A GRAMMATICAL SKETCH OF APALACHEE

GEOFFREY KIMBALL

TULANE UNIVERSITY

1. Introduction. Apalachee is a long-extinct Muskogean language formerly spoken in northern Florida and southern Georgia. At the present time, the only known document in Apalachee is a letter written in 1688 to Charles II of Spain and published in facsimile by Buckingham Smith in 1860.[1] The whereabouts of the original manuscript are at present unknown. Additional documents written in Apalachee were reported to have existed in the archives of Havana (Gatschet 1884:76); the continued existence of these documents is also unknown.

There has been only one published attempt to translate portions of the letter, by T. Noxon Toomey in 1918. However, this work is so replete with errors that it is essentially useless. John R. Swanton apparently made an interlinear Apalachee–English version of the letter; this was used by Mary R. Haas in her article "The Position of Apalachee in the Muskogean Family" (1949). Although Swanton's version contains errors,[2] these are not the kind that would affect the validity of Haas's work.

The letter, as published by Smith, is of three sheets, approximately 8″ × 14″ in size, written in a clear, seventeenth-century Spanish hand. The accompanying Spanish version is typeset, not in facsimile, although seemingly a direct transcription of the original text.

The letter can be divided into fourteen sections or paragraphs. Many of these sections begin with the word *komahli* or a variant of this word, and most terminate in a verb phrase ending in the element *ihka*. Those sections that do not are set off from the others by a change in topic.

---

[1] The copy of this document used in this study is a photocopy of the original, in the possession of the library of the University of Georgia. The document has no title page but has the following handwritten inscription: Mrs. Mary Sparks,/ these documents (seven sheets) in the/ Spanish and two of the early tongues/ of Florida - Apalachian & Timuquan-/ from her very obedient servant/ Buckingham Smith (rubric)/ Feby, 1860. It also contains a letter in Timucua, also in facsimile, with a typeset Spanish version.

[2] Besides the confusion of *hasno* 'you' with *pihno* 'we', an example is *haskaho* glossed as 'we say' (Haas 1949:122). This has been lifted from its context, *poha-t itahla-t has-ka-ho dios* 'You will(?) hear it together with(?) God'. Although the sense of the phrase is uncertain, it is clear that the element *has-ka-* forms part of the inflection of the verb phrase *poha-t itahla-t* and indicates a second-person plural subject.

TABLE 1
STANDARDIZATION OF ORTHOGRAPHY

Character	Phonemic Realization	Character	Phonemic Realization
a	/a/	*m*	/m/
b; *v∠V*; *u∠V*	/b/	*n*	/n/
ch	/c/	*o*; *v∠C*; *u∠C*	/o/
f	/f/	*p*	/p/
h; *g∠i*	/h/	*s*	/s/
i; *y∠C*	/i/	*t*	/t/
c; *qu*; *q*; *g*	/k/	*gu∠V*	/w/
l	/l/	*y*; *i∠V*	/y/
lz	/ł/	*CiV*	/CiyV/

These sections can be correlated with sections of the Spanish version, and their general sense understood. Unfortunately, the Spanish version is extremely free; often material not in the Apalachee is inserted while other material is not rendered. To help elucidate the text, lexical material from Koasati,[3] Choctaw (Byington 1915 and Nicklas 1972), Creek (Loughridge and Hodge 1890), Mikasuki (Derrick-Mescua 1980 and Boynton 1982), and Hitchiti (Gatschet 1884) was used.

2. Orthographic standardization and reconstructed phonology. The Apalachee orthography is based on then-contemporary Spanish usage and is only moderately successful in conveying the distinctions of the language. Table 1 contains a list of the characters used in the letter and their probable phonemic realization.

That prevocalic *u* is to be phonemicized by /b/ is shown by the fact that *u* freely varies with *b* before vowels: (*chuua~chuba*) /coba/ 'great'. That *lz* is to be phonemicized as *ł* is shown by such cognates as Ap. (*milzli*) /miłli/ 'to clean', K. *miłlin* 'to clean by scrubbing'.

Koasati phonemes consist of the voiceless fortis stops *p*, *t*, *c* (pronounced [č] or [ts] depending on age of speaker), *k*, and *ʔ*; the voiced stop *b*; the fricatives *f*, *s*, *ł* (lateral fricative), and *h*; the resonants *m*, *n*, *l*, and *y*; the short vowels *a*, *i*, and *o*, and the long vowels *a:*, *i:*, and *o:*. There is also a morpheme of nasalization and one of glottal stop insertion. Koasati is a pitch-accent language; the pitches are high (´), mid (unmarked), low (`), and high rising-falling (ˇ).

