

# **Southeastern Languages**

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Until the nineteenth century, no area of North America but the far west was as diverse linguistically as the Southeast. Spanning the central region from present Mississippi to Georgia were at least seven Muskogean languages, with Choctaw in the west and Creek in the east. In the north and in the west were Cherokee and Caddo, southern representatives of the Iroquoian and Caddoan families, respectively. The Timucuan languages Tawasa and Timucua reached into Florida, and four Siouan-Catawba languages were scattered in Mississippi, Tennessee, and the Carolinas.<sup>1</sup> These five language families were accompanied by five language isolates (languages without close relatives) and one contact jargon (Table 1). In addition, several dozen groups spoke languages that were never sufficiently documented to classify (Table 2).<sup>2</sup> At the dawn of the twenty-first century, ten native southeastern languages were spoken and two of these (Choctaw and Mikasuki) still had sizable numbers of children learning them.

Surveys of southeastern languages include Mary R. Haas (1971, 1973, 1979a), James M. Crawford (1975), and Karen M. Booker (1991:ix-xiv). Marianne Mithun (1999) published short sketches and passages from several languages. Pamela Munro (1997) described the contributions of Mary R. Haas. Heather K. Hardy and Janine Scancarelli (to appear) include several language sketches. The standard bibliographies of southeastern languages are Pilling (1885, 1887, 1888, 1889) and Booker (1991). Major archives include the Smithsonian Institution's National Anthropological Archives

(NAA), the American Philosophical Society (APS), the Oklahoma Historical Society, the University of Tulsa's McFarlin Library, the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collection, the Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa, and the American Bible Society in New York.<sup>3</sup>

## **Caddoan Languages**

In historic times, the Caddoan languages extended from South Dakota to southeastern Texas and western Louisiana. The primary division in the family is between Caddo, the southernmost representative of the family, and a Northern group consisting of Arikara, Pawnee, Kitsai, and Wichita (Lesser and Weltfish 1932:2; Hollow and Parks 1980:77; vol. 13:80; vol. 17:319). This division could have resulted from a migration of the Northern group out of the Southeast (vol. 13:80), or of Caddo into the Southeast. A sixth language Adai (Adaize, Adaes) recorded in 1802 by John Sibley (1832:722) is sometimes thought to belong to the family (Gatschet in Powell 1891:46; Taylor 1963a). Wichita is treated here as belonging to the Plains (vol. 13:83).

Lesser and Weltfish (1932), Taylor (1963, 1963a), Chafe (1979) and Parks (vol. 13:80-93) are general descriptions of the Caddoan languages and their classification. Parks (1977) is a collection of texts in Caddoan languages.

### Caddo

From the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, Caddo-speaking groups were found in western Louisiana and eastern Texas. Caddo is most closely associated with the Hasinai

proper, consisting of the Kadohadacho, Hainai, and Anadarko divisions of the Caddo Confederacy (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:181). It appears to have served as a lingua franca within the Caddo Confederacy in the eighteenth century: the Eyeish, Natchitoches, and Yatasi divisions may have shifted to Caddo during this period (Sibley 1832). Since 1859, the Caddo have lived in present Caddo county, Oklahoma (Crawford 1975:16).

A vocabulary from 1688 appears in Villiers and Rivet (1929). Sibley (1879) contains a vocabulary from 1804. Other vocabularies include Gallatin (1836; from Sibley and George Gray), Schoolcraft (1853:709-712; from Randolph Marcy), Whipple et al. (1856:70), and Palmer (ca. 1868). The NAA has notes by Albert S. Gatschet, James Mooney, and John Reed Swanton. The APS has Elsie C. Parson's notes.

Wallace Chafe conducted field work on Caddo from 1959 to 1962 (Crawford 1975:17), resulting in a phonological description (Chafe 1968), grammatical sketches (Chafe 1976:55-82, to appear), a collection of tales and songs (Chafe 1977), and papers on defocusing (Chafe 1990; vol. 17:146) and modality (Chafe 1995; vol. 17:154).

Lynette Melnar (1999) described verb morphology. Mooney (1896) included songs and a brief glossary. Scattered vocabulary are found in Spier (1924), Parsons (1941), Swanton (1942), and Newkumet and Meredith (1988).

## **Iroquoian Languages**

Beginning in the sixteenth century, Iroquoian-speaking groups are found in a northeastern belt stretching north and west from Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, and in pockets as far south as North Carolina and northern Georgia. Cherokee is the sole representative of

Southern Iroquoian. Northern Iroquoian consists of Tuscarora-Nottoway, another southeastern branch, and Proto-Lake Iroquoian (including Huron-Wyandot, Laurentian, and the Five Nations Iroquois) (Mithun 1999:418). The divisions within the family could have resulted from either southern or northern migrations (vol. 17:105-109).

General sources on Iroquoian include Lounsbury (vol. 15) and Mithun (1979a, 1999:418-430).

### Cherokee

In the seventeenth century, Cherokee was spoken in the mountain regions of east Tennessee, west North Carolina, southwest Virginia, west South Carolina, north Georgia, and northeast Alabama (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:245). Groups began moving west as early as 1794. In 2000, Cherokee was spoken in northeastern Oklahoma (among members of the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians), and among the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians on the Qualla Reservation of North Carolina.

Mooney states that there were three dialects prior to this westward movement (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:246; Mithun 1999:419): a) the Lower (Elati) dialect is now lost, but was distinguished by the sound  $\text{r}$ ; b) the Middle dialect, now the prevailing dialect in the East; and, c) the Mountain (Atali) or Upper dialect.

Among early Cherokee vocabularies are Longe (1969), Adair (1775), Castiglioni (1790), Bartram (1791), Preston (1796), Adelung (1816), Haywood (1823), Gallatin (1836), and De Vorse (1971). The standard dictionary is Feeling (1975). Other sources include Alexander (1971), Chiltoskey (1972), Gilmore (1986), and D. King (1975). Morgan (1871) has kinship terms, Pickens (1943) has bird names, Speck (1946a) has

snake names, Witthoft (1949) and Banks (1953) have medicinal plants, Fradkin (1988) has animal names.

Early grammars or sketches of Cherokee include Pickering (1830, in Krueger 1963), Worcester (1853a), and Webster (1889). Pulte and Feeling (1977) compare nineteenth and twentieth century data. Twentieth century grammars include D. King (1975), Pulte and Feeling (1975), and Cook (1979). Walker (1975) and Scancarelli (to appear) are sketches. Among more specific grammatical studies are Bender and Harris (1946), Reyburn (1952), D. King (1978), Foley (1975), Lindsey (1985), Lindsey and Scancarelli (1985), Pulte (1972, 1973, 1985), Mithun (1986), Scancarelli (1986, 1987, 1988), Singleton (1979), Feeling (1994), Van Tuyl (1994), Blankenship (1997), Jordan (1997), and Haag (1997). Munro (1996) is a collection of papers on Oklahoma Cherokee. Holmes and Smith (1976) and A. Kilpatrick (1970) are pedagogical grammars. Walker (1965) is a primer.

Among the many nineteenth century texts are an early newspaper (The Cherokee Phoenix), a translation of the New Testament (American Bible Society 1860) and Exodus (Worcester 1853), hymns (Worcester and Boudinott 1830), the constitution and laws of 1892 (cited in Booker 1991:30), and readers such as the Cherokee Primer. Twentieth century texts include Bender (1949), J. Kilpatrick and A. Kilpatrick (1964b, 1966), D. King and L. King (1975), L. King (1976, 1976a, 1977, 1977a, 1978), Meredith and Milan (1981), Meredith and Smith (1981), Mooney (1900), Olbrechts (1931), Reed (1977), Scancarelli (1997), Spade and Walker (1966), Speck (1926), Walker (1975). Curing formulas appear in Mooney (1891, 1932), J. Kilpatrick (1962, 1964, 1964a), and J. Kilpatrick and A. Kilpatrick (1964, 1964a, 1967, 1970). The NAA has Mooney's,

Olbrecht's, and Gatschet's notes, diaries, and a large collection of letters and fiscal papers in Cherokee (e.g., Inali 1848-1881). The Gilcrease Museum in Tulsa has many other manuscripts. The APS has sound recordings by Frank Speck, William D. Reyburn, Raymond D. Fogelson, and William Pulte.

Beginning in the 1820s, Sequoyah (George Gist) began developing a syllabary for Cherokee (vol. 17:162-167). The syllabary has been the subject of a number of studies (White 1962; Chafe and Kilpatrick 1963; Walker 1969, 1981, 1984, 1985, vol. 17:158-184; Pulte 1976; Monteith 1984; Scancarelli 1992, 1996; Walker and Saurbaugh 1993; Bender 1996).

### Nottoway

The Nottoway formerly lived on the Nottoway River of southeastern Virginia (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:87). Two vocabularies collected by John Wood in 1820 and James Tresevant in 1836 were published in Gallatin (1836, 1848). Blair Rudes (1976) examined similarities between Tuscarora and Nottoway. Mithun (1979a:164-165) discussed sound changes from Proto-Northern Iroquoian. Rudes (1981a) is a grammatical sketch.

### Tuscarora

The Tuscarora are first associated with the Roanoke, Neuse, Taw (Torhuntha or Narhontes), and Pamlico rivers of North Carolina (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:842).

Early vocabularies include Adelung (1816), Catlin (1841, 2:262-265), Crane (1819), Domenech (1860), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Latham (1846, 1862), Lawson (1709), Morgan (1851, 1871), and Schoolcraft (1846, 5:552-558). Additional vocabulary are

found in Mithun (1979a, 1984a), and Rudes (1987). Rudes (1998) is the standard dictionary. The APS has Frans M. Olbrechts' notes and sound recordings by William D. Reyburn, Anthony F. C. Wallace, Marianne Mithun, and Elton Greene (corresponding to Greene 1969).

