the Uwharrie River (Davis 2002:152). Subsequently, after a series of moves, they settled among the Cheraw-Saraw on the Pee Dee River in South Carolina (Edward Moseley map in Cumming 1998: plates 50A, 53; Mooney 1894:62; Davis 2002:153).

The “King” of the Keyauwee when Lawson (1709:51) visited was a Congaree who had run away as a boy and married the Keyauwee “Queen.” It is, however, uncertain whether this circumstance provides any evidence for ethnic or linguistic affinity.

3.2.9. Neusiok. The Neusiok lived on the tidal estuary of the Neuse River in eastern North Carolina. Their name is from Carolina Algonquian, recorded as “Newasiwac” by Thomas Hariot in 1585 (Quinn 1955, 1: plate 7); this means ‘people of *Newas*’, evidently a name for the Neuse River but probably a borrowing as it has no obvious Algonquian etymology. The Neusiok were sometimes grouped with the neighboring Coree (section 3.2.4) as the Neuse River Indians, but there is no reason to believe they spoke the same language. There is also no reason to accept Mooney’s speculation that the alliance of the Neusiok with Algonquian speakers can be taken to indicate that they “may have been Algonquian” (1894:7).

3.2.10. Pedee. The Pedee were presumably living on the Pee Dee River in eastern South Carolina in 1567 when they were referred to in Spanish as Vehidi (Hudson 1990:260). They were incorporated into the Catawbas after 1752 (McDowell 1958:85, 166, 362). “Neither river nor tribe [was] known” to the remaining Catawba speakers in the early twentieth century (Speck 1935:221).

3.2.11. Saluda. The Saluda (Saludee) were referred to as the Saruti by the Spaniards in 1567 (Hudson 1990:287), and their name is continued by the Saluda River in western South Carolina. A manuscript map of 1730 bears the annotation in this area that reads: “Salude town where a nation settled 35 years ago, removed 18 years ago to Conestogo in Pensilvania” (Swanton 1946:177). This town was on the south side of the Saluda River where the legend “Saluda Deserted” (“Saludee deserted”) appears on maps of about 1715 and about 1721 (Cumming 1998: plates 46A, 48A); the site was later known as Saluda Old Town. The residents of this eighteenth-century town may have been a passing band of Shawnees, as Swanton suggests, but they cannot be connected to the people who were in the area as early as Pardo’s day.³⁵

3.2.12. Santee. The Santee were living on the lower Santee River in South Carolina at the end of the seventeenth century. Given the information from Lawson (1709:23) that they were also called Seretee, they can be identified with the people the Spaniards called the Sarati in 1567 (Hudson 1990:261). In 1609, Francisco Fernández de Ecija referred in Spanish to the “Sati” language (Waddell 1980:230),³⁶ using what is evidently a spelling of the name *Santee*, and John Barnwell (1898:393) similarly called them “Sattees.” Santee (Sati, Sattee) is likely to be their own name, and Sarati (Seretee) must be their name in another language, presumably Catawban, which would have been spoken

further up the Catawba-Wateree-Santee river. The Santee joined the Catawba along with the Congaree in the winter of 1716–17 (Merrell 1989:105).

Lawson (1709:23) visited a Santee settlement of three houses that was “call’d in the *Indian Tongue*, *Hickerau*, by the *English Traders*, the *black House*,” which may or may not be a translation. Some Santee personal names recorded in 1746 contain the sounds [l] and [fr] (Speck 1935:220); if transcribed correctly, these cannot be Catawba, and, in fact, the names match no known language.

For the question of whether the Santee and Sewee languages were the same or different see section 3.2.14.

3.2.13. Saxapahaw. The Saxapahaw lived on the North Carolina Piedmont along the Haw River (which bears a shortened form of their name), where they were visited in 1701 by Lawson (1709:54), who called them Sissipahau. They joined the Catawba after serving with them against the Tuscarora under Col. John Barnwell (1898:394), who reported that they were “called by some Shacioes.” Because Barnwell’s letter survives only as a copy it is not possible to determine how he actually spelled this second name, but it may be what they called themselves in their own language.

Swanton wrote that “Barnwell says . . . that the Sissipahaw were the same tribe as the Shakori” (1936:375–76, cf. 378), but there is no justification for recasting Barnwell’s words this way, even with the added explanation that his purported statement actually means that the Saxapahaw were “a branch of” the Shoccoree. Swanton (1936:378), following Mooney (1894:64), also identified the coastal tribe called “Sauxpa or Sauapa” in the Pardo narratives with the Saxapahaw, thus evoking an early historic migration from the south, but “Sauxpa” (which Swanton arbitrarily selects as “the proper spelling”) is just a misreading in a nineteenth-century edition (B. Smith 1857:17) for the “Sauapa” of the short relation of Pardo’s notary, which is itself likely to be a miswriting of the “Sanapa” of the long relation (Hudson 1990:69, 75, 212, 260, 298, 302). Equations between partially resemblant names are shaky evidence for ethnic identity, and cases like these that turn out to involve errors of copying and reading show how easily this methodology can lead to false conclusions.

3.2.14. Sewee. The Sewee lived near Bull’s Bay on the South Carolina Coast, and Lawson (1709:10) met them on the lower Santee River. They are probably the people called Suye, Joye, and Xoye in Spanish accounts from 1564 and 1605 (Waddell 1980:287; Rudes, Blumer, and May 2004), and may also be the town of Soya whose chief met Pardo in 1567 (Hudson 1990:261). Waddell (1980:25, 33, 2004) concludes that the Sewee were not one of the local groups that spoke Cusabo; he implies that they spoke the same language as the Santee, but also finds evidence that the speech of these two groups was “dissimilar” in an observation about the linguistic diversity of small Indian peoples that Lawson

(1709:29) makes early in his journal, after he had encountered only the Sewee, Santee, and Congaree.³⁷

The Sewee were greatly reduced by disease, conflicts, and a disastrous attempt to sail canoes to England, and did not incorporate with the Catawba (Lawson 1709:10–12; Waddell 1980:297).

3.2.15. Shoccoree-Eno. The Shoccoree and Eno were living on the North Carolina Piedmont in 1654 (Francis Yeardley in Salley 1911:27–28), but they may have been recent arrivals in that area, as there were Shoccoree (“Schokkoorees”) oldfields south of Petersburg, Virginia (Salley 1911:18). When visited by Lederer in 1670, the Shoccoree were on the upper Eno River and the Eno were on the Flat River (Davis 2002:150). In 1701, the Shoccoree and Eno (who were “mixt with” each other) and “the Nation of *Adshusheer*” (otherwise unknown) were living together (Lawson 1709:56). Subsequently, they moved several times before eventually joining the Catawba (Merrell 1989:95; Davis 2002:153; Rudes, Blumer, and May 2004:302, 310). Lederer’s (1958:28) statement that the two groups “agree . . . in Customs and Manners” presumably applies to language as well. The Eno (“Eenó”) were included by Adair (1775:224) among the component groups of the Catawba that had a distinct “dialect.”

The only attested word of the Shoccoree-Eno language is ⟨Chenco⟩, which Lawson (1709:57) recorded as the name of the field game played with great “labor and violence” (Lederer 1958:27) using a discoidal stone. This is the source of *chunkey*, the English word for the game.

Swanton (1936:377–78) suggested that “the earliest form” of the name *Shoccoree* may be *Chicora*, the name of a province on the South Carolina coast visited by Spaniards in 1521, and from this he derives additional support for his hypothesis of a migration of the Shoccoree-Saxapahaw from there, at this point equating the two groups (cf. section 3.2.13). But there is no reason to think that such partial similarities of names require historical explanations.

3.2.16. Sugeree. Lawson (1709:43) in 1701 passed through “a great many Towns, and Settlements” belonging to “the *Sugeree Indians*” along the east side of the Catawba River in what is now northern Lancaster County, South Carolina. They were then located between the Catawba proper and the Esaw, and their last independent town was absorbed into the amalgamated Catawba remnant after 1759. Barnwell (1898:393) lists them as Sagarees in 1712, and they were also called Sugaws, Sugar, and Succa (Cumming 1998:263, plates 48A, 48E). Their name has been compared to that of the people called Suhere in the Spanish account of the Pardo expedition of 1567 (Hudson 1990:77, 188, 261; Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:422; Rudes, Blumer, and May 2004; Rudes 2004), but the English spellings appear to point to an English “short u” (as in *suck*) in the first syllable, rather than the vowel in the English word *sugar*, to which both versions of the name were evidently eventually assimilated.³⁸

3.2.17. Suteree. The Suteree were in the North Carolina foothills in 1673, apparently on the upper Yadkin River (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:81, 211). They joined the Catawbas before 1712. Their name has two variants: in information obtained at their original northern location they are called “Sitteree” (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:211), while in sources from the time after they had settled among the Catawba and others on the Catawba River they are referred to as “Suteree” (J. Barnwell 1898:393), “Sutarees” (J. W. Barnwell 1909: map preceding p. 33), “Sateree” (Cumming 1998: plate 48A), and “Sutaree” (Chatelain 1941: map 8). The variation between “i” and “u” or “a” in the spelling of the first syllable would conform to the dialectal variation between Saraw *i* and Esaw *a* (section 2.1.3). This suggests that the tribal name was a Catawban word and may indicate that the Suteree spoke a language similar to what was later known as Saraw.

3.2.18. Waccamaw. The Waccamaw were on the South Carolina coast early in the eighteenth-century and had joined the Catawba by 1727 (Taukchiray 1983:454A–454C), but stragglers and returnees were still in the lowcountry for another quarter century after that. The Waccamaw are first mentioned in 1712, and historians have suggested that they were actually the Woccon (section 2.1.3), having removed from North Carolina (Rights 1947:39; Lee 1963:47; Taukchiray 1983:410–35), although no primary source makes this equation.