The orthography of the letter indicates that the process of lenition was beginning on the stop consonants, as Apalachee /k/ is frequently written *g*. Fortis pronunciation of consonants is typical of Koasati, Alabama, and Choctaw; lenis pronunciation is typical of Creek, Hitchiti, and Mikasuki. As no other Apalachee consonants are written with symbols for voiced consonants, it is apparent that lenition was only just beginning to occur. It is notable that /k/ is written as *g* even after *h*; in Mikasuki *h* has a voiced, lenis allophone (Derrick-Mescua 1980:142–43).

There was almost certainly phonemic vowel length in Apalachee, but as it was not written, it can only be deduced by comparison with forms in other Muskogean languages. Examples of probable vowel length are: (*tolo*) /to:lo/ 'two', K. *tóklon*; (*mitac*) /mi:tak/ 'other', K. *mí:ta*; and (*-foga*) /-:fo:ka/ 'when', K. *-:fó:ka*; Hit. *-kfo:k-*. Only when such evidence is available will vowel length be written in the retranscription.

Geminate consonant clusters seem to have been eliminated in Apalachee, either by dissimilation, with the initial member becoming *h*, as in Ap. /ihti-pica-hi-n/ (*yhtipichahin*) 'they might see each other', K. *itti-hí:c-áhi-n*; or by degemination, as in Ap. /haci-ya/ 'your (pl.) feet', K. *haci-yyí*; Ap. /tafon/ 'in town'; pre-Ap. */taffon/, syncoped from */talofon/, cf. Creek *talofa* 'town'.[4]

There are indications that there were restrictions on the occurrences of the phonemes /b/ and /f/. With three exceptions—these being /bi/ 'indeed'(?), /balaył/li/ 'to cause to dress', and /basisa/ 'person of the town of Basisa'—/b/ occurs only word medially or finally, as in /hahlaba/ 'year' and /fokomb/ 'smelling'. On the other hand, the phoneme /f/ occurs only word or morpheme initially, with the single exception of /tafon/ 'in town'; examples of its use being /finha/ 'very', /fihla/ 'good', /pi-fa-n ayokpa-t/ 'we are happy', and /slinha-:fo:ka/ 'when he governed'. It seems possible that word medially /f/ (Proto-Muskogean $*x^w$) became /b/ (PM $*k^w$); an example seems to be Ap. /abaka/ 'to meet', which appears to be cognate to Koasati *afánkan* 'to meet'. It is not clear what happened to word-initial /b/. In one case, /inbana/ 'wish; will', it has been preserved by becoming word medial.[5] In other cases it may have fallen together with /w/, although there are no examples at present of this change.[6]

---

[4] This degemination may only be apparent. Throughout the letter the scribe often leaves out *h* before another consonant; however, the evidence on this point is scanty.

[5] This has also occurred in the word *inholihla* 'soul', cf. Koasati *holillá* 'sorcery', literally 'that which pertains to supernatural power'. Incorporation of the dative prefix as part of the verb root also occurs sporadically in Koasati, for example, *incá:lin* 'to write', Mikasuki *cawli-*; Apalachee *coŧli*.

[6] See Booker (1983) for a discussion of unusual reflexes of Proto-Muskogean $*k^w$ and $*x^w$.

3. Nouns. In Apalachee, nouns lack the case suffixes that occur in all other Muskogean languages. Nouns having a subject or object function are distinguished syntactically, by a relatively rigid word order: Subject Object Verb. That the language formerly had a case system is shown by the existence of the switch-reference suffixes -*t*, indicating same subject, and -*n*, indicating different subject. Booker (1980) discusses the relationship between nominal case-marking and switch-reference systems in Muskogean languages. There are also two nouns which may show a reflex of the case suffix -*n* in a locative function: (*tafun*) /tafon/ 'to town; in town' and (*guailin*) /waylin/ 'to the border'. Examples of nouns in subject and object functions are as follows:

(1) *holahta ungia hachin cholz[li]t Ylcaihga*[7]

　　/holahta onhiya hacin-coɬli-t　　il-ka　　　ihka/
　　CACIQUE EVERY　2pldat-WRITE-ss　1plsubj-BE　progressive
　　'We, all the caciques, are writing to you'.