Marianne Mithun wrote a grammar (Williams 1976) and several studies (Williams 1973, 1974, Mithun 1979, 1984, 1986, 1987). She was reportedly working on a reference grammar (Mithun 1999:420). Further grammatical studies may be found in Olbrechts (1929), Picket (1967), and Rudes (1976).

Mithun and Woodbury (1980) and Wallace and Reyburn (1951) have texts. Rudes and Crouse (1987) presented texts collected by J. N. B. Hewitt, whose contributions are surveyed in Rudes (1994).

## **Muskogean Languages**

The Muskogean family is the largest family of languages in the Southeast, perhaps defining the region more than any other. It has probably always been evident to speakers of different Muskogean languages that their languages were related. Thus, William Bartram (1928:406), based on travels from 1773 to 1778, stated that "The Chickasaw and Choctaw, the Muscogulges [i.e., Creek] say[,] are dialects of theirs". The Choctaw-Creek connection was repeated in Benjamin Smith Barton (1797:lxviii). Albert Gallatin (1848, 2:cxii) subsequently demonstrated this relationship through a comparative vocabulary. Out of 600 words, he found 97 having some affinity between the two languages, and on this basis posited a Chocta-Muskog family (Gallatin 1848:cxii, xcix). Gallatin lacked full

data for the Muskogean languages, but Albert S. Gatschet (1884:56) later demonstrated that Choctaw, Chickasaw, Alabama, Koasati, Creek (including Seminole dialects), Hitchiti/Mikasuki, and Apalachee formed part of what he called the Maskoki family. John Wesley Powell (1891) later adopted the name Muskogean for this same grouping (vol. 17:299-308). Edward Sapir (1929) spelled it Muskogian, and Mary R. Haas (1941) and most subsequent authors have used the spelling Muskogean.

A conservative classification of the Muskogean subgroups recognizes five branches (Table 4). Chickasaw and Choctaw are close enough that they are sometimes stated to be dialects of a single language (Haas 1941; Booker 1991; Nicklas 1994), though differences between the two are extensive (Pulte 1975, Munro 1987a). Gatschet (1884:52) introduced the label Western for this branch. Alabama and Koasati show deeper differences, but have parallels in grammar and vocabulary. Apalachee is known primarily from a seventeenth century letter. It is clearly Muskogean, and may be closest to the Alabama-Koasati group (Haas 1949) or to Hitchiti/Mikasuki (Gatschet 1884:52). Hitchiti/Mikasuki is a single language sometimes referred to as Hitchiti or as Mikasuki. Creek is a single language with three main dialects spoken by Muskogee and Seminole in Oklahoma and by some Seminole in Florida (the majority of whom speak Mikasuki).

There is general agreement that the Chickasaw-Choctaw group and Creek are the furthest apart linguistically, with Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki "more or less pulled between these two poles" (Haas 1979:306). Efforts to represent this insight have differed in the placement of Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki.

Albert S. Gatschet (1884:52) divided the family into four branches: Maskoki proper (Creek), Apalachian (Hitchiti/Mikasuki and Apalachee), Alibamu (Alabama-

Koasati), and Western (Chickasaw-Choctaw). John R. Swanton (1922) placed Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki with Western in a Southern division. Mary R. Haas (1941) later grouped Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki with Creek into an Eastern division instead.

Haas (1941) was the first classification to use phonological correspondences. Three correspondences have been taken to support an Eastern grouping.

- Haas (1941) observed instances (like 'fish', Table 6) where Chickasaw-Choctaw have n corresponding to ɲ in the other languages. Here Haas (1979) reconstructed Proto-Muskogean (PM) \*N, with the change of \*N to \*ɲ distinguishing Eastern.

- Haas (1941) further noticed examples where Chickasaw-Choctaw have s corresponding to ɕ [č] in the other languages (as in 'my foot', Table 5). Haas (1979) reconstructed PM \*ɕ for this set, with no implication for an Eastern subgroup. Karen M. Booker (1988:371-372, f.n. 3) reconstructed PM \*ɕ [ts] instead. If Booker is correct, then the change of \*ɕ to ɕ was an Eastern development.

- There are sets of nouns (like 'fish', Table 6) in which Chickasaw-Choctaw have final i(h) and Alabama-Koasati and Creek have final o. Haas (1979) reconstructed PM \*i/o yielding Eastern \*o. Booker (1988) reconstructed \*ixo, but argued that contraction of \*ixo to o applied independently in Alabama-Koasati and Creek.

The situation became more complex when Haas (1947) recognized a development of PM \*k<sup>w</sup> as \*b in Chickasaw-Choctaw, Alabama-Koasati, and Hitchiti-Mikasuki. Her solution then was to group Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki together within Eastern, but this solution required independent developments of PM \*k<sup>w</sup> to \*b in this group and in Chickasaw-Choctaw. In her later years Haas (1979:305-306) maintained

her belief in an early Eastern-Western split, but grew more tentative: "when a variety of traits are examined they point in contradictory directions as far as subgrouping is concerned".

Pamela Munro (1985a, 1987, 1993) resurrected Swanton's (1922) Southern grouping of Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki with Chickasaw-Choctaw. Several developments have been taken to support this group:

- As Haas (1947) noted, PM \*k<sup>w</sup> yields Southern \*b (see 'mulberry', Table 6).
- Where Creek has first person agentive -ay-, the other languages have -li. Martin and Munro (to appear) reconstructed PM \*-ali yielding Southern \*-li.
- Martin (1994) argued that a PM reduplicative suffix \*-C<sub>1</sub>V<sub>2</sub> fused with a plural prefix \*oho- to yield \*-C<sub>1</sub>o(h)- in the Southern group.

Munro (1993) found additional arguments for grouping Alabama-Koasati with Chickasaw-Choctaw in a Southwestern group (see also Martin 1994).

Karen M. Booker (1993) returned to Haas's (1947) proposal that Alabama-Koasati should be grouped with Hitchiti/Mikasuki. Two arguments have been found for Booker's Central grouping:<sup>4</sup>

- Booker (1993:413-414) argued that PM monosyllabic verb roots added initial \*j in the Central languages.
- Martin (1994) argued that the Southern fused plural \*-C<sub>1</sub>o(h)- was reanalyzed as an infix in the Central languages.

Additional developments may have been shared between Alabama-Koasati and Creek (like the loss of \*k in 'yellow' and 'male', Table 6), and between Hitchiti/Mikasuki and Creek (Haas 1979:306-307; Martin 1994).

These overlapping developments point to a western sphere of influence (centered on Chickasaw-Choctaw) and an eastern sphere of influence (centered on Creek) (Haas 1979:306; Martin 1994).<sup>5</sup> The smaller groups Alabama-Koasati and Hitchiti/Mikasuki appear to have gone through periods of contact with and separation from the two larger groups and each other.

Several studies attempt to reconstruct aspects of Proto-Muskogean. Among these are Booker (1980, 1988, 1993, to appear), Broadwell (1993), Haas (1941, 1946a, 1950, 1969, 1977), Kimball (1992a), Martin (1994), Munro (1993), and Martin and Munro (to appear).

### Alabama

The Alabama (or a portion thereof) are thought to have lived in the northern part of present Mississippi before settling on the Alabama River just below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers (Swanton 1946:86-7). A portion of the tribe subsequently moved to Louisiana and Texas, while those remaining in Alabama were removed with the Creek to the Creek Nation, Indian Territory. Although Alabama was spoken in Oklahoma until the mid-twentieth century, the main portion of the tribe is found today on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation in Polk County, Texas, where there are several hundred speakers.

Albert Pike obtained a vocabulary of Alabama in Indian Territory around 1857 (Pike ca. 1857). The NAA has a short vocabulary collected by Gatschet on two days in 1885 and 1891 in Indian Territory, and texts, a sketch, and vocabularies collected by Swanton in Oklahoma and Texas between 1906 and 1913. Lupardus (1982) is a grammar. Sylestine et al. (1993) is a dictionary and sketch. H. Hardy (to appear) has a

sketch and text. Articles addressing specific linguistic topics include Rand (1968), Davis and H. Hardy (1984, 1988), H. Hardy and Davis (1988, 1993), H. Hardy and Montler (1988, 1988a, 1991), Montler and H. Hardy (1990, 1991), and Halmari (1998).

### Apalachee

The Apalachee once lived between the Aucilla and Apalachicola Rivers of present Florida (Swanton 1946:89). Fourteen families were reportedly living on the Bayou Rapide, Louisiana, in 1815 (Gatschet 1884:76).

Apalachee is no longer spoken, but is known through a letter written in Apalachee and Spanish in 1688 and reproduced in facsimile in Smith (1860). Gatschet (1884:76) reported that "other documents written in Apalachi are preserved in the archives of Havana, the seat of the archbishopric, to which Apalachi and all the other settlements comprised within the diocese of St. Helena belonged."

Gatschet (1884) suggested that Apalachee formed a group with Hitchiti and Mikasuki within the Muskogean family. Haas (1949) places Apalachee within her Eastern division, possibly with Alabama-Koasati.

Of the secondary sources, the most important are a grammatical sketch (Kimball 1987) and a vocabulary (Kimball 1988).

### Chickasaw

From De Soto's visit in 1540 to the 1830s, the Chickasaw lived in the northeastern part of present Mississippi. Following removal in the 1830s and 1840s, they established the Chickasaw Nation in the south-central portion of Indian Territory. In 1999 there were fewer than a thousand speakers (Pamela Munro, personal communication).