3.2.19. Wateree-Chickanee. The Wateree lived on the Yadkin River in North Carolina in 1567 (Hudson 1990:91–94). Female chiefs of the Wateree (“Guatari”) and Chickanee (“Chiquini”) came to see Pardo together and declared that they had authority over thirty-nine caciques (Hudson 1990:93, 262–63). These two tribes were still living near each other and closely associated in 1701, when they were on the west side of the Catawba River near the site of Great Falls (Lawson 1709:30, 32; Rights 1947:74). Lawson (1709:32) refers to them as “the *Wateree Indians*,” a “Nation,” and calls those in the town he visited “the *Wateree Chickanee Indians*.” Presumably there was another town of the Wateree proper, since the Wateree and the (Wateree) Chickanee appear to have still had separate towns after the Yamasee War of 1715–16.³⁹ Perhaps the two sets of twenty-eight “Watterees” in different companies under Col. John Barnwell (1898:393) in 1712 were actually from these two towns; if the two towns had a moiety relationship, with institutionalized friendly rivalry, they may have wanted to fight separately.

Lawson (1709:32) says explicitly that the Congaree and the “Wateree Chickanee” spoke mutually unintelligible languages. Adair (1775:223) lists the Wateree first among the components of the Catawba that spoke “different dialects.”

3.2.20. Waxhaw. The Waxhaw lived on the Wateree River in eastern South Carolina. In 1701, Lawson (1709:33–40) found “several Towns” of theirs along

the trading path on the west side of the river in present-day Chester County.⁴⁰ The Waxhaw were reported to have been destroyed and dispersed by the Catawba in 1716, but the remnant apparently consolidated in a single town nearer the Catawba-Esaw, where there was still one Waxhaw town, at various locations, in later years (Baker 1974:43, 56; Merrell 1989:103, 199, 239; Cumming 1998:263).

The major town of “Gueça” visited by Pardo in 1567 seems likely to have borne one of the names of the Waxhaw (Swanton 1936:378; Hudson 1990:298, 302).⁴¹ Lawson (1709:33–40) refers to them as the “Waxsaws” until the point in his journal where he leaves their first town, when he calls them “Wisack Indians” and “Wisacks.” Lederer (1958:29–30) called them “Wisacky,” and they were likely the people called “Weesock” whose children the Tomahitan captured to keep as slaves (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:218).

Rudes (2004; Rudes, Blumer, and May 2004) suggests that the variant names of the Waxhaw reflect the two dialect forms of their Catawba name, Esaw *yɪ wátsa?* and Saraw *yɪ wi̇tsa?*, both meaning ‘people of the crest of hair’ (Young and Siebert 2003:272). It is unlikely, however, that Lederer and Lawson would have heard the Saraw dialect on the Catawba River in 1670 and 1701, and, in any case, these Catawba names are only etymological conjectures. The Waxhaw were not known to the modern Catawba under that name (Speck 1935:220). More probably the two early names recorded for the Waxhaw are simply what they were called in different languages.

The Waxhaws practiced head-flattening, and Lawson (1709:33) reports that they were “call’d by their Neighbours flat Heads.” They must have been the people explicitly reported by Speck (1935:219) to have been “known in Catawba tradition” as *yɪ hiskə pe·tē?hire* ‘people with flat heads’.⁴² This is thus a third name for them, suggesting that we have the names for them in three different languages. The term Flathead was used generically in both French and English documents for the southern tribes that were enemies of the Iroquois,⁴³ though its language of origin is not clear, but both Lawson and Speck clearly learned this as the name of one specific tribe.

3.2.21. Winyaw. The Winyaw were near Winyah Bay on the South Carolina coast. They are mentioned along with the Cape Fear, Pedee, Waccamaw, and “Waywees” (or “Waw-wei”) in 1717 (Taukchiray 1983:437–39), when they had their own “King.”

3.3. Georgia and Florida. Aside from the records of Timucua and Apalachee, which survive from Spanish missions, and the scraps of Calusa, no linguistic material remains to document the languages that were spoken from Florida to the high country of northern Georgia. In fact, there are few languages in this area that can even be named with confidence as having once existed, although many ethnic and local names were recorded and, in the case of a few groups, the identity or difference of their languages was noted. Escalante’s tantalizing list of

the caciques of Florida (Worth 1995a) is evidently arranged geographically and does not provide information about languages. That there was, however, great linguistic diversity in the southern half of the Florida peninsula is attested by the statement of the Jesuit Antonio Sedeño from 1570 that the thirty chieftainships that were tributaries to the Calusa spoke twenty-four languages (Hann 1991a:115 n. 13).

The Spaniards sometimes used the name Costas as an ethnic and linguistic label, but this was apparently a generic term for the unconverted people on what Bishop Calderón in 1675 called “the coast of the southern frontier.” He described this coast (*costa*), from the perspective of St. Augustine, as extending around the Florida peninsula from just south of the Timucuas on the Atlantic to a point north of Tampa Bay on the Gulf, including the Keys (Wenhold 1936:11). The people there were described as “13 tribes [*naciones*] of savage heathen Carib Indians” (Wenhold 1936:11, plate 8). The name Costas was applied in particular to people on the Gulf Coast, from Tampa Bay to the Keys (Hann 1991a:357–58).

3.3.1. Ais. The Ais were on the Atlantic Coast of Florida south of Cape Canaveral. To their south were the Guacata (Santalúces) between St. Lucie Inlet and Lake Okeechobee, the Jobe (Hobe) at Jupiter Inlet, and the Jeaga (Xega, Geigas) on Lake Worth. Escalante (1944:17, 70) reported that the language of Ais and Jeaga was not one of the four that he knew, and of a Spaniard who had been a captive among “the Indians of Ais, Guacata, and Jeaga” he wrote:

Don Pedro Vizcaíno has a very good knowledge of that language, of Ais and the other (places) named [viz., Guacata and Jeaga, which were to the south], and even as far as Mayaca and Mayajuaca, in the other direction toward the north. [Escalante 1944:18, retranslated]⁴⁴

The Mayaca were on the upper St. Johns River, but spoke a different language from that of their Timucua neighbors (Hann 1993a:118; Worth 1998, 1:22). The language of the Jororo, who were southwest of them, was the same (Hann 1989: 185; Worth 1998, 2:150). Taken together, these bits of information would indicate that closely similar forms of speech were spoken from Lake George to Lake Okeechobee and on the nearby coast as far south as present-day Boca Raton. Escalante lists the Jeaga and Ais in two different geographical groupings of the four that he distinguishes (Worth 1995a:342), but presumably this reflects the fact that the overlordship of the Calusa cacique extended only as far as the Guacata (Escalante 1944:13). Still, Calderón does name the Ais, Guacata, Jobe, and Jeaga separately as four of the thirteen nations he enumerates on the southern coast (Wenhold 1936:12).

It is not certain whether the Surruque on the coast north of Cape Canaveral should be included among the speakers of the Ais language.

3.3.2. Alafay. The Alafay were east of Tampa Bay in the seventeenth century, presumably on the Alafia River. In the previous century, this area was in the “kingdom” of Mocosó (Mocozo, Mogoso), where a language was spoken that was mutually unintelligible with that of the town of Uzita immediately to the south on the Little Manatee River (Escalante 1944:16, 70; Hudson 1997:82–83). The Alafay were hostile to the Tocobaga, a separate “kingdom” to the west and north. It would thus be reasonable to conclude that there were at least three substantially different languages spoken around Tampa Bay. A synonym, probably originally the name of a component group of the Alafay, was Pojoy (Pohoy), and these people are also referred to as Costas Alafayes⁴⁵ and Alafaya Costas after the dislocations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Hann 1989:198, 1991a:327, 358). In his list of the heathen nations of the coast, Bishop Calderón gives those on the Gulf as (in addition to the Calusa) the Baya Jondos, Cuchiagáros, Pojóyes, Piñeros, and Tocopácas (Wenhold 1936:12, plate 8).

3.3.3. Amacanos, Chines, and Pacaras. The Amacanos, Chines, and Pacaras were three small non-Apalachee peoples, presumably originally from west of the Chattahoochee-Apalachicola River, who lived together near the Apalachee missions from 1675 until the missions were destroyed in 1704 (Wenhold 1936:9). An account from 1674 states that these three groups spoke the same language (Worth 1998, 2:136; Hann 1995:61). Hann (1995) reviews the suggestions that they may have spoken Chacato, Yamasee, or Hitchiti, but there are no direct statements in the record regarding their external linguistic relationships, and none of these suggested links can be said to have more than a general geographical plausibility.

3.3.4. Chacato. The Chacato (Chatot, Chactoo) lived on the Gulf Coast of West Florida immediately west of the Apalachee and removed to Mobile, and then, after 1763, to Louisiana (Hann 1988:61–75; Waselkov and Gums 2000:30–31). John Sibley reported that they “have their own peculiar tongue” and also spoke Mobilian Jargon (1806:61), though he mistakenly made them natives of Louisiana. The same language was also spoken by the Okchai (Boyd 1937:25; Hann 1996a:134), who formed a town among the Upper Creeks (see section 3.4.2).

3.3.5. Guale. The Spaniards always spoke of the Guale language (“lengua de Guale,” “Iguaja,” “Ybaja”) as being entirely distinct from Timucua (Hann 1991a:361–62, 364–67, 1996a:125). It is also evident from evidence cited by Waddell (1980:23–24, 28, 106–7, 192) and Hann (1996a:125) that Guale was distinct from Cusabo, although it appears that some individuals of Escamacu, the southernmost Cusabo district, could speak Guale (Worth 1995b:25–26).