(2) *hachinsupaslos hachiia pulaqui innutat focomb*
　　/hacin-sopas-los haci-ya　　　polaki in-nota-t　　fokomb/
　　2plposs-SON-pl 2plposs-FOOT　NOBLE 3dat-SPEAK-ss　SMELL
　　'Your sons smell your noble feet and speak to them'.

There is a particle *ot* (*ut*) which appears in the text after a noun phrase and seems to give focus to that phrase. This may be cognate to the Koasati nominal suffix -*o:t*, which has focus uses, especially on lists of nouns. Example (3) shows the use of this particle.

(3) *hima holahta mitac ut pima cat has ca caio Don Diego quiroga canacaio, Gustini soco noli ca*

　　/hima holahta mi:tak <u>ot</u>　pim-aka-t　　has-ka　　　kayo
　　NOW　CACIQUE OTHER　part　1pldat-GIVE-ss　2plsubj-BE　pret

　　　don diego quiroga ka nakayo, kostini sokonoli　　ka/
　　　proper:name　　　BE CALLED WISE　GOOD:HEARTED BE
　　'Now, the cacique that you have given to us, who is called Don Diego Quiroga, is wise and good-hearted'.

There is another particle, *on* (*un*), which also seems to have focus functions. It occurs after a few nouns in cases where there seems to be emphasis placed on them as objects of verbs. It also occurs after a verb phrase which acts as the object of a following verb phrase; in this case the particle may be serving switch-reference rather than nominal functions. The following is an example which contains both uses of *on*.

[7] Items in brackets in the first line of an example indicate material left out by the scribe; items in brackets in the third line indicate a gloss that is tentative and unsupported by other evidence.

(4) *noc una fihla*[*chi*] *pintafun yfat fihlachit, yfat camasachit unihga*
    Yn pichanac siqi mogo

/nok   *on*   *a-fihlaci*   *pin-tafon*   *i-fa-t*
  THING part loc-IMPROVE   1plplss-TOWN   3stats-HAVE-ss

fihlaci-t   *i-fa-t*   *kamasaci-t*   *on*   *ihka*
IMPROVE-ss 3stat-HAVE-ss STRENGTHEN-ss part progress

in-pica-na-k   *siki*   *moko*/
3dat-SEE-nominalizer-conn   NOT:EXIST ?

'As for improving anything there, his seeing to the improvement
and strengthening of our towns did not exist'.

3.1. Possession. In Apalachee, as in other Muskogean languages, there
are two sets of pronominal prefixes to indicate possession. One set is
used primarily with inalienably possessed nouns, the other with mostly
alienably possessed nouns. Only the third-person and the plural prefixes
are attested.

	Inalienable Prefixes	Alienable Prefixes
1pl	*pi-*/__ C; *api-*/__ V	*pin-*
2pl	*haci-*	*hacin-*
3	*i-*	*in-*

The nasal segment of the alienable prefixes does not assimilate in
articulatory position to a following consonant, as in other Muskogean
languages.

When the *i-* of the inalienable prefixes occurs before a word beginning
in *i*, the later vowel is eliminated according to the pan-Muskogean rule
that collapses vowel clusters across morpheme boundaries: $V_1+V_2C_1>$
V_1C_1. The first-person plural inalienable prefix has a variant form used
before a vowel-initial word. This has been noted only in the following
word: **a:nip* 'body', *api-nip* 'our bodies' (cf. K. *a:nipó* 'flesh'). The
morphemic breakdown /api-nip/ is chosen over /a:,pi,nip/, with the
marker of possession inferred as infixed, due to a similar construction in
Koasati: *a:pihcí* 'body', *ako-pihci* 'our bodies' (*ko-* 1pl poss. prefix). This
form of alteration of the possessive prefix before a vowel-initial word
appears to occur only in Koasati and Apalachee; in Alabama other
formations are used (Lupardus 1982 and McCall 1972).

Table 2 is a table of nouns, both alienably and inalienably possessed.

3.2. Noun pluralization. Nouns are pluralized with the suffix *-los*,
which when added to an apparently vowel-final word causes the final *-h*
that seems to have existed in these words to be written.[8] Only nouns

---

[8] The plural suffix has been segmented as *-los* rather than *-hlos* on comparative grounds:
in Choctaw, many nouns that have been recorded as being vowel final actually terminate
in *h* (Nicklas 1974:11).