Early sources of vocabulary include Adair (1775), Barton (1797), Adelung (1816), Gallatin (1836), Anonymous (ca. 1835), and Latham (1846). Vocabulary may also be found in Pike (ca. 1857), Morgan (1871), Gatschet (1884), Speck (1907), and Swanton (1928, 1928a). Zeno McCurtain and John Swanton collected texts, now at the NAA. Humes and Humes (1973) is an English-Chickasaw dictionary. Munro and Willmond (1994) is the standard dictionary. Munro (to appear) contains a sketch and text. Pulte (1975) and Munro (1987a) examine differences between Chickasaw and Choctaw. Articles treating specific linguistic topics include Ohmori (1979), Payne (1980, 1982), Scott (1981), Munro (1983, 1983a, 1984, 1984b, 1985, 1988, 1998, 1999), Munro and Gordon (1982), L. Gordon (1987), Munro and Ulrich (1984), and M. Gordon et al. (1997).

### Choctaw

The Choctaw are a major tribe of the Southeast, long associated with the east-central region of present Mississippi. During the 1830s the majority of the tribe was relocated to the southeastern portion of Indian Territory where they established the Choctaw Nation. A sizable number remained in Mississippi and Louisiana, however. Today the Choctaw Nation is in southeastern Oklahoma, and the Choctaw Tribe is near Philadelphia, Mississippi. In all there were perhaps 9,000-11,000 speakers in 1999 (George Broadwell, personal communication).

Early vocabularies include Adair (1775), Castiglioni (1790), Barton (1797), Haughton (1804), and Adelung (1816). The missionary Cyrus Byington wrote a grammar (Byington 1871) and dictionary (Byington 1915), both published posthumously. As with Creek, there are laws, a constitution, a hymnal (Anonymous 1880), a reader

(Anonymous 1835), catechism (Ketcham ca. 1916), and other materials. The American Bible Society published a translation of the New Testament in 1848. Halbert (1901) is a creation legend. Byington (1852) and Wright (1880) are early dictionaries. Broadwell (1987) is a dictionary of Mississippi Choctaw. Additional vocabulary appear in Domenech (1860), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Whipple et al. (1856), Latham (1862), Morgan (1871), Adam (1877), Brinton (1873), Hale (1883), Gatschet (1884), Watkins (1892), Bushnell (1909), Swanton (1931), and Campbell (1959). The APS has sound recordings made by Jeffrey G. Heath.

Broadwell (to appear) includes an analyzed text and sketch. Badger (1971), Nicklas (1974, 1979) and Broadwell (to appear a) are grammars. Ulrich (1986) describes the morphology and phonology. Downing (1971), Jacob et al. (1977), and Haag et al. (2001) are pedagogical grammars. Haag (1996) examined lexical categories. More specific topics are treated in Kaya (1971), Maggi (1973), Swartz (1974), Nicklas (1975), Pulte (1975), Todd (1975), Heath (1977, 1980), McClaran and Herrod (1977), Davies (1979, 1981, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1982, 1983, 1984, 1984a, 1985, 1986), Munro (1983, 1984, 1987), Munro and Ulrich (1984), Broadwell (1985, 1986, 1986a, 1988, 1990), Gordon (1987), Linker (1987), and Ulrich (1987, 1988, 1989).

### Creek

In the eighteenth century, Creek was spoken among a large number of tribal towns in Alabama and Georgia both as a first language and as a lingua franca. Some tribal towns speaking other languages may have shifted to Creek or used Creek with outsiders, making it difficult to determine the original language of a particular group. Eighteenth century visitors repeatedly distinguished between the Upper Creek, whose head town was

Coosa and who resided on the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers of Alabama, and the Lower Creek, whose head town was Kawita and who lived on the middle or lower Chattahoochee between Alabama and Georgia. William Bartram, in travels from 1773-1778, seems to have used "Muscogulges" for the former and "Siminoles" for the latter (Bartram 1928:181-182). Seminoles speaking Creek, Hitchiti/Mikasuki, and Yuchi gradually moved into Florida, joined by refugees from the Upper Creek after the Creek War (1813-1814). From 1836-1840 most Creek speakers in Alabama and Georgia were taken to Indian Territory, where they established the Creek Nation. As a result of the Seminole Wars (1835-1843), many Seminoles were captured and taken to Indian Territory, where they formed the Seminole Nation. It seems that the majority of Seminoles captured in Florida were the more northerly, Creek-speaking groups: this might explain why Creek became the majority language among Oklahoma Seminoles, while Hitchiti/Mikasuki became the majority language among Florida Seminoles.

In 2000 there were three main dialects of Creek: Muskogee (spoken in the Muskogee (Creek) Nation of Oklahoma), Oklahoma Seminole Creek (spoken in the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma), and Florida Seminole Creek (spoken primarily by residents of the Brighton Reservation within the Seminole Tribe of Florida). There is also variation within the Oklahoma groups (Haas 1945), as well as in Florida. In 2000 there were perhaps 4,000 speakers.

Early transcriptions of Creek were made, along with Yuchi, by Philip Georg Friedrich von Reck near Savannah, Georgia in 1736 (in Hvidt 1980). About the same time, Moravian missionaries in the area used a Greek-based alphabet to compile a vocabulary and short text (Anonymous ca. 1738). Benjamin Hawkins compiled several

Creek word lists in the 1790s. These are at the APS, the Georgia Historical Society, and the New York Historical Society. Other early vocabularies include Adair (1775), Pope (1792), Barton (1797), Anonymous (ca. 1815), Adelung (1816), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Latham (1846, 1862), and Casey (1854). Kin terms are in Morgan (1871). Tulsa's Gilcrease Museum has a collection of laws from 1849, a phrase book by Casey, and laws from the Seminole Nation.

Shortly following removal to Indian Territory in the nineteenth century, missionaries and their students began to publish materials in Creek: John Fleming (1834, 1835) published the first primers and a sermon with hymns; H. F. Buckner and G. Herrod (1860) produced a grammar with texts; Robert M. Loughridge and David Winslett published hymns (Loughridge and Winslett 1937) and a translation of the catechism (Loughridge and Winslett 1880); Loughridge worked with David M. Hodge to produce the first Creek dictionary (Loughridge and Hodge 1890); William S. Robertson and David Winslett produced primers (W. Robertson and Winslett 1867, 1871); Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson completed translations of the New Testament, Genesis, and Psalms (American Bible Society 1887, 1893, 1896). There are also a large number of letters, laws, constitutions, newspaper articles (from Our Monthly and the Indian Journal), pamphlets (e.g., Anonymous 1872, Creek Nation 1903), and other materials produced before Oklahoma statehood (some of which are listed in Martin and Mauldin 2000:xxxiii-xxxvi). The University of Tulsa, the Oklahoma Historical Society, and the University of Oklahoma's Western History Collection have a large number of letters and legal documents.

The missionary period of the late nineteenth century gradually gave rise to visits by ethnographers and linguists. Albert S. Gatschet (1888) obtained a translation of a migration legend from George W. Stidham in Creek and Hitchiti, and from this produced a vocabulary and grammatical notes.<sup>6</sup> The NAA has a large number of texts written by Earnest Gouge in 1915 and acquired by John R. Swanton. Frank Speck (1907, 1911) began work on Creek around the same time. Mary R. Haas conducted field work on Creek in Eufaula, Oklahoma during the 1930s and 1940s, publishing articles on ablaut (1940), classificatory verbs (1948), nasals and nasalization (1977a), and tonal accent (1977b), among others. Her materials are at the APS. Nathan (1977) is a grammar of the Florida Seminole dialect of Creek. Sturtevant (1954) and Snow and Stans (2001) have Florida terms for plants and medicine. Buswell (1972) includes Creek hymns from Oklahoma as sung by Florida Seminoles. Chupco et al. (1982) is a concordance of the New Testament. Karen M. Booker (1984) described directional prefixes. Donald Hardy (1988, 1992, 1994, 1994a) conducted grammatical studies of the Muskogee dialect. Other papers exploring specific topics include Martin (1991, 1993, 1999, 2000). Martin and Mauldin (2000) is a modern dictionary. Lewis Oliver (1985) wrote bilingual poems and stories. Martin and Mauldin (2001) and D. Hardy (to appear) include sketches.

Early sound recordings were made by Frank Speck around 1905, now at Indiana University's Archives of Traditional Music. The G. Robert Vincent Voice Library at Michigan State University has sound recordings of Watt Sam and Sam Martin made by Victor E. Riste (via Denzel Cline) in 1931.

In the late twentieth century, attention focused on pedagogical materials. Susannah Factor and others helped produce a number of readers for Oklahoma Seminole

Creek (see, e.g., Factor 1978). C. Randall Daniels-Sakim created materials for a group in North Florida (Daniels-Sakim 1982, 1984, 1985). Anna Bosch (1984) published fourteen lessons and a sketch. Woodrow Haney, Ted Isham, George Bunny, and James Wesley made sound recordings with booklets (Haney 1975; Isham and Bunny 1995; Wesley 1997). Other materials include Harwell and Harwell (1981).

### Hitchiti/Mikasuki

Hitchiti or Mikasuki is a single language shared by several groups identifying themselves as Hitchiti, Mikasuki (or Miccosukee), or Seminole.

In 1799, Hitchiti and Mikasuki were separate tribal towns (Hawkins 1848). Some of the members of these towns subsequently moved to central Florida. Those that remained in Georgia were relocated with the Creeks to the Creek Nation, Indian Territory, where they formed the Hitchiti and Big Town tribal towns (Gatchet 1888:185). A portion of those living in Florida were removed to the Seminole Nation, Indian Territory, with some remaining in Florida.

Hitchiti/Mikasuki is no longer spoken in Oklahoma, where it was replaced by Creek and English. In Florida, it is spoken by most of the 500 members of the Miccosukee Tribe, and by many of the 2,700 members of the Seminole Tribe of Florida.