It is less certain how distinct Guale and Yamasee were. Usually the Spaniards named these as separate languages (e.g., Hann 1991a:361–62; Worth 1998, 2:150–52), but at least two documents appear to refer to Guale and Yamasee as

if they were the same language. A 1681 census of the Florida missions states that the Indians of Nuestra Señora de la Candelaria de la Tama speak the “Guale and Yamasee language [la lengua de Guale, y Yamassa]” (Worth 1998, 2:136; John E. Worth p.c. 2002). And a royal Spanish *cédula* of 1693 summarizes two letters sent by the governor of Florida in 1688 that reported that

the governors and Indians of San Jorge on the coast of those provinces [i.e., the English at Charlestown] have . . . made prisoners of some Christian and pagan Indians of the Yguala and Yamas language of the province of Guale [algunos In(d)ios Christianos, y Infieles, del ydioma Yguala y Yamas, de la Prov(inci)a de Guale]. [Worth 1995b:174; John E. Worth p.c. 2002]

These two documents are not conclusive, however. The census is known only from a copy, and the comma and awkward Spanish syntax could indicate that the mention of Yamasee was a later addition in the original. The *cédula* summarizes information at second hand and misspells *Yguaja* ‘Guale’ as *Yguala*. Thus, neither document contains a clear firsthand statement from a knowledgeable observer.

The Guale referred to the Cusabo by a word the Spaniards recorded as *chiluque* (Waddell 1980:23, 191; Worth 1995b:26). This word has reasonably been compared to Creek *čiló·kki* ‘Red Moiety’, which is used in expressions referring to speakers of a foreign language (see n. 5). From the fact that there was a word that was used in both Guale and Creek, however, it does not follow that Guale was a Muskogean language. There is every possibility, even likelihood, that this word was simply borrowed between languages, like the words pertaining to status that diffused widely in the Southeast (Hann 1992, 1994). In fact, *chiluque* was used at St. Augustine after 1723 for the Timucua-speaking Mocama (Hann 1991a:358–59). Although the reason for this usage is uncertain, it suggests that this word existed in Timucua as well, since it is even less clear what this word might have meant in Spanish.

The name Guale was a local place name on the coast, appearing in French as *Oade* (Laudonnière 1975:42, 220) and *Ouadé* (Laudonnière 1853:47). It is unlikely to have anything to do with the Hitchiti word ⟨waháli⟩ ‘south’ (Gatschet 1884–88, 2:178), cognate with the archaic Creek word *wahála* ‘south’ (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:417; cf. Swanton 1946:135), since, for one thing, it is never written in either French or Spanish sources in a way that would suggest a three-syllable pronunciation. Gatschet adds the information that the “original meaning” of this word was ‘downstream’, which is semantically reasonable but not especially helpful given the actual geography. Perhaps this was the opinion of George Washington Stidham, the Hitchiti speaker he worked with, but Gatschet’s reference to this meaning as “original” rather than additional might suggest that it was inferred rather than known from contemporary usage.

The Guale word for ‘high chief’ was ⟨micoo⟩, as written by Manrique de Rojas in 1564 (John E. Worth p.c. 2003), but the term *mico* was used, at a minimum, in

both Catawban-speaking and Muskogean-speaking areas (Hudson 1990:61–62; Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:415; Hann 1994:99–100), and its existence in Guale does not increase the likelihood that Guale was Muskogean, as Swanton (1922:15, 84) argued, given our general ignorance of the languages of the area.

3.3.6. Guazoco-Tocaste. As De Soto progressed northwards near and along the upper Withlacoochee River in 1539, he went through four towns: Guazoco, Luca, Vicela, and Tocaste (Hudson 1997:96–97; Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:259). These were the last people he encountered before entering the Timucua-speaking province of Ocale.

3.3.7. Matecumbe. Bishop Calderón listed the “Matacumbêses” as one of the thirteen heathen nations of the Florida coast (see section 3.3 above), evidently using this name for the people of the Florida Keys collectively (Wenhold 1936: 11–12, plate 8). Escalante gives ⟨guarungube⟩ and ⟨guarugunbe⁴⁶⟩ as the name of one of two major towns on the islands (Escalante 1944:66, 70, 73; Worth 1995a: 350), which is possibly the same word, and Matacumbe (Matecumbe, Matacombe) was used in 1575 and 1698 for a single island and the people there (Hann 1991a:185, 188, 192, 313).

3.3.8. Tequesta. The Tequesta (Tegesta, Vizcaynos) lived on the southern Atlantic Coast of Florida at the mouth of the Miami River and on Biscayne Bay (Wenhold 1936:12; Escalante 1944:13; Hann 1991a:220, 314). They were another one of Bishop Calderón’s thirteen heathen nations of the coast (Wenhold 1936:12).

3.3.9. Tocobaga. The Tocobaga (Tocopaca) were on the Gulf coast north of Tampa Bay. They were also one of the thirteen heathen nations of the coast named by Bishop Calderón, who placed them at the *Rio de los Tocopacas* (Wenhold 1936:11–12, plate 8), perhaps the Anclote River where Tarpon Springs is. The “king” of Tocobaga was called ⟨tocobaga chile⟩ (Escalante 1944:15, 69); presumably ⟨chile⟩ is a title equivalent to *mico* among groups further north (section 3.3.5).

3.3.10. Yamasee-Tuskegee. The Yamasee coalesced as a people on the northern edge of Spanish Florida between 1659 and 1663 and were eventually absorbed into the Spanish missions (Worth 2004). They came from the chiefdoms of east-central Georgia centered on the towns of Ichisi, Altamaha, and Ocute that were visited by De Soto in 1540 (Worth 2004; Hudson 1997:148, 157–65).

Hann (1992:202–3, 1994:100) has claimed that the Yamasee spoke Hitchiti on the basis of a report that a Yamasee spy sent to the Hitchiti-speaking town of Apalachocoli was not given away by his speech and could understand Hitchiti very well. The most obvious explanation for this claim is simply that the spy

volunteered or was chosen because of his knowledge of Hitchiti, but whatever evidence this incident may offer is decisively outweighed by the distinction consistently made between Yamasee and Hitchiti (“Uchise”) by Diego Peña, whose information on the languages of Apalachicola Province was obtained from local town chiefs in 1716 and 1717 (Boyd 1949:26, 1952:134; Hann 1996b; Worth 2000). The indirect evidence that might imply that the Yamasee spoke a language similar to Guale is inconclusive (section 3.3.6). Francis Le Jau’s statement from 1711 that Creek was understood by the Yamasee was offered in the context of a claim that Indians had two widely used lingua francas, Creek and Shawnee, and it cannot possibly be taken as a “statement about the linguistic affiliation of the Yemassee” (Waddell 1980:24, 371).

The specific source of the Spanish name for the Yamasee is unknown. It is found as the Spanish plural *yamasis* in 1663 (Worth 1995b:92, 94), and later as the singular *yamas* and in the plural either without inflection or as *yamases*, with various spellings (Worth 2004:253). This word is unlikely to be Creek *yamási* ‘tame’ (cf. Gatschet 1884–88, 1:64), given that the Spaniards had no known contact with the Creek language at the time, though it is conceivably a Guale word that was shared with Creek by borrowing or cognate relationship. There is no chance that the Spaniards would have acquired this name from the Catawba, and Siebert’s explanation of it as Catawba for ‘ancient people’ (Young and Siebert 2003:272) is a recent folk etymology. Speck gave the same explanation as an example of how “Muskogean names can be construed into meanings in Catawba without these, however, being in any way responsible for their origin” (1935:221). He added that the Yamasee were not known “even by name” to the Catawba speakers he worked with.

The Tuskegee (Creek *ta·skí·ki*) are first mentioned in a 1567 report by Pardo’s notary that in an area the expedition did not reach, probably on or near the Hiwassee River, there was a small village called Tasquiqui (Hudson 1990: 109, 303). In 1716 and 1717, when Tuskegee was a town among the Lower Creeks, Diego Peña was told by local town chiefs there that its language was Yamasee (Boyd 1949:26, 1952:134). The town later moved back among the Upper Creeks (Smith 2000:79). Peña’s information and the correct phonemic form of the Creek town name rule out the proposed etymology as Koasati **taskiki* ‘warriors’ (G. D. Kimball in Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:430, 439), which is apparently an hypothesized word in an otherwise undocumented dialect.⁴⁷

3.4. Creek Confederacy. The Creek Confederacy, which emerged after the upheavals and wars of the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, comprised numerous large and small peoples speaking many languages. Adair’s account of “the Muskohge Nation” gives a good sense of this diversity:

This nation is generally computed to consist of about 3500 men fit to bear arms; and has fifty towns, or villages. The principal are *Ok-whûs-ke*, *Ok-chai*, *Tuk-ke-bat-che*, *Tal-lâ-se*, *Kow-hé-tah*, and *Cha-hâh*. The nation consists of a mixture of several broken tribes, . . . Their former national names were *Ta-mé-tah*, *Tae-keo-ge* [read: *Tas-kee-ge*], *Ok-chai*, *Pak-ká-na*, *Wee-tam-ka*; with them also is one town of *Sha-wa-no*, and one of *Nah-chee* Indians; likewise two great towns of the *Koo-a-sâh-te*. The upper part of the Muskohge country is very hilly—the middle less so—the lower towns, level: These are settled by the remains of the *Oosécha*, *Okone*, and *Sawakola* nations. [Adair 1775:257]

In fact, only three of the six principal towns that Adair lists were originally Creek-speaking: Okfuskee (“Ok-whûs-ke”; Creek *akfáski*), Tallahassee (“Tal-lâ-se”; *'talahá·ssi*), and Coweta (“Kow-hé-tah”; *kawítâ*). Tukabahchee (“Tuk-ke-bat-che”) had a strong tradition of being of non-Creek origin (Swanton 1922:277–82; see section 3.4.7), and Chiaha (“Cha-hâh”; *či·yá·ha*), encountered on the upper Tennessee River in 1540 and 1567 (Hudson 1990:268–74, 1997:148, 199–203), was the principal Koasati-speaking town.⁴⁸ Okchai he himself lists among the included nations.