TABLE 2
NOUN POSSESSION

Inalienably Possessed Nouns				
Unprefixed Form	Gloss	Example		Gloss
iłki	'father'	*pi-łki*	(*pilzqui*)	'our father'
hakcop	'ear'	*pi-hakcop*	(*pihacchup*)	'our ears'
iya	'foot'	*haci-ya*	(*hachia*)	'your feet'
tobat	'form'	*haci-tobat*	(*hachitubat*)	'your form'
dios	'God'	*pi-dios*	(*pi-dios*)	'our God'
inbana	'will'	*i-nbana*	(*inbana*)	'his will'

Alienably Possessed Nouns				
Unprefixed Form	Gloss	Example		Gloss
holahta	'cacique'	*pin-holahta*	(*pinholahta*)	'our cacique'
rey	'king'	*pin-rey*	(*pinRey*)	'our king'
inholihla	'soul'	*pin-inholihla*	(*pininhulihla*)	'our souls'
tafon	'town'	*pin-tafon*	(*pintafun*)	'our town'
yalilka	'speech'	*hacin-yalilka*	(*hachinyalilga*)	'your speech'
holo	'shaman'	*in-holo*	(*inhulu*)	'his shaman'
yiksa	'clan'	*in-yiksa*	(*Yn yicsa*)	'his clan'
taskaya	'warrior'	*in-taskayah-los*	(*yntascaiahlos*)	'his warriors'

TABLE 3

Singular	Gloss	Plural	Orthography	Gloss
piłki	'our father'	*piłkih-los*	(*pilzquihlos*)	'our fathers'
sopas	'son'	*hacin-sopas-los*	(*hachinsupaslos*)	'your sons'
nan lakoski	'pagan'	*nan lakoskih-los*	(*nan lacosquihlos*)	'pagans'
nan slak	'old person'	*nan slak-los*	(*nan slaclos*)	'old people'
nan polaki	'noble person'	*nan polakih-los*	(*nan pulaquihlos*)	'nobles'
nan colika	'commoner'	*nan amali colikah-los*	(*nan amali chulicahlos*)	'all the commoners'
basisa	'person of the town of Basisa'	*basisah-los*	(*Basisahlos*)	'people of the town of Basisa'

referring to human beings seem to be able to take this suffix. Examples of noun pluralization are given in table 3.

3.3. Pronouns. Two independent pronouns are attested in Apalachee, the first-person plural *pihno* (*pihnu*) and the second-person plural *hasno* (*hasnu*). In Haas's article (1949), the pronouns are confused with each other and both translated as 'we'. This is due to an error in the translation by Swanton which she used. In the thirteenth section of the text, where *hasno* appears in a clear context, Don Diego Quiroga is

addressing the Apalachee directly. However, the Spanish translator did not follow the Apalachee text but instead put Quiroga's words in the mouths of the Apalachee, thus switching the pronouns. Because the section preceding Quiroga's speech as well as the section following are difficult, Swanton apparently did not notice that the narration switched from the first-person plural to the first-person singular. The following are examples of the use of these pronouns.

(5) *Cumahlihin Pihnu min Nan Pulaquih los min nan amali chulicah los min nan slak-los takaiali min*

/ *comahli-hi-n   pihno min nan   polakih-los min*
BE:THEN-suff-SW WE   ALSO ONE:WHO NOBLE-pl   ALSO

  nan   amali colikah-los   min nan   slak-los
  ONE:WHO ALL   COMMONER-pl ALSO ONE:WHO OLD-pl

  takayali min/
  FEMALE   ALSO

'And then, we also, the nobles also, all the commoners also, and the old women also, . . .'

(6) *Ynglesi ca lat hachiuit un lataca, castillo ca, torre ca nacaio un slaclz[l]ina tihcan, soldadoh los min, hasnoh los min*

/ *inglesi ka la-t   haci-bi-t   on   lataka, castillo*
ENGLISH BE ARRIVE-SS 2plobj-KILL-conn part PILE:UP CASTLE

  ka, torre   ca nakayo on   slakłi-na-t
  BE   TOWER BE CALLED part CAUSE:TO:LIVE-nominalizer-ss

  ihka-n,   soldadoh-los min, hasnoh-los min/
  progressive-sw SOLDIER-pl   ALSO YOU-pl   ALSO

'As the English are coming to kill you, put up what is called a "castle" or a "tower" so that the soldiers and also all of you may continue being made to live'.