Smith (1866) is a vocabulary of "Mikasuke" obtained from Florida-born Seminoles living in Arkansas. Albert S. Gatschet worked with Judge G. W. Stidham of Hitchiti tribal town, who moved as an infant from the Chattahoochee River to the Creek Nation, Indian Territory (Gatschet 1884:vi). Stidham assisted Gatschet by translating a migration legend from English into Hitchiti and Creek. This text enabled Gatschet to compile a vocabulary and grammatical sketch (Gatschet 1884, 1888).

A different group of Hitchiti speakers is represented by Willie Haney, who lived in the Seminole Nation, Oklahoma and served as chief of the Seminole Nation from 1942-1944. Haney's work with John R. Swanton resulted in extensive texts and a sketch at the NAA. He also worked for a day in 1937 with Mary R. Haas. Haas's field notes indicate that Haney's grandfather had come from Florida and died in 1895. Variants of the name Mikasuki also appear in the Seminole Nation (e.g., as "Mekasukey").

The form of the language in Florida (uniformly referred to as Mikasuki) has been studied by John David West (1962, 1974, 1974a), Mary T. Derrick-Mescua (Derrick 1975, Derrick-Mescua 1980), and Sylvia S. Boynton (1982, 1983). Scattered vocabulary appear in Sturtevant (1954, 1966, 1971) and Snow and Stans (2001).

### Koasati

Swanton (1946:145) equated the Coste, Acoste, Costehe, and Acosta of the De Soto narratives with the Koasati, concluding from this that the Koasati were living on an island in Tennessee River of northeastern Alabama in 1541. Before 1686, part had moved south to the Creek country, west of the point of junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers (Swanton 1946:145). Some of this group subsequently migrated to Louisiana and Texas between 1793 and 1795, while those remaining in Alabama were removed to the Creek Nation, Indian Territory (Swanton 1946:145). The language is now spoken near Elton, Louisiana and Livingston, Texas. Geoffrey D. Kimball (1994:xi) estimated that those with at least passive knowledge of the language number as many as one thousand.

The earliest vocabulary of Koasati was apparently collected in 1857 by Gen. Albert Pike from a few individuals living in the Creek Nation, Indian Territory (Kimball 1991:14). A few terms from the same location appear in Brinton (1873). Gatschet

(1884:57) lists a few terms obtained from a school in Pennsylvania. His notes on Koasati (some obtained from Mrs. A. E. W. Robertson) are housed at the Smithsonian Institution's NAA. The NAA also has texts, vocabulary, and other material obtained by Swanton in Louisiana.

Mary Haas collected Koasati material in Texas and Louisiana in the 1930s (Crawford 1975:43). Haas (1944) is a description of men's and women's speech in Koasati, a topic taken up in Kimball (1987a, 1990) and Saville-Troike (1988).

Kimball began field work on Koasati in the 1970s. His research resulted in a grammar (Kimball 1991), dictionary (Kimball 1994), and texts, some of which appear in Kimball (1989, 1991, 1993). Rising (1992) is a study of switch-reference in Koasati.

### **Siouan-Catawba Languages**

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the Siouan-Catawba languages spread in a wide swath from present Alberta in the northwest to Louisiana in the southeast, and in pockets in Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. As its name suggests, the major division in the family is between the Siouan languages, represented in the Southeast by Ofo, Biloxi, and Tutelo, and the Catawban languages Catawba and Woccon of North Carolina. The existence of Siouan languages in the east was not suspected until Horatio Hale obtained a vocabulary of Tutelo in 1870 (Hale 1883; Anderson 1872). Albert S. Gatschet then acquired a Catawba vocabulary in 1881 (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:213), followed by vocabularies of Biloxi and Ofo by Gatschet and Swanton.

General surveys of Siouan or Siouan-Catawba can be found in Chafe (1973, 1976), Rood (1979), De Reuse (1987), and Parks and Rankin (vol. 13). C. F. Voegelin (1941) grouped Tutelo, Biloxi, and Ofo together as Ohio Valley Siouan, renamed Southeastern Siouan by Haas (1968:84). Voegelin (1939) examined sound correspondences between Ofo and Biloxi. Frank T. Siebert, Jr. (1945) described Catawba and its connection to Siouan. Other studies involving the southeastern Siouan-Catawba languages include Swanton (1923), Holmer (1947), Wolff (1950-1951), Matthews (1958, 1959, 1970), Sturtevant (1958), Taylor (1976), Rankin (1977, 1985, 1986, 1988, 1988a), Carter (1980), and De Reuse (1981).

### Biloxi

The Biloxi were first mentioned in 1699 about Biloxi Bay on the coast of present Mississippi (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:147). While engaged in field work in Louisiana in 1886, Albert S. Gatschet found a small band of Biloxi living five or six miles west of Lecompte, Rapides Parish, and noticed resemblances between their language and Siouan (Swanton 1912:9). This relationship was subsequently established by James Owen Dorsey through field work in 1892 and 1893 (Swanton 1912:9). Dorsey (1894) is a sketch and short text. Scattered vocabulary are found in Dorsey (1893, 1897). After Dorsey's death in 1895, John R. Swanton edited Dorsey's and Gatschet's materials, creating a dictionary with texts and phrases (Dorsey and Swanton 1912). Mary R. Haas and Morris Swadesh were able to find a woman living in Port Arthur, Texas in 1934 who remembered 54 words: these were published in Haas (1968) and are useful for their greater phonetic accuracy. Einaudi (1976) is a grammar based on the primary sources. Nicklas (1990) reexamines the pronominal prefixes.

### Catawban (Catawba and Woccon)

Catawba and Woccon are two languages within the Catawban branch of Siouan-Catawba.

The Catawba are a major tribe long associated with the Catawba River and its tributaries southeast of present Charlotte, North Carolina (Crawford 1975:52). Catawba vocabulary can be found in Adelung (1816), Gallatin (1836, 1848), Lieber (1858), Latham (1862), Chamberlain (1888), Buist (1901), Swanton (1918), Allen (1931), and Speck (1937, 1939, 1939a, 1946a). Shea (1984) and Voorhis (ca. 1984) compiled lexicons. Grammatical sketches include Gatschet (1900), Siebert (1945), and Voorhis (1984). Texts include Speck (1913, 1934, 1946). The University of Pennsylvania Museum reportedly has Speck's sound-recordings. Lexicostatistical studies are in Swadesh (1958, 1967). Siebert (1945) examined the relationship of Catawba to Siouan. The NAA has notes by Albert S. Gatschet, Frank Speck, Truman Michelson, and John R. Swanton.

The Woccon are a small tribe from eastern North Carolina, described by Lawson in 1709 as living two leagues from the Tuscarora on the lower Neuse in the villages of Yupwauremau and Tooptatmeer (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:967). Woccon is known primarily from a vocabulary by Lawson (1709) (see also Adelung 1816, Gallatin 1836, Latham 1846, Schoolcraft 1856). The relationship of Woccon to Catawba is treated in Schoolcraft (1856) and Carter (1980).

### Ofo (Ofogoula)

The Ofo are a small tribe living on the left bank of the Yazoo River, Mississippi, twelve miles above its mouth (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:108). Swanton (1909) was the first to obtain

a vocabulary and recognize its Siouan affiliation. Dorsey and Swanton (1912) is a dictionary based on the speech of Rosa Pierrette. Holmer (1947) and De Reuse (1981) consider phonological developments.

### Tutelo, Saponi

The Tutelo are first mentioned by Capt. John Smith under the names of Monacan and Mannahoac on the upper James and Rappahannock rivers of Virginia (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:855). Anderson (1872) and Hale (1883, 1884) discuss the relationship of Tutelo to Siouan. Frachtenberg (1913) is a vocabulary. Scattered vocabulary appear in Dorsey (1893) and Speck and Schaeffer (1942). Songs are in Kurath (1953, 1954) and Speck (1942). Dorsey (1891-1892) is a slip-file of 800 words, partly based on Horatio Hale and J. N. B. Hewitt. Sapir (1913) is a vocabulary. Marianne Mithun made sound-recordings of Tutelo from Albert Green as late as 1982 (Mithun 1999:505). Giulia Oliverio (1997) compiled a grammar and dictionary.

The Saponi are closely associated with the Tutelo. Saponi vocabulary appear in Alexander (1971), though the numbers appear to be of Algonquian origin (Goddard 1972, 1972a).

### **Timucuan Languages**

#### Tawasa

The first mention of this group (as the Toasi or Tuasi of the De Soto expedition) is around present Montgomery, Alabama (Swanton 1946:190). The only vocabulary of

Tawasa was found on the back of letter written in 1707/1708 (Swanton 1929b). The vocabulary (containing some 60 items) was obtained in Virginia from an escaped slave called Lamháttý (or Lamhatty) from the town of Towása (or Towassa) through an interpreter and a Tuscarora speaker. The vocabulary was published in Swanton (1929b), who immediately recognized a relationship between Tawasa and Timucua (Table 7). A few similarities between Tawasa and Muskogean led Swanton (1929b) to conclude that Tawasa was intermediate between Muskogean and Timucua, but these now appear to be borrowings from Creek.

Granberry (1993) considered Tawasa to be a dialect of Timucua. Based on the existence of borrowings from Muskogean, he speculated that Tawasa might have been creolized.

### Timucua

Timucua was formerly spoken in northern Florida. Crawford (1979:327) places it “from about Tallahassee eastward to the St. Johns River near Jacksonville and southward to Cape Canaveral on the Atlantic Ocean and Tampa on the Gulf of Mexico.”

While Timucua is no longer spoken, it is well documented in early sources. Primary sources include six Timucua-Spanish catechisms (Pareja 1612, 1612a, 1613, 1627; Movilla 1631, 1635), a grammar (Pareja 1614), and two letters from 1651 and 1688 (Granberry 1993:xvi). Additional lexical items are found in the sixteenth century writings of Jean Ribaut and René de Laudonnière (Crawford 1979:327). The existence of other sources (including a lexicon by Pareja) has not been confirmed (Granberry 1993:xvi).