In another place Adair writes:

I am assured by a gentleman of character, who traded a long time near the late Alebahma garrison,^[49] that within six miles of it, live the remains of seven Indian nations, who usually conversed with each other^[50] in their own different dialects, though they understood the Muskohge language; but being naturalized, they were bound to observe the laws and customs of the main original body. These reduced, broken tribes, who have helped to multiply the Muskohge to a dangerous degree, have also a fixed oral tradition, that they formerly came from South-America . . . [Adair 1775:267]

In time, the languages of the Creek Confederacy with the fewest speakers mostly disappeared as their speakers switched to speaking Creek or, among the Lower Creeks, Hitchiti. The list that follows includes the towns for which there is evidence or testimony that they were not originally Creek-speaking, except for those reliably documented to have spoken known languages.

3.4.1. Chisca. The Chisca were in the Appalachian highlands in 1540 and 1567; they were north of the Koasati towns of the upper Tennessee River and evidently spoke a different language (Hudson 1990:26–29, 90, 314–15, 320, 1997:203; Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:89–91, 284; Worth in Goddard et al. 2004). Beck (1997:165–66) has proposed that they were in far southwestern Virginia on the South Fork of the Holston River, near present-day Saltville; this places them north of where earlier studies locate them. By 1624, they were living near the missions of Spanish Florida (Worth 1998, 2:18–21, 34–35, 208, 2001:52, 281–82 n. 27). Henry Woodward referred to them in 1674 as Chiskers (Cheves 1897:461 n. 1; Crane 1919:465). They were defeated and driven off by the Spaniards and their Apalachee allies in 1677 (Hann 1988:75–79, 1993b:

31–75), and after La Salle returned from his trip down the Mississippi in 1682, he was visited by Chisca (“Cisca”) refugees at the Illinois mission (Margry 1876–86, 2:196–97, 201). The remnant joined the Lower Creeks (Swanton 1922:308).

When some of the first Westo raiders were captured by the Spaniards in 1661, they were interviewed through Chisca interpreters (Hann 1988:77, 1996a:239; Worth 1995b:16). This fact does not, however, necessarily indicate that the native languages of the two groups were the same or closely related, which could be true only in the unlikely circumstance that a variety of Northern Iroquoian not too different from the Five Nations languages (as Erie must have been; n. 22) was spoken in the upper Tennessee Valley (where the Chisca were). It is much more likely that some of the warriors who ranged through the interior in the seventeenth century had acquired skills in a language other than their own.

The Chisca suffered the odd fate of disappearing from the roster of known ethnic groups in the Southeast by being conflated with the better known Yuchi in the writings of John Swanton and others who followed him (Hodge 1907–10, 2:936, 1003; Crane 1918:332 n. 1, Crane 1928; Hann 1988:76, 1996a:181, 238–40). This error stemmed from an interpretation of La Salle’s account of the defeat of the Chisca in what he understood to be “English Florida,” which Swanton (1919:214, 1922:290) thought could only be a reference to the Westo, who were also classed by him as Yuchis. Now that it is known that the Chisca defeat was in Spanish Florida, it seems obvious that La Salle simply misunderstood which kind of non-French Europeans the Chisca refugees were telling him about. In fact, thanks to the availability of much more extensive historical information, it is now clear that the Chisca, the Westo (see n. 22), and the Yuchi were three distinct displaced groups that arrived in the lower Southeast at different times: the Chisca are first noted in 1618, the Westo appeared on the scene in 1661, and groups of Yuchis began showing up shortly before 1707 (Crane 1918:334, 1919; Lamhattay in Waselkov 1989:316; Worth 1995b:15–17, 52 n. 15, 54 n. 44, 1998, 2:208 n. 48; Worth in Goddard et al. 2004).

3.4.2. Okchai. Adair (1775:257) gives the Okchai (Creek *okčá·yi*) as one of the foreign tribes incorporated into the Creek Confederacy (see section 3.4 above). Marcos Delgado visited the “Ogchay” in 1686 and reported that they were of the Chacato nation (Boyd 1937:25; see section 3.3.4 above), meaning that they spoke the same language.

3.4.3. Osochee. The Osochee (also Oswichee; Creek *o·sočí*; Calderón “Usachi”; Adair “Oosécha”) were given by Adair (1775:257) as the remnant of a separate “nation” among the Lower Creeks. In later years, they were speakers of Hitchiti (Swanton 1922:12).

3.4.4. Pakana. The Pakana (Calderón “Pacâni”; Delgado “Pagna”; Delisle “Pasquenan”; Adair “Pak-ká-na”; Sibley “Pacanas”) were one of the foreign

tribes incorporated into the Creek Confederacy (Adair 1775:257; see section 3.5 below),⁵¹ and Sibley (1806:59–60) says that “their own language differs from any other,” but that they also spoke Mobilian Jargon. Although they were associated with the Alabama, the language of the last speaker in Texas was not Alabama (Swanton 1922:274). They were among the towns in the Tawasa confederacy in 1675 (Calderón in Wenhold 1936:10) and are described in the reports of the 1686 expedition of Marcos Delgado as “a nation which fled from the interior to avoid the chata [i.e., Choctaw] with which they had much war” (Boyd 1937:15–16, 26).

3.4.5. Sawokli. The Sawokli lived on the Chattahoochee River, where they were drawn into the Spanish missions in the Apalachee country and later became part of the Lower Creeks (Hann 1988:62, 86–92). In later years, the Sawokli were known as Hitchiti speakers (Swanton 1922:12, 143, 172), and the name Sawokli (Creek *sawókli*) has a Hitchiti form,⁵² but Adair (1775:257) gives them as the “Sawakola,” the remnant of a separate “nation” among the Lower Creeks. The name Sawakola, matching Spanish Sabacola (Sabacôla) and Savacola (Boyd 1949:25, 1952:134; Wenhold 1936:8), cannot be Hitchiti (though it may be Apalachee [G. D. Kimball in Drechsel 1997:191]), and Diego Peña explicitly stated that they had a “distinct” language (i.e., not Hitchiti, Creek, Yuchi, or Yamasee), although they (that is, their leaders) also spoke Apalachee (Boyd 1949:26).

3.4.6. Tomahitan. In the eighteenth century, the Tomahitan (Mohetan; Tamé-tah) were the remnant of a separate “tribe” among the Creeks (Adair 1775: 257). Traders from Virginia first learned of their existence in the early 1670s, when they lived in the upper Tennessee Valley, perhaps in far eastern Tennessee (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:192–93, 211–13); abandoned village sites of theirs were further to the northeast, nearer to the Tutelo town. Their chief traveled a considerable distance on a friendly visit to the Monyton and stayed with the Tutelo on his way to Fort Henry, Virginia; these relationships raise the possibility that they were speakers of an Ohio Valley Siouan language.

Alvord and Bidgood thought that the Tomahitan were “identical with” the Cherokee (1912:78–89), and they consequently referred to them as the Cherokee in their editorial summary. Swanton (1922:184–91) concluded that *Tomahitan* (*Tamahita*) was one of the many names of the Yuchi. There is no evidence to support either of these identifications.

3.4.7. Tukabahchee. Tukabahchee (Adair “Tuk-ke-bat-che”; ‘*tokipáhči*’) was the leading town among the Upper Creeks, but a number of sources assert that it and its name were of non-Creek origin (Gatschet 1884–88, 1:147; Swanton 1922:277–82, 1946:197).⁵³ Its Creek ceremonial title is *ispokó·ki* (*spokó·ki*), a word with an intriguing resemblance to the name of the *kišpoko* division of the Shawnee, the plural of which is *kišpokó·ki* (Swanton 1922:277; A. S. Gatschet in

Hodge 1907–10, 1:704). The Tukabahchee had good relations with the Shawnee, and Swanton (1922:279) claimed that Gatschet reported a belief among them that they were of Shawnee origin; Gatschet's (1884–88, 1:147) account omits this detail, however, and Swanton later denied believing that the Tukabahchee "were originally Shawnee" (Swanton 1937:127–28) and did not repeat the citation of Gatschet (Swanton 1946:107). If the Tukabahchee did come from the Shawnee, it would have to have been by a movement earlier than the general diaspora of the Shawnee in the 1670s, as they had ostensibly already lost any such identity at the time of their earliest mention.

3.4.8. Wetumpka. The Upper Creek town Wetumpka (Adair "Wee-tam-ka"; Creek *oytómhká*) was the remnant of a separate "tribe" according to Adair (1775:257). Swanton (1922:206) thought they were affiliated with the Koasati.

3.5. Louisiana and Texas. When the French began the colonization of Louisiana and the nearby Gulf Coast of Mississippi and Alabama in 1699, they found a native population that was linguistically diverse. The French had little to say about this diversity, however, as they were able to communicate using the Mobilian Jargon, a pidginized form of Western Muskogean that was then already in use (Silverstein 1996:124–27; Drechsel 1997). Iberville obtained information on the peoples of the area from a Taensa who spoke Mobilian, and the names for the Taensa and Natchez towns and other groups that he wrote down are evidently those used in that idiom (McWilliams 1981:72–73). He was clearly referring to Mobilian when he reported that speakers of Natchesan, Tunican, and Muskogean languages and of Chitimacha, as well as the Houma and Bayogoula, all "speak the same language," adding that they and the Biloxi and Pascagoula "understand each other" (McWilliams 1981:79). This optimistic report of the ease of communication contrasts with the legend on the contemporary map drawn by Nicolas de Fer (1701): "all these nations are of different speech and hardly understand each other at all."⁵⁴ The authority behind this statement is clear from the obviously close relationship between the names on de Fer's map, as garbled as they are, and those in Iberville's 1699 report. In fact, given the resemblance of de Fer's interior hydrography to the style of Indian maps (Waselkov 1989), it seems likely that his map incorporates a version of the map the Taensa drew for Iberville, which does not otherwise survive.