3.4. Loanwords. There are a number of Spanish loanwords in the Apalachee text. Some of them are incorporated unaltered, such as *rey* and *dios*, while others have a suffix *-i* (phonemically / -ih/). None of the loanwords is completely assimilated to Apalachee phonology, although this may just be the result of the scribe writing words he knew to be of Spanish origin. Table 4 illustrates some loanwords that have been partially adjusted to Apalachee.

4. The verb. In Apalachee, the verb is distinctive in that it is inflected in the first- and second-persons plural and probably in the second-person singular, by means of an auxiliary verb. This is *ka* (*ca*), which

TABLE 4

Loan	Plural	Orthography	Gloss	Spanish
gobernadori	*gobernadorih-los*	(*governadorihlos*)	'governor'	*gobernador*
kristiano	*kristianoh-los*	(*christianohlos*)	'christian'	*c(h)ristiano*
saserdoti	*saserdotih-los*	(*saserdotihlos*)	'priest'	*sacerdote*
soldado	*soldadoh-los*	(*soldadohlos*)	'soldier'	*soldado*
inglesi	(not attested)	(*inglesi*)	'English'	*inglés*

TABLE 5
VERBAL INFLECTION

	Apalachee	Koasati IIICi	Alabama Periphrastic
1s	*STEM-li*	*STEM-li*	*STEM-li*
2s	*STEM-t iska	*STEM-tíska*	*STEM-tiska*
3	*STEM*	*STEM*	*STEM*
1pl	*STEM-t ilka*	*STEM-tílka*	*STEM-tilka*
2pl	*STEM-t haska*	*STEM-táska*	*STEM-taska*

also is an independent verb with the meaning 'to be'. As an auxiliary, it is inflected with the prefix *il-* for first-person plural, and the prefix *has-* for second-person plural. As an independent verb, it is inflected with itself. The auxiliary is connected to the verb or verb complex which it inflects with a *-t* suffixed to the immediately preceding verb. This suffix is cognate to the Koasati suffix *-t* which is used to connect verbs having the same subject.[9] The inflection of the Apalachee verb is strongly reminiscent of the Koasati verb class IIICi and the Alabama periphrastic conjugation (Lupardus 1982:140). Table 5 compares the Apalachee verb inflection with the Koasati and Alabama inflections.

The Koasati class is used primarily to inflect a number of rare or borrowed verbs but is also available to inflect any verb the class of which the speaker has temporarily forgotten. It is easy to understand how a similar class in Apalachee could have been extended, eliminating all other verb classes. Traces of other verb classes still remain in Apalachee; these will be discussed in **5** below.

---

[9] In Koasati paradigms where *t* occurs, it is fused with following material to form a monomorphemic subject cross-reference marker. Only using comparative evidence can it be established that the *t* in these cases was a separate morpheme.

4.1. Examples of inflected verbs. The first-person singular seems to occur only twice in the text, both examples being in the fourteenth section of the letter. In this section, Quiroga is speaking to the Indians; a translation of the corresponding Spanish reads 'I will help you with armaments and all that is necessary'. The Apalachee text reads:

(7) *ifat ut hachipi lat untali* [*sic*] *ca noc tulu oncali ca inahubat naliqui*

/*i-fa-t   ot   haci-pila-t   onka-li ka nok   to:lo*
3stat-HAVE-ss part 2plobj-HELP-ss BE-1ss BE THING TWO

onka-li ka inahuba-t   naliki/
BE-1ss BE BE:PREPARED-ss ?

If *ontali* is an error for *onkali*, as seems likely, the phrase would mean (discounting *naliki*, which cannot be identified at the present time) 'I am helping you that it might have it; it is two things I am doing to prepare it(?)'. That the verb *onka* means 'to be; to do' (in addition to *ka*) is indicated by the phrase that renders the term 'vassals', /*pim-i-fa-t onka-na*/ (*pimifat uncana*), literally, 'our ones who are had to do things' (this item is discussed further in **4.4**). Mikasuki has a cognate verb *onk(a)* (Boynton 1982:87–88). Koasati also has a cognate form, the intransitive verb 'to be', *ónkan*, the use of which is shown in the following example.