Milanich and Sturtevant (1972) reproduced selected pages of Pareja (1613). Secondary sources on Timucua include Gatschet (1877, 1878, 1880), Grasserie (1888), and Gatschet and Grasserie (1889, 1890). The NAA has photostats of several of Pareja's works and a letter (Cudera ca. 1620), as well as secondary materials prepared by Albert S. Gatschet and John R. Swanton. Granberry (1993) is a grammar and dictionary.

## **Language Isolates**

### Atakapa

Atakapa is thought to have been spoken by four or five bands of individuals in the coastal area between Louisiana (on Vermilion Bayou, on Mermentou River, on the lakes near the mouth of the Calcasieu, and probably on the lower Sabine) and Texas (about Galveston and Trinity bays and on Trinity River) (Swanton 1946:85, 93). Gatschet (1884:46) reports a retreat to the Sabine River in the nineteenth century. Swanton (1932:2) speculated that the Akokisa, Bidai, Deadoses, Patiri, Cabeza de Vaca's Han and the Opelousas may also have spoken Atakapa, but linguistic evidence to support this claim is lacking.

There are three primary sources on the language: a vocabulary of 45 words collected in 1721 by Jean Béranger in present Galveston Bay and published in Villiers and Rivet (1919); a vocabulary of 287 words collected, with a Chitimacha vocabulary, in 1802 at the Attackapas Post (modern Franklin, Louisiana) by Martin Duralde and published in part in Vater (1820-1821) and Gallatin (1836); and a more substantial collection of words, sentences, and nine short texts collected in 1885 by Albert Gatschet

at Lake Charles, Louisiana. From this, Gatschet produced an Atakapa-English card file of 2,100 entries (Gatschet ca. 1885) and material for a grammar (Gatschet ca. 1885a). Gatschet apparently worked with the last speakers, though John Swanton was able to elicit a few forms in 1907-1908 (Swanton 1932) and Morris Swadesh and Mary Haas recorded a few words as late as 1934 (Crawford 1975:61).

Swanton collected the Béranger, Duralde, and Gatschet sources, normalized the spelling, and published a sketch (Swanton 1929a) and dictionary with texts (Gatschet and Swanton 1932). Béranger failed to give a tribal designation for his vocabulary, but Swanton (1932) labeled it "Akokisa" (an undocumented group). Swanton further proposed dividing the data into a Western dialect (comprising the Béranger and Gatschet material) and an Eastern dialect (limited to Duralde's material), but the relatively small and unsystematic variation seen in the data provide little support for these groupings.

### Chitimacha

Swanton (1946:119) reports that the Chitimacha once lived in villages clustered around Grand Lake, Louisiana, and between Bayou Lafourche, Bayou La Teche, and the coast of the Gulf of Mexico (see also Gatschet 1884:44). In the 1880s they lived at Charenton, St. Mary's Parish, Louisiana, and "scattered around the forests on Grand river" (Gatschet 1884:44). The Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana is still located at Charenton, though the language is no longer spoken.

A vocabulary of Chitimacha was collected in 1802 by Martin Duralde and published in part in Vater (1820-1821) and Gallatin (1836). Albert S. Gatschet visited in 1881-1882, producing interlinear texts (Gatschet 1881-1882) and a dictionary (Gatschet ca. 1882). He published a vocabulary of 21 words soon after (Gatschet 1882-1883). John

Swanton visited in 1907 (Swanton 1946:121), checked Gatschet's material, and produced a manuscript dictionary (Gatschet and Swanton ca. 1907). Morris Swadesh visited some of the same individuals three times in 1932-1934 (Crawford 1975:62). Swadesh's work led to a description of certain derogatory language (Swadesh 1933), a phonemic statement (Swadesh 1934), a discussion of long consonants in Chitimacha, Creek, and Shawnee (Swadesh 1937), and a grammatical sketch (Swadesh 1946). The APS has a grammar, dictionary, and texts with a sound recording. Mary Haas published Chitimacha kin terms (Haas 1939).

Chitimacha is no longer spoken. Benjamin Paul, who served as a consultant for Gatschet, Swanton, and Swadesh, died in 1934 (Swanton 1946:121; Crawford 1975:62). Delphine Ducloux, the last fluent speaker, died in 1940 (Swadesh 1948:230), though Crawford (1975:62) reports recording 14 words from Mr. Emile Stouff as late as 1969. Much of the descriptive material on Chitimacha remains unpublished, and is divided between the NAA (which has Gatschet's and Swanton's notes) and the APS (which has Swadesh's and Crawford's notes).

### Natchez

At the end of the seventeenth century, the Natchez were living on the bank of the Mississippi River (Swanton 1946:159). During the 1700s, one band joined the Cherokee, and another joined the Creek, and most of these were removed to Indian Territory with these larger tribes (Swanton 1946:160). Natchez is apparently no longer spoken: Crawford (1975:64) reported that the last speakers lived near Braggs, southeast of Muskogee, Oklahoma.

Early vocabularies include Gallatin (1836:307-367) and Pike (ca. 1857). The NAA has texts and other material collected by John R Swanton. The G. Robert Vincent Voice Library at Michigan State University has sound recordings of Watt Sam made by Victor E. Riste (via Denzel Cline) in 1931. Mary R. Haas found two speakers (one of which was Watt Sam) in 1934 (Crawford 1975:64), and from these obtained extensive materials (now at the APS). Haas (1979) examined the auxiliary verb. Geoffrey D. Kimball (to appear) used Haas's materials to produce a sketch. Van Tuyl (1979) includes vocabulary from several sources. Mithun (1999:467-469) includes a brief sketch and passage.

### Tunica

The Tunica were evidently located a few miles above the mouth of the Yazoo River of present Mississippi in 1682 (Swanton 1946:197). Sesostrie Youchigant (born ca. 1870) was evidently the last fluent speaker (Haas 1946:337).

Both Gatschet and Swanton gathered material on Tunica, now in the NAA. The most extensive work was done by Mary R. Haas, however, based on field work in the 1930s. Her work included a grammar (1940a), a sketch (1946), texts (1950a), and a dictionary (1953). Mithun (1999:532-534) has a brief sketch and passage.

### Yuchi (Euclhee)

Swanton (1946:212) places the Yuchi (under the name of "Chisca") in De Soto's time in eastern Tennessee. Several bands evidently lived in different areas at different times: one band was near Florida shortly before 1639 (Swanton 1946:213); another was found near Savannah, Georgia around 1736. Bartram (1791) and Hawkins (1848) find Yuchi

towns in central and southwestern Georgia in the late eighteenth century. A Yuchi town was associated with the Seminole in Florida in 1821 (Crawford 1975:71, citing Morse 1822). Those associated with the Creek in Georgia were relocated to Indian Territory, settling near present Sapulpa and Bristow, Oklahoma (Crawford 1975:71).

Early vocabulary items in Yuchi were recorded by von Reck in 1736 near Savannah, Georgia, and published in Hvidt (1980). Scattered words appear in Gallatin (1836, 1848), Latham (1846, 1850, 1862), and Chamberlain (1888). The first sizable vocabulary was collected by Pike (ca. 1857). In 2000 there were fourteen fluent speakers (Mary Linn, personal communication).

Speck conducted field work in 1904, 1905, and 1908, with scattered vocabulary appearing in subsequent publications (Speck 1909, 1911, 1939). Indiana University's Archives of Traditional Music has Speck's sound recordings of dances, texts, and songs made on cylinders around 1905. Unpublished texts collected by Gatschet, Speck, Curtin, and Michelson can be found at the NAA. Günter Wagner produced texts (1931), a grammar (1934), and a dictionary. Only the English-Yuchi portion of the last survives (at the APS). Mary Haas conducted some field work in 1938 (Haas 1973). Hans Wolff published a phonemic statement (1948) and a text (1951). Benveniste (1950) treated negation based on Wagner's texts. W. L. Ballard worked on Yuchi in 1970-1971, producing an unpublished English-Yuchi lexicon (Crawford 1975:72) and other material (Ballard 1975, 1978, 1978a). Crawford conducted field work annually from 1970-1973 (Crawford 1975:72). Mithun (1999:571-573) included a brief sketch and passage. Recent work has been conducted by Mary Linn (Linn 1996, 1997, 2001), Greg Bigler, and Richard Grounds.

## Contact Jargons

Where there was one politically dominant language in the Southeast, that language tended to serve as a lingua franca. Creek appears to have had this function among many groups south of the Cherokee in present Alabama and Georgia. Sibley (1832) reports that Caddo had a similar function in eastern Texas and western Louisiana among the Yatasi, Adai, Eyeish, Kitsai, Bidai, and Natchitoches.

In the absence of a dominant language, contact jargons developed. The only attested trade language in the Southeast is Mobilian Jargon.<sup>7</sup> However, Sibley (1832:722) notes that the Accokesaws (Akokisa) of eastern Texas "have a mode of communication by dumb signs, which they all understand", and that the neighboring Mayes (Mayeye, a Tonkawan group) "have likewise a way of conversing by signs".

### Mobilian Jargon

Mobilian Jargon (sometimes referred to as Mobilian or the Chickasaw Trade Language) was a contact jargon in use in the lower Mississippi Valley region. According to Sibley (1832), the groups using Mobilian Jargon were the Boluscas (Biloxis), Chactos (Chatot), Apalachee, Alabama, Pacanas, Tunicas, Pascagoulas, and Tenisaws (Taensa).

Tulane University has an early vocabulary of Mobilian Jargon (Anonymous 1862). James M. Crawford conducted field work in Louisiana and Texas in the 1970s. Much of his material was reelicited by Emanuel J. Drechsel. Mobilian Jargon has been the study of two books by Crawford (1978) and Drechsel (1997). Drechsel (1996) is a

vocabulary. Haas (1975:258), using Crawford's data, stated that Mobilian Jargon "appears to be a mixture of Choctaw and Alabama". Munro (1984a) argued that the source of the jargon was closer to Choctaw than to Chickasaw.