Given the use of Mobilian Jargon by the small tribes along the lower Mississippi and the Gulf Coast to the east, and the fact that several of these tribes seemed to have names with evident or plausible Muskogean origins, Gatschet (1884–88, 1:52, 109–16, map facing p. 48) reached the conclusion that these groups were natively of Muskogean speech, referring to them as "Coast Cha'hta" (i.e., "Coast Choctaw"), and this conclusion was followed by Powell (1891b:170–71) and Swanton (1911:9, 29, 274–306). Once it is recognized, however, that the scant evidence for Western Muskogean speech from this area

is explained by the known use of Mobilian Jargon, nothing remains to support the notion that these small tribes spoke Muskogean languages of their own.⁵⁵ The same argument holds for the tribal names, which generally appear to be exonyms or nicknames and in several cases have proposed etymologies in Muskogean that are problematical or at the very least forced (n. 11; section 3.5.3). And, after all, it would be unparalleled for a relatively uniform language to be spoken over such a large area by so many culturally and politically diverse peoples.

The small tribes of the southeastern corner of Texas became of concern to Spanish authorities only in the 1740s, when Spain undertook to deal with real and imagined encroachments from French Louisiana. For a few years, the Spaniards engaged in ultimately unsuccessful efforts to remove these people into missions on the San Gabriel River. After the transfer of New Orleans and the French possessions west of the Mississippi to Spain in 1762, the Spaniards lost interest in the Indians of the area, who ultimately dispersed and were absorbed into other groups and remain very poorly known.

A letter sent to President Thomas Jefferson in 1805 by Dr. John Sibley (1806) is an important source of information on the languages of Louisiana and east Texas, including those of small tribes from the lands east of the Mississippi River that the English took control of in 1763. Sibley's information on the distinctness of languages was evidently obtained from local people. He later collected some vocabularies for Jefferson (Annie H. Abel in Sibley 1922:97–98), but all of these, except a copy of the Adai one, were lost when Jefferson's linguistic materials were seized and discarded by a thief while being transported back to Monticello from Washington at the end of Jefferson's second term (D. Jackson 1978, 2:465–66).

3.5.1. Akokisa. The Akokisa lived on Galveston Bay, though Sibley (1806: 51–52) says “their ancient town and principal place of residence” was on the west side of the Colorado River near Matagorda Bay. Although the Béranger vocabulary of Atakapa was ascribed to them by Swanton (Gatschet and Swanton 1932:2), there is no direct evidence that it represents their language (section 2.10 above). Sibley (1806:52) reported in 1805 that they “have a language peculiar to themselves,” but used sign language with others. He does not connect them with the Atakapa, who he erroneously says spoke the same language as the Karankawa (Sibley 1806:53, 60). Herbert E. Bolton found two Akokisa words in Spanish records: *⟨Yegsa⟩* ‘Spaniard(s)’ and *⟨Quiselpoo⟩*, a woman’s name (Swanton 1911:35–36).

3.5.2. Avoyel. The Avoyel were a small tribe on the lower Red River that had virtually disappeared by 1805 (Swanton 1911:24–26, 272–74; Sibley 1806:62). They were referred to as “the little Taensas” and reported to have lived with the Natchez and adopted some cultural traits from them (Pénigault in McWilliams

1953:147; Iberville in McWilliams 1981:122), but they appear to have been politically and culturally distinct from these Natchesan groups. It is possible that their name is from Natchez (as Swanton thought) or a related language (Geoffrey D. Kimball p.c. 2002). It would certainly not be surprising if they spoke a Natchesan language, but the evidence stops short of being conclusive.

3.5.3. Bayogoula. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Bayogoula lived on the west bank of the Mississippi above the entrance to the Bayou Lafourche. They joined the Colapissa and the Houma and lost their identity in that combined group. They were prominent speakers of Mobilian Jargon, to the extent that this was sometimes referred to as Bayogoula.

In their own language the Bayogoula expressed astonishment by the word *⟨Affero⟩* (La Rochefoucault de Surgères in Margry 1876–86, 4:260; Swanton 1911:276), which does not appear to be Muskogean or Natchesan.

The explanation of the name *Bayogoula* as Mobilian *bayok-okla* ‘bayou people’ (Le Page Du Pratz 1758, 2:240–241; Allen Wright in Gatschet 1884–88, 1:113) is a folk-etymology that assumes the persistent loss of a syllable.⁵⁶

3.5.4. Bidai. The Bidai lived on the Trinity River (Sjoberg 1951). Sibley reported that their “language differs from all other” (1806:51). A Texas rancher named Rufus Grimes sent his recollections of the language to Gatschet (Gatschet 1891:39, 84–84) in 1887; these comprise numbers from ‘one’ to ‘six’ that match no other language and the Mobilian Jargon words for ‘boy’ and ‘corn’ (Grant 1995; Drechsel 1997). Ker (1816:122) recorded their name for themselves as *⟨Quasmigdo⟩*. If these materials can be relied on at all, they appear to support the view that Bidai was a distinct language.

When the Franciscans set up the missions on the San Xavier River (now the San Gabriel) in East Texas in 1748–49, they followed the stated policy of consolidating tribes by language affiliation. Benito Fernández de Santa Ana founded the mission of San Ildefonso for the Bidai, Akokisa (Orcoquizas), and Deadose, after learning that they all spoke the same language and were intermarried (Bolton 1914a, 1:54, 1914b:374).⁵⁷ It is not possible to reconcile the discrepancy between Fernández’s information that the language of the Bidai and the Akokisa “was the same” and Sibley’s information that each of these tribes had a language different from all others.

The Patiri, a small group between the Bidai and the Akokisa (Sjoberg 1951:391–93), can reasonably be assumed to have spoken the language of one or both of their neighbors.

3.5.5. Eyeish. The Eyeish (Hais, Aliche, Aiche) lived west of the Sabine River. They were associated with the Caddo, but according to Sibley, although they spoke Caddo as a contact language, “their native language is spoken by no other

nation" (1806:51). Sibley recorded a vocabulary of Eyeish in 1807, which he sent to Jefferson (Sibley 1807, 1922:12), but it is now lost.

3.5.6. Houma. The Houma were found on the east bank of the Mississippi below the Natchez in 1682. They moved downstream and amalgamated with the Bayogoula and the Colapissa to form the Houma of later years. Sibley reported that the "few" Houmas remaining in 1805 "scarcely exist as a nation" (1806:62).

Swanton, in 1907, recorded a vocabulary from "an old Houma woman" (1911:9, 28–29) that is mostly some form of Western Muskogean. The woman no longer used the language, if she ever really had, and Swanton's discussion implies that the words and phrases he obtained were essentially all that her "defective memor[y]" could supply. This is presumably a sample of imperfectly recalled Mobilian Jargon (Crawford 1975:34; cf. Drechsel 1997:206 n. 2), the language the Tunica called *húma ?úlu* 'Houma's language' (Haas 1953:219), but the unidentified words it includes could be from other languages formerly spoken on the lower Mississippi. It attests (as ⟨es⟩-) a second singular pronominal prefix corresponding to Choctaw *is-*, which is also found (as ⟨ch⟩-) in the Mobilian of Le Page Du Pratz (Silverstein 1996:126; Drechsel 1996:323). This prefix is thus not evidence against Swanton's vocabulary being Mobilian, as Brown and Hardy (2000:540–41) claim, but its existence beside the use of independent pronouns in other sources does point to unsurprising variation among the last speakers. Unexplained features in this vocabulary that cannot be ascribed to the degradation typical in end-stage documentation may be evidence that bears on the question of the origin and history of Mobilian Jargon, but they do not require postulating the existence of another Western Muskogean language, as Brown and Hardy (2000) suggest.

3.5.7. Mobila. The small tribes on the lower Alabama River and the Mobile-Tensaw delta at the head of Mobile Bay were the Mobila, Naniaba, and Tohomé (Waselkov and Gums 2000:6–21; Lankford 2004). These were classified, under the name Mobile, as Muskogean speakers in Goddard (1996a), but more likely they were users of Mobilian Jargon rather than native speakers of Western Muskogean.

The name of the main village of the Mobila was reported as ⟨Yaguene Mingo⟩ and ⟨Iagame minco⟩, which Charles Levasseur translated "terre haute," 'high ground' (Crenay 1733; Villiers du Terrage 1922:131; Knight and Adams 1981: 182); this is plainly Mobilian Jargon *yakni miko*, literally, 'chief land'.⁵⁸ The term *mico* 'high chief' (Mobilian ⟨minco⟩, ⟨mingo⟩) was not used in this area for a political office, however, although the widespread Southeastern term *olahta* (Hann 1994:97–99) was used for 'sub-chief' (miscopted as ⟨outactas⟩, with French plural -s [Knight and Adams 1981:182]). Rather the man who was the chief over the five Mobila villages and the two leading chiefs of the Tohomé and

Naniaba were referred to as *⟨ougas⟩*, a word not otherwise found. Presumably *⟨ouga⟩* ‘high chief’ was from a local language.

3.5.8. Okelousa. The Okelousa were living west of the lower Mississippi River in 1682 and in the 1720s, after which they disappear. At different times they were associated with various other local groups, but there is no information on their language.