### **Poorly Documented Groups**

There are a several dozen southeastern groups for whom linguistic data are absent or so scarce as to lend little weight in classification.

- ACOLAPISSA A group (possibly speaking several languages) formerly living on Lake Ponchartrain, about the coast lagoons, and on the Mississippi River in Louisiana (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:9).

- ADAI According to Sibley (1832:722), the language of the "Adaize" "differs from all other...; but they all speak Caddo..." A wordlist he collected in 1802 (Sibley 1832:722) is sometimes thought to suggest a Caddoan affiliation (Gatschet in Powell 1891:46; Taylor 1963a).

- AKOKISA Sibley (1832:722) stated that they "have a language peculiar to themselves". Swanton (1911:362, 1932:2) thought the Akokisa might have spoken Atakapa and on that basis assigned that label to one Atakapa vocabulary.

- AVOYELLES (Avoyel) A small tribe living in present Avoyelles parish, Louisiana, and thought possibly to belong to the Caddoan family (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:118).

- BIDAI (Bedies) Sibley (1832:732) states that their language "differs from all other, but speak Caddo". Swanton (1932:2) speculated that the Bidai may have spoken Atakapa, but linguistic evidence is lacking.<sup>8</sup>

- CALUSA The Calusa occupied an area in southwest Florida from Tampa Bay to Florida's southern tip. The few words and place-names surviving in Fontaneda (1866) are unlike other southeastern languages.

- CHAKCHIUMA A tribe formerly living on Yazoo River, Mississippi, and thought to speak Chickasaw (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:231).

- CHAOUCHA A small tribe living a short distance below present New Orleans (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:235).

- CHATOT A tribe or band living on Mobile Bay, Alabama in 1709 (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:237). Hodge cites Baudry des Lozières (Voy., 1794) for the suggestion that the Chatot and Tohome were related to the Choctaw.

- CHICORA A name given by the Spanish in 1521 to a group living south of Edisto river on the coast of South Carolina (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:263). Speck (1924) argued for a Catawba affiliation.

- CHISCA Swanton believed Chisca and Westo to be Yuchi groups (but see Crane 1919).

- EYEISH (Aiche) A tribe of the Caddo confederacy living on Eyeish creek between Sabine and Neches rivers of Texas (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:449). Sibley (1832:722) notes: "Their native language is spoken by no other nation; but they speak and understand Caddo." Sibley (1922:12) reports having collected a vocabulary.

- GRIGRA A small tribe incorporated with the Natchez confederacy in 1720 (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:507).

- GUALE The Spanish used the term Guale in the sixteenth century for an area and group located in northern Florida and southeast Georgia, sometimes assumed to be the Yamasee of a later period (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:509). The names of three mission villages are recorded as Asao, Asopo, and Ospo. Broadwell (1991) found forms that he took to show that Guale was Muskogean, but Sturtevant (1994) showed that the forms were simply Creek. There are references to a grammar, catechism, and prayers written by the Jesuit Brother Domingo Agustín Vázquez in 1569, but his writings have not been located (Zubillaga 1946:61n.1, 403, 477n.18; Swanton 1922:85; Sturtevant 1994:146).

- HOUMA (Huma) Drechsel (1984) identifies examples of "Ouma" from 1700 (Du Ru 1934) as Mobilian Jargon. Swanton (1911) gives seventy-five words and three sentences, observing that the material is "little different from the Choctaw expressions", and Crawford (1975:34) entertains the idea that the data might be Mobilian Jargon. Brown and H. Hardy (2000) suggest instead that Swanton's data represent a language related to Chickasaw and Choctaw.

- KOROÁ (Coroa) A small tribe living in the vicinity of the Yazoo river, Mississippi (Hodge 1907-1910:726).

- MEHERRIN The Meherrin lived near the coasts of Virginia and North Carolina. Edward Bland, writing in 1650, recorded two town names Unote and Cowochahawkon that have been taken to suggest an Iroquoian source (Mithun 1979a:139, Rudes 1981).

- MICHIGAMEA A small tribe visited by Marquette in 1673, situated on the west side of the Mississippi, possibly between the St. Francis and Mississippi rivers, Arkansas

(Hodge 1907-1910, 1:856). The name of the tribe is sometimes thought to be Algonquian, though two sentences recorded by Bossu (1768) have led John Koontz (personal communication, 2001) to suggest a Siouan affiliation.

- **MOBILE** A tribe (sometimes assumed to be speak a Muskogean language) living on Mobile Bay, Alabama when the French began forming a colony there in 1700 (Hodge 1907-1910, 1:916). The native language of the Mobile (not to be confused with Mobilian Jargon) was never recorded.

- **NATCHITOCHE** According to Sibley (1832:724), this tribe originally spoke the same language as the Yatasi, but spoke Caddo as well.

- **OCCANEECHI** A small tribe formerly residing in southern Virginia and northern North Carolina, and associated with the Tutelo and Saponi (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:103).

- **OCONEE** A small tribe formerly living on Oconee river, Georgia (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:105).

- **OPELOUSA** A small tribe living in southern Louisiana (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:139). According to Sibley (1832), they had a language of their own, though they understood Atakapa. The "Opelousa Manuscript" described in Read (1940) is now thought to be Mobilian Jargon (Drechsel 1997).

- **PAKANA** The Pakana are a small tribe long associated with the Alabama and Koasati, and moving with members of those tribes to present Polk County, Texas in 1834. Sibley (1832:724) noted only that "their language differs from any other". It is sometimes thought that the Pakana spoke Creek.

- **PASCAGOULA** A small tribe living on Pascagoula River in southern Mississippi, in association with the Biloxi from 1699 to the nineteenth century (Hodge 1907-1910,

2:205). According to Sibley (1832:725), they "speak Mobilian, but have a language peculiar to themselves." A short list of words recorded by Swanton (1911:32) might represent Mobilian Jargon.

- TAENSA A small tribe encountered by La Salle in 1682 on Lake St. Joseph in present Tensas parish, Louisiana, and sometimes linked to the Natchez (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:668). Data in Parisot (1880, 1881) and Haumonté and Adam (1882) were exposed by Brinton (1885) as a hoax.

- TEQUESTA A group living in southeastern Florida in the sixteenth century (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:733).

- TIOU A group on the lower Mississippi and Yazoo rivers (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:758).

- TOCOBAGA A tribe occupying the west coast of Florida above Tampa in the sixteenth century.

- WASHA (Ouacha) A small tribe inhabiting the lower part of Bayou Lafourche, Louisiana, and closely associated with the Chaouacha (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:918).

- WESTO A tribe living along the Savannah river in the latter part of the seventeenth century (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:936). Swanton believed Chisca and Westo to be Yuchi groups (but see Crane 1919).

- YAMACRAW A Lower Creek group settling in the western area of present Savannah, Georgia, about 1730 (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:986). Their personal names and titles appear to have been Creek.

- YAMASEE A tribe occupying the coast region and islands of southern Georgia in the sixteenth century, and extending into Florida (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:986). Sturtevant

(1994) reviewed evidence in Broadwell (1991) and other sources, showing that the language of the Yamasee is still unknown.

- YATASI According to Sibley (1832), this tribe lived on Bayou river (or Stony creek), which falls into Red river, western division, about fifty miles above Natchitoches, Louisiana. He states (p. 722) that their "original language differs from any other; but now, all speak Caddo."

- YAZOO A tribe on the lower Yazoo river, Mississippi, and closely associated with the Koroa (Hodge 1907-1910, 2:995).

### **Distant Relations**

Remote connections have been posited among the language isolates and families in Table 1 or between these families and other families in the Americas (vol. 17:290-323).

A Natchez-Muskogean connection was pursued in Swanton (1907, 1924) and Haas (1956). Swanton (1919) further proposed a relationship between Tunica, Chitimacha, and Atakapa. These ideas were adopted by Sapir (1929, 1949), who further placed Tunican (consisting of Tunica-Atakapa and Chitimacha), Iroquois-Caddoan, and an Eastern grouping of Siouan-Yuchi and Natchez-Muskogian in his Hokan-Siouan (vol. 17:314).

Swadesh (1946a, 1947) found evidence for the Atakapa-Chitimacha portion of this group. Haas (1951, 1952, 1969) later grouped all of Atakapa, Chitimacha, Natchez, Tunica, and Muskogean into the Gulf languages, and suggested distant connections to

Siouan and Yuchi. Gursky (1969) examined Atakapa-Chitimacha-Tunica, finding them no closer than different branches of Hokan. For a time, Haas felt the Gulf languages might be related to Algic (Haas 1958, 1969, see also Gursky 1965, 1965a). She later quietly dropped this proposal, though its correctness is often assumed in maps and other materials from the period. Greenberg (1987) grouped Gulf with Yukian in Penutian.<sup>9</sup> Kimball (1992) criticized Greenberg's use of data (defended in Greenberg 1996:156-160). Munro (1994) found the Yuki-Gulf grouping worthy of further research.

Allen (1931) and Chafe (1964) saw the possibility of a relationship between Siouan and Iroquoian. Chafe (1973, 1976) considered a Macro-Siouan grouping of Caddoan, Iroquoian, and Siouan. Mithun (1995) examined the syntactic change in such a grouping. Several authors have suggested that Yuchi is distantly related to Siouan-Catawba (Sapir 1929; Haas 1964; Elmendorf 1963, 1964). Greenberg (1987) proposed several higher groupings (vol. 17:317-318).

Gatschet (1884:12, 1888:193) saw connections, apparently borrowings, between Timucua, Creek, and Carib. Swanton (1929b) found similarities among Tawasa, Timucua, and Muskogean. Greenberg (1987) grouped Timucua in Chibchan-Paezan. Granberry (1993:15) saw similarities between Timucua, Warao, and Cuna within Macro-Chibchan.

Of these groupings, most specialists in 2000 would probably consider Haas's Gulf, Sapir's Siouan-Yuchi, and Chafe's Macro-Siouan to be the most promising proposals for future research.

## Language Prehistory

The study of the languages in a geographical area can sometimes provide evidence regarding contact, migration, and the length of time various groups have been separated.

Lexicostatistics (vol. 17:65) has been applied to several southeastern language groups to provide some measure of comparative diversity. Based on these results, the Muskogean, Siouan, and Caddoan families appear to have diverged internally at roughly the same time: Broadwell (1994) estimated that the Muskogean languages began separating 3,000 years ago (Table 8); Caddo appears to have diverged from the Northern Caddoan languages 3,000-3,500 years ago (vol. 13:85); Crow and Kansa/Osage are estimated to have been separate for 3,200 years within Siouan (vol. 13:104). More remote connections are more difficult to gauge. Grimm (1987) estimated that Catawba separated from the Siouan languages 7,000-8,000 years ago, while Swadesh (1954) found that Atakapa and Chitimacha separated only 4,700 years ago (Table 8). These estimates must be viewed cautiously, but are useful in giving some idea of the closeness of relations among southeastern languages.

Sapir (1916, 1949:452-455) is often credited with the idea that the deepest splits within a family are the oldest ones, and hence that they provide clues to where a proto-language was spoken. Foster (vol. 17:64-65) has called this principle the 'center of gravity' principle.

It seems unlikely that this principle can be applied in a useful way to the Muskogean languages, as all of the languages were spoken in fairly close proximity. If the "Gulf" hypothesis can eventually be established, however, the deepest splits in the

proposed stock would be located in present Louisiana, suggesting an eastward migration of Muskogean speakers.<sup>10</sup>

The study of borrowings between languages can sometimes provide clues about relationships between the speakers of those languages (Figure 1). European loanwords are discussed in Sturtevant (1962), Martin (1994a), and Brown (1998). Borrowing between indigenous languages is discussed in Gatschet (1888:190-193), Ballard (1983), Haas (1968), and Martin (1994a).

Studies of place-names can sometimes provide clues to the earlier inhabitants in a region. Some of the non-Muskogean place-names of coastal Georgia may one day yield to analysis. Swanton (1946) and Booker et al. (1992) review the origins of names for tribal groups in the Southeast.

### **The Southeast as a Linguistic Area**

Given both the diversity of languages in the Southeast and the size of the area covered, it is not surprising that few linguistic features can be said to define the region, and that many southeastern features are found elsewhere in North America (vol. 17:137-157). Still there are certain characteristics that, if not indicative of the area, are at least widespread.

In most southeastern languages, the basic order of elements in a sentence is subject, object, verb.

Atakapa (Gatschet and Swanton 1932:26)

cul    kaú kau    ǎ mět

dog    water    drank

'the dog lapped the water'

This is the order found in the Muskogean languages, Atakapa, Biloxi, Chitimacha, Natchez, Timucua, Tunica, and Yuchi.<sup>11</sup> Adjectives generally follow the nouns they modify. Compounding of nouns is common, and many languages have diminutive suffixes on nouns and verbs. Location and direction are usually expressed by postpositions, though some languages also use prefixes on verbs for this function.<sup>12</sup>

Tunica (Haas 1940a:114)

ʔu'nir    ki'ʔ uhpε 'kʔ uhkε 'nì

his:teeth    in-he:hit:him

'he hit him in his teeth'

Positional verbs ('sit', 'stand', 'lie') are often important, used to state existence and serving in some languages as auxiliaries.<sup>13</sup>

Reduplication (the repetition of a portion of a word) is common in verbs to express plurals. Verbs referring to position or movement may also have special forms depending on the number of participants involved. With the exception of Tunica (vol. 17:142-143), it is rare to find gender or other noun class systems in the Southeast. Noun incorporation, while present to some degree in most of the languages, is also not used extensively.

Most southeastern languages display a split in the affixes used to indicate person. One set of affixes is used for subjects that act agentively (i.e., deliberately), while another set is used for non-agentive subjects or for direct objects.<sup>14</sup>

Creek (Margaret Mauldin, personal communication, 1999)

na·fk-éy-s 'I am hitting it/him/her'

hî·c-ey-s 'I have looked at it/him/her'

li·tk-éy-s 'I am running'

lêyk-ey-s 'I have sat down'

latêyk-ey-s 'I fell (on purpose)'

ca-na·fk-ís 'he/she is hitting me'

ca-hî·c-is 'he/she has looked at me'

ca-híc-r-s 'I can see'

ca-láw-r-s 'I am hungry'

ca-latêyk-is 'I fell (accidentally)'

Coordination of sentences is rare in the Southeast: instead, clauses are 'linked'. In the Muskogean languages, switch-reference markers appear at the ends of subordinate clauses to indicate that the subject is the same as or different from the next higher clause

(vol. 17:156-157). Stylistically, direct quotation is favored in stories over indirect quotation.

Many southeastern languages make use of pitch and are known for having complex systems of internal changes in verbs. Sherzer (1976:206-207) observes that the presence of labial (or bilabial) fricatives (e.g.,  $\text{ɸ}$ ) is a central areal trait of the Southeast, found in all of the Muskogean languages and in Ofo, Timucua, Tuscarora, Yuchi, and marginally in Biloxi (see also Gatschet 1888:70).

Aside from these broad generalizations, few linguistic properties are shared by the Southeast as a whole or serve to distinguish the Southeast from other culture areas. Indeed, in a study of the native languages north of Mexico, Joel Sherzer (1976:253) concluded that "the Southeast...is best viewed not as a single linguistic area but rather as several" (see also Nicklas 1994).

### **The Ethnography of Speaking**

Versions of the same stories have been collected in the Southeast from points as far away as Florida, Texas, and Oklahoma (Swanton 1929; Jumper 1994; H. Martin 1974). The specific wording used varies with the individual and with each telling. Rabbit is a frequent trickster, though Alan Dundes (1969) has argued that some of these stories are African in origin (see also Bascom 1992). Among the Florida Seminole, those listening to a story are traditionally expected to make a spitting noise four times at the end.

Curing songs, chants, or formulas are used by the Cherokee, Creek, Hitchiti, Seminole, Koasati, and Yuchi, among others (Gatschet 1884:79-80; Howard 1984;

Mooney 1932; Speck 1909; Sturtevant 1954; Kimball 1991:574). These have fixed wording with frequent use of parallelism. Language and accompanying actions may be repeated four times to signify completeness (once for each cardinal direction, often with reference to an associated color), and reference may be made to animals or other entities associated with the sickness. Mooney (1932) argued that the language appearing in Cherokee curing songs was sometimes archaic, but the actual phrases used in curing songs are often individual and differ between groups.

In 2000, several tribal groups continued to celebrate the annual Green Corn Ceremony in the summer. Amelia Rector Bell (1984, 1985) studied ritual speech at a Creek-speaking ground; Jason Jackson and Mary Linn (2000) examined Yuchi "dance calls". Dance songs are often named for particular animals. The dance leader (a man) sings in an individual, sometimes humorous way, and other dancers provide the chorus. Dance songs and medicine songs frequently employ expressive syllables. Since the 1830s, a number of groups have had Christian hymns. Some of these are translations of English hymns, while others have been created in the native languages. Some groups (e.g, the Cherokee) may sing in harmony, while others (such as the Creek) traditionally sing in unison.

There have been several reports of grammatical differences between men's and women's speech in the Southeast. Gatschet (1884:79) reported that Creek and Hitchiti women preserve an older form of the language: in Hitchiti, he characterizes this "archaic" or "female" dialect as having verb-final -i where the corresponding "male" dialect has verb-final -is. Haas (1944) reported a similar distinction in Koasati (see also vol. 17:230; Saville-Troike 1988; Kimball 1987a, 1990).

Multilingualism has been common in the Southeast. In 2000, both Alabama and Koasati were in use at the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation in Texas, and both Mikasuki and Creek were in use in the Seminole Tribe of Florida. In both instances, the languages are close enough that individuals often acquire a passive understanding of the other language. Conversations are thus frequently conducted in two languages. Some families at the Brighton Reservation in Florida conduct their everyday conversations in two languages: one parent speaks Creek and understands Mikasuki, the other speaks Mikasuki and understands Creek, and the children speak and understand both. Among bilinguals, switching in mid-sentence between languages is common. Pamela Innes (1991) argued that switching between Creek and English proved the speaker capable of bridging different groups.

Literacy developed unevenly in the Southeast. Because of their different goals, missionaries concentrated on the major languages of the Southeast (Timucua, Cherokee, Choctaw, Creek), while linguists began with the endangered ones. The languages with literate speakers in 2000 were still those reached by missionaries in the nineteenth century: Cherokee (largely as a result of Sequoya's efforts, see vol. 17:162-167), Choctaw, and Creek.

Beginning with Swadesh (1948), several individuals studied language replacement. Robert S. Williams (1996, 1999) studied language obsolescence among the Oklahoma Choctaw. Helena Halmari (1998) surveyed language use on the Alabama-Coushatta Indian Reservation.

## Notes

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<sup>1</sup> The Algonquian languages Powhatan, Pamlico, and Shawnee are treated here as belonging to the Northeast (vol. 15). See volume 17 for a map of North American languages.

<sup>2</sup> Groupings based on language do not always coincide with tribal groups: a Seminole who speaks Creek is not Creek.

<sup>3</sup> In 2001, a catalog of the NAA's holdings could be searched at SIRIS ([www.siris.si.edu](http://www.siris.si.edu)). The American Philosophical Society's catalog was available at [www.amphilsoc.org](http://www.amphilsoc.org).