3.5.9. Opelousa. The Opelousa lived west of the lower Mississippi River in the eighteenth century, where they were associated at various times with the Chitimacha and the Atakapa. Sibley reported in 1805 that: “Their native language differs from all other [but they] understand Atakapa and speak French” (1806:60). There is no reason to question this information, and the classification of the Opelousa as Atakapans (Swanton 1911:9, 1946:169; in Hodge 1907–10, 2:140) is not based on any evidence that relates to their language.

3.5.10. Pascagoula. The Pascagoula were living on the Pascagoula River on the Gulf Coast of Mississippi in 1699. The Biloxi called them and their river Pascoboula (Iberville in McWilliams 1981:45, 47; Sauvole in Higginbotham 1969), but they are more generally known by their Mobilian Jargon name Pascagoula, which means ‘bread people’ (Le Page Du Pratz 1758, 1:41, 2:214).⁵⁹ In 1805, Sibley reported that they “speak Mobilian, but have a native language peculiar to themselves” (1806:60).

3.5.11. Pensacola. The Pensacola lived on Pensacola Bay at the western end of the Florida panhandle (Waselkov and Gums 2000:21–23; Lankford 2004). They apparently joined the Pascagoula in the eighteenth century and lost their separate identity.

3.5.12. Quinipissa. The Quinipissa were found by La Salle on the right bank of the lower Mississippi River in 1682. They and the closely associated Mougoulacha, with whom they amalgamated, apparently spoke the same language as the Bayogoula (La Rochefoucault de Surgères in Margry 1876–86, 4:262), but the Bayogoula massacred the other two groups, who were sharing their village, in 1700.

Notes

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Transcription. Italics are used for orthographies of Indian languages that are phonemic or taken as phonemic; bars (| ...) | delimit abstract, underlying forms; slashes (/.../) are used for morphemes and individual phonemes in phonemic or moderately abstract transcription (and for phonemic English); square brackets ([...]) indicate phonetic symbols used without regard to phonemic status; shallow-pointed brackets (<...>) enclose unedited transcriptions of the source.

The symbol 8 in historical French transcriptions stands for the *ou* digraph.

The phonemic transcriptions of Creek words and town names given in this article are from Martin and Mauldin (2000). Choctaw words with final glottal stop follow the analysis and transcription of George Aaron Broadwell.

1. The Southeast culture area is defined as in the *Handbook*, but, as with any culture area, the boundaries are ultimately arbitrary and other definitions have been proposed (Jackson and Fogelson 2004:3–7).

2. It may be more than a coincidence that the Spaniards were then passing through provinces called Cofa (Ocute) and Cofaqui. Actually, the expedition had first heard Cofitachequi called Yupaha, obviously its name in a different language (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:74; Hudson 1994:81).

3. For references to the descriptive literature on these languages, see Martin (2004) and Sturtevant (2005). The tribal chapters in Fogelson (2004) give the etymology of the name and a synopsis of the phonological transcription of the language.

The term “language family” is used as in Goddard (1996a, 1996b) to include families containing a single language, which are sometimes distinguished as isolates.

4. The Roanoke River is commonly known as the Staunton (/stæntən/) along its middle course, from the present John H. Kerr Reservoir, at the mouth of the Dan River, upstream to the mouth of Back Creek, southeast of the city of Roanoke. A 1959 decision of the United States Board on Geographic Names authorized this alternate usage.

5. This name (cf. Creek *čalá·kki* ‘Cherokee’) is not the same as Creek *čiló·kki* ‘Red Moiety’ (*čilo·kkítá* ‘to speak a different language’; *čilo·khó·ka*, *čilo·kho·kálki* ‘those who speak a different language’), as Swanton (1946:46, 217) thought. These words are consistently distinguished in Mary R. Haas’s manuscript materials (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:442 n. 20) and in Martin and Mauldin (2000:11, 17). Given the data that they cite, it is not clear why Booker, Hudson, and Rankin (1992:424) discuss Swanton’s erroneous equation of these words as if it might be correct.

6. The Province of Tawasa is described as located about thirty leagues in a direction between northwest and west (“entre el Norueste y hueste”) from (the northernmost towns of) the Province of Apalachicola, which would have been on the Chattahoochee River in the area of present-day Columbus, Georgia. The translation “Between the northeast and [north]west” (Wenhold 1936:10; brackets in original) is in error. (In quotations of early Spanish manuscripts in this article abbreviations are expanded in parentheses.)

7. Peter P. Pitchlynn and other educated speakers of Choctaw were able to match many of the words and names from Florida to words and phrases in their language (see B. Smith’s notes in Escalante 1944, esp. p. 47 n. 22S), but this merely demonstrates the complete unreliability of superficial resemblances of this kind as guides to actual linguistic relationship, and Swanton’s remarks in support of Smith (in Escalante 1944:41–42 n. 13Sw) show the false confidence that can be engendered by the discovery of such apparent lexical matches.

8. *Uchi* was still their name in Spanish in 1716 and 1717, when they were among the Lower Creeks (Diego Peña, in Boyd 1949:25, 1952:134); this reading was kindly confirmed by John E. Worth (p.c. 2002). For the occurrence of this name without an indication of the initial /y/, see Goddard and Martin (2004). With no explanation, Booker, Hudson, and Rankin (1992:439) identify the Uchi (Huchi) of the Pardo accounts as “Muskogean?”

9. I recorded the Shawnee name from Arthur Williams in 1964; the plural form “tahogaliiki” (Erminie Wheeler-Voegelin in Bauxar 1957:445) reflects the regular but nonphonemic raising of *e* nearly to *i* before word-final *-ki*. This name is first attested in 1691 as “Attoho Kolegey” (Crane 1918:334; cf. Cheves 1897:460 n. 2).

10. Powell’s spelling “Natchesan” conveniently labels the linguistic grouping, as distinct from “Natchezan,” which has been widely used as an archeological term.

11. The spelling Acolapissa, which has no support in the primary sources, was apparently devised by Gatschet (1884–88, 1:112) to partially conform to the Mobilian folk-etymology of Le Page Du Pratz (1758, 2:219) as “Aquelou-pissas” (as if pidgin Choctaw *hakloh-pisah* ‘hear-see’) and a different Choctaw folk-etymology offered by Allen Wright (as if Choctaw *oklah-písá?* ‘the ones who see people’) (Choctaw phonemicizations from George Aaron Broadwell p.c. 2002).

12. The reading Ouilchil was confirmed by autopsy of the early manuscript copy of Pénigault’s memoir in the Library of Congress (McWilliams 1953:258), which has Oüilchil; the reading Oulchil (Margry 1876–86, 5:464) must be an error induced by the other name.

A band of Natchitoches lived among the Colapissa between 1702 and 1714 (Goins and Caldwell 1995: map 20).

13. Natchez /L/ is a voiceless lateral ([ɬ]); Natchez /s/ was generally retroflexed and hence recorded as both [s] and [ʂ] (Mary L. Haas cited by Robert L. Rankin p.c. 2004).

14. Sibley sent “Vocabularies of the Adaize & Aiche Languages” to Thomas Jefferson on 17 September 1807 (Sibley 1807), but he does not report obtaining an Adai vocabulary in his journal for 1807 (Sibley 1922).

15. I give only the names that are pertinent in the discussions below. For the locations of these towns, see Bushnell (1930, 1935).

16. Lederer was a German physician whose book was translated from notes written in Latin. His spelling of Indian words and names seems to combine German, Latin, and English letter values. His guide was a Susquehannock, but most of the Indian words he gives are Virginia Algonquian (Feest 1975), which was spoken in the Pamunkey village near Fort Henry (Petersburg, Virginia), the jumping-off point for travel into the interior, and may have been used as a lingua franca.

17. Lederer was told by “their Priests” that the town Monakin (Monacan) took its name from Monack, the name of its legendary founder (Lederer 1958:20). One has to wonder if the old Southern English word *monack* ‘woodchuck’ (Friederici 1960:425–26) played a role in this odd statement.

18. The morphology and the sound correspondences between the languages are completely regular. This Northern Unami name was borrowed into local German as *Lecha*, the proximate source of English *Lehigh*.

19. The pidgin word *tanx* ‘little’ is also attested in the ethnic names Tanx Powhatan, Tanx Weanock, and Tanx Wighcocomoco; it reflects a Virginia Algonquian verb stem /tank(ə)si-/ ‘(animate) to be small’, but could not have been used in this shortened and uninflected form in the real language.

Nitania may perhaps be compared to Lederer’s otherwise unidentified “Nuntaneuck, alias Nuntaly” (see section 3.1 above), called “Nuntaniekes” in his 1671 commission as an Indian trader from the Governor of Maryland (Lederer 1958:99). The longer variants of this name include the Algonquian animate plural suffix /-ak/, with and without English plural *-s*.

20. Apparently “Nessoneicks” is an Algonquian borrowing ending in [-iak] (with animate plural /-ak/), to which the English plural *-s* has been added. Lederer’s 1671 commission has “Naasones” (Nahyssan) and “Askeneethes” (Occaneechi), but not Saponi (Lederer 1958:99).

21. Among other variants with medial “h” this also appears at least twice as “Hanathaskies” (Alvord and Bidgood 1912:185, 193, 195), the -s being the English plural.

22. In South Carolina, “Mawhawkes” were reported to be allies of the Westos in 1693 (Crane 1918:336), and marauders on the North Carolina Piedmont in 1713 were referred to as “Mohacks and other Northern Indians” (Spotswood in Brock 1882–85, 2:25). The Westo were Eries, Northern Iroquoians who had been driven from their homes south of Lake Erie by Five Nations Iroquois (Crane 1918; Hoffman 1964; Worth 1995b:15–18; Greene 1998; Bowne 2000).