<sup>4</sup> A classification of Muskogean reflecting Booker's Central grouping appears in vol. 17:

<sup>5</sup> Apalachee may have been a third sphere of influence.

<sup>6</sup> As described by Gatschet (1888:5), this story was first recorded in German in 1735, translated into English, and then from English into Creek and Hitchiti.

<sup>7</sup> Drechsel (1997) speculated that a special form of Creek (the "lingua franca Creek") might have existed bearing some relationship to Mobilian Jargon.

<sup>8</sup> A few alleged Bidai numbers appear in Grimes (1887), but show no connection to Atakapa.

<sup>9</sup> See vol. 17:83-84 for discussion of Yukian.

<sup>10</sup> See vol. 17:109-110 for further discussion of southeastern linguistic prehistory.

<sup>11</sup> Cherokee differs in having relatively free word order (Scancarelli 1987:34).

<sup>12</sup> See vol. 17:152 for a Yuchi example.

<sup>13</sup> See vol. 17:144 for a Tunica example.

<sup>14</sup> See vol. 17:149 for Koasati examples.

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**Table 1. Native Languages of the Southeastern United States**

Caddoan

Caddo

Iroquoian

Cherokee

Nottoway

Tuscarora

Muskogean

Alabama

Apalachee

Chickasaw

Choctaw

Creek

Hitchiti/Mikasuki

Koasati

Siouan-Catawba

Biloxi

Catawban (Catawba and Woccon)

Ofo

Timucuan

Tawasa

Timucua

Language Isolates

Atakapa

Chitimacha

Natchez

Tunica

Yuchi

Contact Jargons and Pidgins

Mobilian Jargon

Tutelo

**Table 2. Partial List of Groups with Languages that are Insufficiently Documented to Classify**

<u>Acolapissa</u>	<u>Michigamea</u>
<u>Adai</u>	<u>Mobile</u>
<u>Akokisa</u>	<u>Natchitoches</u>
<u>Avoyelles (Avoyel)</u>	<u>Oconee</u>
<u>Bidai</u>	<u>Opelousa</u>
<u>Calusa</u>	<u>Pakana</u>
<u>Chakchiuma</u>	<u>Pascagoula</u>
<u>Chaoucha</u>	<u>Taensa</u>
<u>Chatot</u>	<u>Tequesta</u>
<u>Eyeish (Aiche)</u>	<u>Tiou</u>
<u>Grigra</u>	<u>Tocobaga</u>
<u>Guale</u>	<u>Washa (Ouacha)</u>
<u>Houma (Huma)</u>	<u>Yamacraw</u>
<u>Koroa (Coroa)</u>	<u>Yamasee</u>
<u>Meherrin</u>	<u>Yazoo</u>

**Table 3. The Iroquoian family (after Mithun 1999:418)**

IROQUOIAN

NORTHERN IROQUOIAN

Proto-Lake Iroquoian

Huron-Wyandot: Huron, Wyandot

Laurentian

Iroquois Proper (Five Nations Iroquois)

Seneca-Cayuga: Seneca, Cayuga

Onondaga

Susquehannock (Andaste, Conestoga)

Oneida-Mohawk: Oneida, Mohawk

Tuscarora-Nottoway: Tuscarora, Nottoway

SOUTHERN IROQUOIAN: Cherokee

**Table 4. The Muskogean family**

MUSKOGEAN

CHICKASAW-CHOCTAW: Chickasaw, Choctaw

ALABAMA-KOASATI: Alabama, Koasati

Apalachee

Hitchiti/Mikasuki

Creek

**Table 5. Similarities among the Muskogean languages**

<u>Choctaw</u>	<u>Alabama</u>	<u>Mikasuki</u>	<u>Creek</u>	<u>English</u>
<u>iyyi</u>	<u>iyyi</u>	<u>i·yi</u>	<u>ilí</u>	'his/her foot'
<u>sa-yyi</u>	<u>ca-yyi</u>	<u>ca·yi</u>	<u>ca-lí</u>	'my foot'
<u>ci-yyi</u>	<u>ci-yyi</u>	<u>ci·yi</u>	<u>ci-lí</u>	'your foot'
<u>po-yyi</u>	<u>po-yyi</u>	<u>po·yi</u>	<u>po-lí</u>	'our foot'
<u>ofi</u>	<u>ifa</u>	<u>i·fi</u>	<u>ifá</u>	'dog'
<u>am-ofi</u>	<u>am-ifa</u>	<u>am-i·fi</u>	<u>am-ífa</u>	'my dog'
<u>cim-ofi</u>	<u>cim-ifa</u>	<u>cim-i·fi</u>	<u>cim-ífa</u>	'your dog'
<u>pom-ofi</u>	<u>pom-ifa</u>	<u>pom-i·fi</u>	<u>pom-ífa</u>	'our dog'

**Table 6. Developments in the Muskogean Languages**

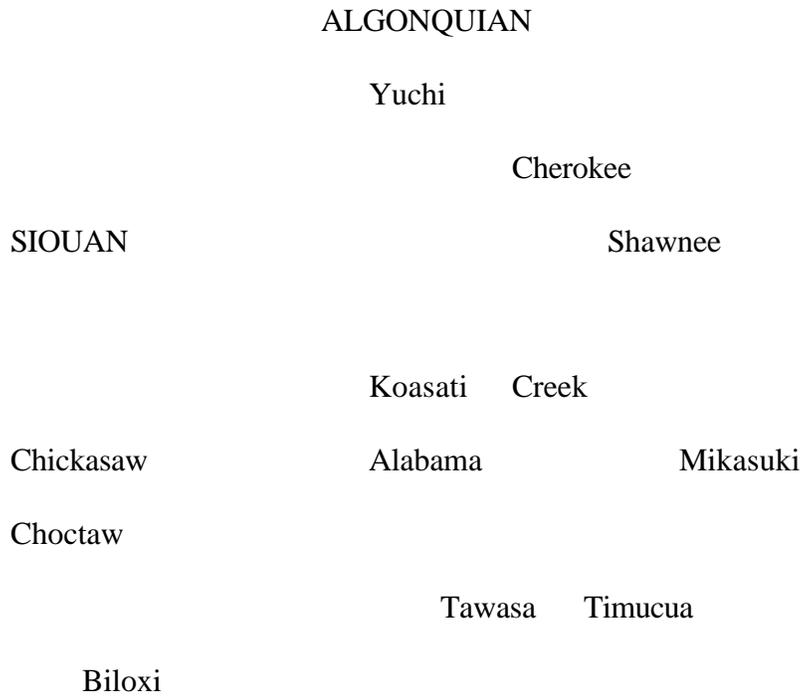
	'fish'	'male'	'mulberry'	'yellow'
Proto-Muskogean	* <u>NaNiho</u>	* <u>nakni</u>	* <u>k<sup>w</sup>ihi</u>	* <u>lakna</u>
Chickasaw	<u>naniʔ</u>	<u>nakniʔ</u>	<u>bihiʔ</u>	<u>lakna</u>
Choctaw	<u>nani</u>	<u>nakni</u>	<u>bihi</u>	<u>lakna</u>
Alabama	<u>laʔo</u>	<u>na·ni</u>	<u>bihi</u> 'fig'	<u>la·na</u>
Koasati	<u>laʔo</u>	<u>na·ni</u>	<u>bihi</u> 'fig'	<u>la·na</u>
Hitchiti-Mikasuki	<u>la:ʔi</u>	<u>nakn-i</u>	<u>bi·h-i</u>	<u>lakn-i</u>
Creek	<u>laʔo</u>	<u>honánwa</u>	<u>kí·</u>	<u>lá·n-i</u>

**Table 7. Timucuan**

	Tawasa	Timucua
'bread'	<u>pí</u> ss <u>o</u>	<u>pe</u> so <u>l</u> o
'meat'	so <u>ú</u> a	so <u>b</u> a
'knife'	<u>pí</u> ch <u>o</u> t	<u>pi</u> ch <u>o</u>
'boy'	loókqǔy	<u>aru</u> qui
'one'	<u>yá</u> nk <u>f</u> ah	<u>y</u> aha, <u>y</u> anka
'two'	<u>eú</u> ksah	<u>y</u> ucha
'three'	<u>hó</u> p-ho	<u>h</u> apu
'four'	<u>che</u> cúttah	<u>che</u> queta
'five'	<u>ma</u> reékah	<u>ma</u> reca

SOURCE: Swanton (1929a:450)

**Figure 1. Paths of diffusion in the Southeast** (after Martin 1994:16)



**Table 8. Estimated Time-Depth of Separation among Selected "Gulf" languages**

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<u>Language Pair</u>	<u>Percent Cognate</u>	<u>Years of Separation</u>
Atakapa-Chitimacha	14	4700 yrs.
Choctaw-Creek	41	2950 yrs. $\pm$ 380 yrs.
Chickasaw-Creek	45	2650 yrs. $\pm$ 350 yrs.
Alabama-Creek	51	2230 yrs. $\pm$ 320 yrs.
Mikasuki-Creek	55	1980 yrs. $\pm$ 290 yrs.
Choctaw-Mikasuki	56	1920 yrs. $\pm$ 290 yrs.
Chickasaw-Mikasuki	56	1920 yrs $\pm$ 290 yrs.
Choctaw-Alabama	61	1640 yrs. $\pm$ 250 yrs.
Alabama-Mikasuki	63	1530 yrs. $\pm$ 250 yrs.
Chickasaw-Alabama	66	1380 yrs. $\pm$ 230 yrs.
Choctaw-Chickasaw	85	540 yrs. $\pm$ 140 yrs.

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SOURCE: Atakapa-Chitimacha from Swadesh (1954); others from Broadwell (1994).