23. The catchword “Charàh” at the bottom of p. 224 is followed by the incomplete name “wah” at the top of p. 225, which starts a new eight-page signature. Although this sort of printer’s error is very unusual for such a well printed book, the most likely explanation for the discrepancy is that an entire line of type was lost after being set at the top of p. 225. This dropped line must have begun with the name “Charàh” and ended with the first part of the name that ended with “wah”; in addition, it could have accommodated about six additional names, if there were no interlarded comments. The reprint omits “Charàh” and creates a name “Chewah” that is not in the original (Williams 1930: 236).

The groups named by Adair that are not discussed here are the Chowan (Carolina Algonquian), the “Nachee” (Natchez), and the “Coosah” (presumably the Kussah, a Cusabo group).

24. In the accounts of the De Soto expedition from 1540, Joara is called Xuala (Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:168, 231, 281), and in the records of the Pardo expedition of 1567, it is called Joara, Joada, and Juada (Hudson 1990:277, 265, 315). The initial orthographic ⟨x⟩ or ⟨j⟩ spells a phonetic [š] or [ž] (Robert L. Rankin p.c. 2004), which could have been a dialectal pronunciation of Catawba /s/ (Rudes 2003:237–40). Ysa is referred to at least twice each as Ysa, Ysaa, and Yssa, and once as Ytaa, evidently a miswriting (Hudson 1990:260, 264, 264, 277, 281, 302, 311).

25. Elsewhere Lederer (1958:28) gives “Suala” as the Spanish name for the mountains. By Ockham’s razor, his Warrennuncock dialect must be Cherokee, the only language known to call the Saraw “Sualy.” Perhaps the first part of “Warrennuncock” is Virginia Algonquian ⟨woor⟩ (i.e., phonemic *wə·r*) ‘hole’ (Strachey 1953:188) in the sense of ‘cave’, with the same allusion as in the Northern Iroquoian names for the Cherokee, such as Mohawk *oyataʔkehró·nq?*, lit., ‘people of the cave place’ (Marianne Mithun p.c. 2003). The rest of this name would not, however, make a reasonable Algonquian word without emendation, for example, to *⟨Warrerunnock⟩ or the like (with Eastern Algonquian *-iɾənəw ‘person’, *-ak animate plural), which would be the usual way to say ‘cave people’ as a group designation.

26. Given the conceded inauthenticity of his own suggested etymologies (see below), it seems rather disingenuous of Speck to criticize Gatschet for presenting interpretations of “geographical terms [that] are no more than analytical renderings, derived from linguistic material, not from the current traditional memories of the tribes in question among the Catawba informants” (1935:223).

27. Speck worked with Susan Harris Owl (b. ca. 1847), Margaret Wiley Brown (b. ca. 1837), and Margaret Brown’s daughter Sally Brown Gordon (b. 1873) (Speck 1934:xi). Siebert worked with Sally Gordon and Robert Lee Harris (b. ca. 1867 [Taukchiray 1996]).

28. Presumably “anb” and “amb” on these maps are copyists’ errors for *aub* and *awb* and not evidence for prenasalization of the stop.

29. There were some differences in the use of verbal modes between the last speakers of Esaw and Saraw (Blair A. Rudes p.c. 2004). Booker, Hudson, and Rankin (1992: 422–25) conclude that Joara spoke a distinct language (“Joaran”) that was not definitely Catawban. Their denial that Joara could be the same as Saraw is based on the

erroneous equation of Saraw with Cheraw, which was indeed originally distinct (see section 3.2.3).

30. Other spellings are "Nawsaw" (Milling 1940:247 n. 65), "Nassau" (Cumming 1998:263), and "Nauvasa" (Byrd 1929:300). English speakers would not be expected to handle the nasalized high front vowel very well, and the "v" cannot be right on any account, since no [v] or [f] exists in Catawba. For another name from this period that may contain Esaw *ni* 'man', see n. 31.

31. A case in point is the 1721 Catawba deerskin map (Cumming 1998: plate 48E), which shows groups whose names were obtained as "Nustie," "Wasmisa," "Wiapie," and "Youchine," all but the last of which are confirmed elsewhere (Waselkov 1989:321–23), but at the same time lacks the familiar names of several component groups that were still extant: the Shoccoree-Eno (see n. 38), perhaps amalgamated as Eno (section 3.2); the separate town of Catawba; the Congaree, still identifiable in 1743 (section 3.2); the Waxhaw, shown on the Barnwell-Hammerton map of 1721 (Cumming 1998: plate 48A); and the Keyauwee and Pedee, still named on the Moseley map of 1733 (Cumming 1998: plate 50A). Presumably some of the latter are included among the former.

For example, the "Wasmisa," called Wassamèsâh by Adair (1775:57), may be the remnant of the Waxhaw, though the element ("–misa," "–mèsâh") ostensibly suffixed to their name is unidentified.

The town "Nustie," elsewhere "Neustee" (Waselkov 1989:321, 323) and "Noostee" (John Evans map in Merrell 1989:163), is between Esaw ("Nasaw") and the Cherokees, the same relative position as that of the town of Catawba ("Cuttanbas") on an anonymous map of ca. 1715 (Cumming 1998: plate 46A). If the first element in this name is Esaw *ni* 'man', the second element may be the early Catawba tribal name Ushery (Lederer 1958:30; Byrd 1901:237, 1929:300), in Spanish "Uchiri" (Hudson 1990:264; Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:445 n. 52), on the reasonable assumption that a sequence that could be heard as [š(ə)r] could also be perceived as [st].

32. Before these dislocations the Congaree are known to have been in only one location, at or near the site of the later English fort and trading post that was "at Congarees" between 1718 and 1722 (Lawson 1709: map after p. 59; J. W. Barnwell 1909: map before p. 33; Cumming 1998: plate 46A; Rights 1947:73; J. H. Logan in Brown 1966:90; South 1972:37; Merrell 1989:96). This must have been their location in 1691, when they were first mentioned in a South Carolina law regulating trade with the Indians, which prohibited travel "to the northward or westward of the Congaree Indians houses" (Vaughan and Rosen 1998:113). The ban on going north of the Congarees was obviously to curtail trade with the Catawba River tribes, and the ban on going beyond the Congarees to the west could only have been to restrict trade with the Cherokees. But the prohibition on traveling west of the Congarees only makes sense if they were then at the western edge of the area where travel was permitted and on the route from Charleston to the Cherokees, where they were later (cf. Crane 1929:129, 188, 326). The wording of the 1691 law thus argues against any hypothesis that in Lawson's day and earlier the Congaree were east of the upper Santee River (Mooney 1894:80) or even east of the Wateree River in the Camden area (Baker 1974, 1975). The placement of the Congarees east of the Wateree-Santee river appears to depend crucially on the "eastern route" interpretation of Lawson's travels, which is not tenable (see n. 40).

33. "Cwareuuoc" on Theodore de Bry's engraving of John White's map probably copies a recording by Thomas Hariot as *⟨Cwarewoc⟩ or *⟨Cwarewac⟩ (cf. his name for the Neuse, section 3.2.9). I assume this spells [kwa·ri·wak]; [-i-w] is an Algonquian suffix that derives ethnic names from Algonquian or borrowed place names, and [-ak] is the animate plural inflection. I do not know if there is early authority for the two-syllable form "Coree" (Hodge 1907–10, 1:349); in modern place names (e.g., Core Sound), the name is locally pronounced as a monosyllable.

34. The spellings in the Spanish sources vary; Swanton reconstructs the list of provinces as having Huaque and Pahoc or Pahor, but the most un-Spanish renderings are the most likely on the principle of textual criticism that the *lectio difficilior* ('most difficult reading') is to be preferred.

35. Likewise, Mooney had suggested that the Saluda "may have been identical with the Assiwikale" (1894:83), that is, the *θawikila*, a band of Shawnee. The words Swanton quotes are apparently an edited transcript of the original map in the Library of Congress; the published facsimile is a zinc etching made from an imperfectly "touch[ed] up" photograph (Salley 1917).

36. Ecija's mention of "the town of Hati" in 1605 is assumed to have "Hati" mis-copied for "Sati" (Waddell 1980:227).

37. "Altho' their Tribes or Nations border one upon another, yet you may discern as great an Alteration in their Features and Dispositions, as you can in their Speech, which generally proves quite different from each other, though their Nations be not above 10 or 20 Miles in Distance" (Lawson 1709:29). This accords with the view he had earlier recorded from French Huguenot settlers on the Santee River that his party was going through "a Country inhabited by none but Savages, and them of so different Nations and Tongues" (Lawson 1709:15).

38. Earlier the name of the creek "was pronounced Sugaw or Soogaw" (Foote 1846: 189).

I do not know the basis for the suggestion that the Shoccoree are the same as the Succa, while the Sugeree are the same as the Suteree (Waselkov 1989:323). John Barnwell lists separately the "Sagarees" (who must be the abundant Sugerees of Lawson) and the "Suterees" (1898:393). A simple equation of the Shoccoree and the Sugeree would be refuted by the text of Lawson, who met these groups under different names and in different places in 1701 (cf. Mooney 1894:62, 74). Speck made the more complex suggestion that the Shoccoree and the Sugeree were "two branches of the same people" (1935:219), but there seems to be nothing that requires this hypothesis, which is at odds with what little we think we know of the affiliation of these groups.

The Catawba name for Sugar Creek (n. 42) contains the root *sikiri-* 'bad, nasty, spoiled, stingy, ugly' (phonemicization from B. A. Rudes p.c. 2004), but whether this element was present in the corresponding tribal name is uncertain, since the name that Speck (1935:218–19) gives is an elicited construct that cannot be reconciled with two-syllable variants like *Succa*.

39. An anonymous schematic map of "The Road to the Cuttauboes" (dated to about 1750, but more likely made soon after the establishment in 1717–18 of the two English trading factories that are connected by the road depicted) shows "Wateree Towne" (apparently on lower Twelve Mile Creek in Lancaster County), "Waterree Chickens" (also east of the Catawba River, but further south), and "Waterree Old town" (west of the river, apparently near the mouth of Rocky Creek and the site of Great Falls in southeastern Chester County) (Cumming 1998:263; Hulbert 1914–16: plates 25–26; Merrell 1989:127). (A sketch of this map, with inaccurate transcriptions of the names, is in Brown [1966: after p. 32].) "Waterree Old town" must have been very close to the town visited by Lawson, if not identical to it.

40. Lawson passed through the Waxhaw towns before fording the Catawba River on 22 January from west to east by the Landsford Shoals crossing, south of Culp Island and Waxhaw Creek, and was soon among the Esaw towns. He says that he thought this exceptionally wide river was "one of the Branches of *Winjaw* River" (Lawson 1709:42), that is, the Pee Dee River (flowing into Winyah Bay), which he knew to be to the east of the Santee River, on which he had begun his northward journey. (His map links the river that the Esaw were on to one even further east.) He could only have believed that he had crossed a river that had always been to his east if he crossed it from the west. His

identification of the wide river he forded, though erroneous, thus rules out the “eastern route” that some scholars have suggested he took, which would have him staying to the east of the Catawba-Wateree River and crossing Twelvemile Creek or Sugar Creek from east to west on the twenty-second (Brown 1966:98; Baker 1974, appendix 2:3, 17, and fig. 2). Lawson’s statement reflects the fact that he did not know there was a northern affluent of the Santee River (the Wateree). This is reasonable given that he must have gone up the upper Santee and the Congaree on the west (or south) side, where the trading path was (J. W. Barnwell 1909:34–35, map before p. 33; Salley 1917; Myer 1928: plate 15; Crane 1928:326). Lawson’s map, far from being “of little use in tracing Lawson’s route” (Baker 1974, appendix 2:2), portrays his conception of the hydrography and supports the evidence from his journals that he took the “western route” from the Congarees to the towns on the Catawba River.

41. In the long relation of Pardo’s notary, the name is written without the cedilla (Hudson 1990:214, 262). Spanish ⟨c⟩ at this date spelled [ts] or [s] (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:413). The use of ⟨gu⟩ before ⟨e⟩ to spell [w] is unusual, but probably not fatal to the identification; it may reflect a “dialectal tendency in Spanish to replace [we] by [gwe]” (Robert L. Rankin p.c. 2004).

Hudson (1990:34) locates Gueça in Lancaster County, where the tribal name is perpetuated today in local names, but these place names derive from the presence of the Waxhaw remnant in that area after 1716.

42. I am indebted to Blair A. Rudes (p.c. 2004) for this phonemicization of Speck’s [yɛ hiskə’pete’h̥ere]; the elements in the name are ‘people’, ‘his (her) head’, ‘flat’, and suffixes for third-person singular indicative. These people were said to live [iswə”sigri:tək] “across Sugeree, or spoiled, River” (i.e., Sugar Creek); this corresponds to the location of the last Waxhaw village downstream from the mouth of Sugar Creek (Merrell 1989:199, 239).

43. English documents from 1714 and 1720 describe the Flatheads as subjects of Carolina and as enemies of the Wea and give as a synonym (“in Indian”) Oyadagah-roenes and Ojadagochroene (O’Callaghan 1853–87, 5:386, 5:567), the Mohawk name for the Cherokees (see n. 25). A French document of 1736 says that the Cherokees, Chickasaws, and “Totiris” (here probably the Catawbas) are “included under the name of Flatheads by the Iroquois” (O’Callaghan 1853–87, 9:1052). A French document of 1742 cites the Governor of New York as referring to “the Flatheads, the Cherakis and Chicachas” (O’Callaghan 1853–87, 9:1092). More commonly, it was the Choctaw that the French called ‘flatheads’ (*Indiens à tête plate* or *Têtes-plates*).

44. The Spanish is: “don p(edr)o biscaino sabe muy bien esta lengua de ais y los demas nonbrados / y aun hasta mayaca y mayajuaca des otra parte del norte” (Escalante 1944:71). The edition translates this inaccurately as: “He understands well the language of Ais, and the languages of the other places mentioned, which are spoken as far as Mayaca and Mayajuaca, places toward the north” (Escalante 1944:18). This is miscopied in Hann (1991b:166).

45. This is the “[cortas] ALAFAYES” of Boyd (1949:26).

46. The translation prints the two variant forms as Guarugunbe, Guarungunve, and Guaragunbe (Escalante 1944:11, 17, 21).

47. Although *taskiki and its singular *taski are given without asterisks, they are evidently forms reconstituted for Koasati on the basis of place names and comparative evidence. Kimball’s (1994:115) dictionary has only the standard (though archaic) Koasati word *kaski* ‘warrior’. A connection between the apparent Yamasee town name *ta·ski·ki* and the Muskogean words for ‘warrior’ is conceivable, but would require additional assumptions.

48. The accounts of the Pardo expedition report that the town “Chiaha” was also called “Olameco” (“Olamico,” “Lameco”), and they also apply this name to the cacique

there (Hudson 1990:252 n. 29, 268–69, 272, 274, 314–15); this is plainly Koasati *ó·la mikkó* ‘chief town’ (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:427, 443 n. 24; Kimball 1994). Note, however, that the correct shape of the presumably Koasati name Chiaha (also found in two of the De Soto accounts, beside Chyha and Ychiaha in two others [Clayton, Knight, and Moore 1993, 1:87, 232, 282, 2:317]) is now established by the Creek borrowing *či·yá·ha* (Martin and Mauldin 2000:167); this name thus cannot be equated to Koasati *čayhá* ‘high, tall, elevated’ (Booker, Hudson, and Rankin 1992:426), which has a meaning that, in any event, is not particularly plausible for the name of a town on an island. This town name is simply one of many with no etymology.

49. The French Fort Toulouse near the confluence of the Coosa and Talapoosa rivers, where the Alabama River begins, north of present-day Montgomery.

50. “Who . . . conversed with each other” must mean ‘the members of each of which conversed among themselves’.

51. The spellings with the second vowel weakened or absent (Delgado in Boyd 1937:15, 26; Delisle 1701) point to a shape different from the pronunciation in Creek, which was assimilated to Creek *paká·na* ‘peach’.

52. This name resembles the Hitchiti for ‘raccoon town’ (Swanton 1946:218)—cf. Hitchiti *sa·wi* ‘raccoon’, *okli* ‘town’—except that the first element has a short vowel, like Choctaw-Chickasaw *šawi?* ‘raccoon’.

53. The name appears in Spanish sources as Tiquipachi (Calderón in Wenhold 1936:10) and Tiquipache (Delgado in Boyd 1937:16).

54. “Toutes ces Nations ont un langages different et ne s’entendent presque point.” De Fer produced a series of similar maps, all with similar oddities of French grammar.

55. Drechsel reaches the same conclusion but from the perspective of an argument that Mobilian Jargon was of “pre-European origin” (1997:276–77). This argument is neither necessary nor well supported and appears to be based, in the final analysis, on an *a priori* assumption that a native-based contact language could not have arisen in the early years of European presence (Drechsel 1997:281–82). This tendentious and at bottom ideological preconception is refuted by several well-understood examples (Thomason 1996), including Pidgin Delaware and other East Coast Algonquian pidgins (Goddard 2000) and Chinook Jargon (Silverstein 1996:127–28; Hajda 2001).

56. Le Page, who spoke Mobilian, gives the name analytically as “Bayouc-Ogoulas,” and Gatschet says that “the full form of the tribal name is Bayuk-ókla.” (For the general problem of the spuriousness of folk-etymological rewritings claimed as the “full form” or “primary form” in the analysis of tribal names, see Goddard 1984:97.) The second element in this and other Mobilian names is *(Ogoula)* “Nation” (Le Page Du Pratz 1758, 2:214), from Choctaw *oklah* ‘people, tribe, nation’; this and Chickasaw *okla* ‘town’ are often pronounced with a prominent anaptyctic [o] between the stop and the liquid (Pamela Munro p.c. 2004). There is no evidence for Alabama *ó·la* (Koasati *ó·la*) ‘town’ in the early French sources on Mobilian; its attestation from non-speakers in the twentieth century as a word for ‘people’ (Drechsel 1996:302) reflects a mixed recollection of latter-day Louisiana languages, which included Koasati. French *bayou* is a development from earlier French *bayouc*, *bayouque* (from Mobilian and Choctaw *bayok*; see section 3.2.6) within French (Friederici 1960:84; Drechsel 1996:267); it does not point to a Mobilian form without *-k*.

57. The San Ildefonso mission was on the south bank of the San Gabriel River just upstream from the mouth of Brushy Creek, about five miles west of present-day Rockdale in Milam County (Bolton 1914b:373, map facing p. 324); the location on the map in Fogelson (2004:660) is incorrect.

58. In accordance with regular Muskogean word order, the second word is used attributively, modifying the first (Jack B. Martin p.c. 2001). The construction is the same as in the Koasati town name Olameco (n. 48). *<iagame>* is a copyist’s error for **(Iagane)*

(or *(*Iagané*)). The translation ‘chief’s land’ (Knight and Adams 1981:182) is not correct.

59. Le Page rewrites the name as *⟨Pasca-Ogoulas⟩* and *⟨Pachca-Ogoulas⟩* (with French *-s*), “que les François nomment Pascagoulas.” An alternative analysis of this name as *paska-k o’la* suggested by Robert L. Rankin (p.c. 2004) assumes a nominal suffix /-k/ and a second element like Alabama *o’la* ‘town’, neither of which have been documented for Mobilian or for any Western Muskogean language (n. 56). In fact, /-k/ is not used in noun compounds like this in Alabama, either (Heather K. Hardy p.c. 2005), and no tribal names of this proposed structure are citable from Alabama-Koasati.

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