(8) *tiskómmak fó:son ónk*

/*tiskómma-k   fó:s-on   ónk*/
CARDINAL-subj BIRD-obj:foc BE(intrans)

'The cardinal is a bird'.

In addition, the transitive form of the verb 'to be' in Koasati, *ómmin*, in colloquial speech also means 'to do', as in the following example.

(9) *anók óntákkọ*

/*anó-k óm-tákko-Y*/
I-subj BE(trans)-1sneg(IIA)-phr:term

'I didn't do it'.

The second-person singular is not attested in the letter. However, by structural comparison with the second-person plural and by comparison with other Muskogean languages, the Apalachee second-person singular cross-reference marker can inferred to be *-t iska*.

The third-person singular and plural are unmarked:

(10) *hachimacat ihquit*

/*hacim-aka-t   ihki-t*/
2pldat-GIVE-ss progressive(?)-ss

'He is giving it to you'.

(11) *maquin, occhiquiti apila*

/*maki-n okcikiti apila*/
SO-SW   SEAPORT HELP

'So, he helps the seaport'.

(12) *pihuluchi finha*

/*pi-holoci   finha*/
1plobj-LOVE MUCH

'He loves us much'.

(13) *Car los los min christianohlos yntafun lan pi chanac siquih can*

/*karlos-los min kristianoh-los in-tafon   la-n*
CALUSA-pl ALSO CHRISIAN-pl   3poss-TOWN ARRIVE-SW

pica-na-k   sik-ihka-n/
SEE-nominalizer-conn NOT:EXIST-progressive-sw

'Also the Calusa, who are not seen arriving to the towns of the
   Christians . . .'

The first-person plural subject cross-reference marker is well attested
in the text. The following are examples.

(14) *Ylima ganu chit guan gat Ylca*

/*ilim-akanoci-t   wanka-t il-ka*/
reflex-SADDEN-ss OBEY-ss 1pls-BE

'We make ourselves sad and obey him'.

(15) *aiaviscat sla quit Ylca ihcan*

/*ayabiska-t slaki-t il-ka   ihka-n*/
SUFFER-ss   LIVE-ss 1pls-BE progressive-sw

'We are living and suffering'.

The second-person plural is also well attested. Its use is somewhat
unusual, as all examples in the letter refer to Charles the Second of
Spain, a single person. However, since the use of the second-person
plural in respectful address was typical of Spanish of that time, it is
likely that the scribe used the second-person plural in Apalachee to try
to convey the same kind of respect that could be shown in Spanish.

(16) *magomin, holahta Governadori pimacat hasca caio*

/*makomi-n, holahta gobernadori pim-aka-t   has-ka*
BE:THUS-SW CACIQUE GOVERNOR   1pldat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE

kayo/
preterit

'Thus, the cacique and governor that you have given to us . . .'

(17) *nihtaga hultina Ymacat has cacaio*

　　/nihtaka holtina im-aka-t　　has-ka kayo/
　　DAY　　COUNT　3dat-GIVE-ss　2pls-BE preterit

　　'You have given him the count of the days'.

4.2. Negation. Apalachee negation is quite dissimilar to negation in other Muskogean languages. It is generally formed by the use of an independent negative auxiliary of the form *siki* (*siqui*) or *soko* (*sogo*). This is connected to the previous verb with the connective suffix *-k* or the same-subject switch-reference marker *-t*. The negative auxiliary may be related to the Creek negative element *-siko* used in negating nouns, as in *fik-siko* 'heartless', *fiki* 'heart'.[10] When the negated verb is not in the third person, the negative auxiliary is inflected with the auxiliary *ka*. The following are examples of this kind of negation (see also example 13).

(18) *Pin holahta chuba Pin Rey Yn nutat Ynca saminat siquit Ylcahin*

　　/pin-holahta　　　coba　pin-rey　　　in-nota-t
　　1plposs-CACIQUE　GREAT　1plposs-KING　3dat-SPEAK-ss

　　　in-kasamina-t　siki-t　　　il-ka-hi-n/
　　　3dat-RESPECT-ss　NOT:EXIST-ss　1pls-BE-fut-sw

　　'We would not respect or speak to our great cacique and our king'.

(19) *Dios Yn Yalilga guaihgag sogo, nihtaga noc mahlifoga lapogac sogo*

　　/dios in-yalilka　　　wayhka-k soko,　　nihtaka nok
　　GOD　3poss-SPEECH　FLY-conn　NOT:EXIST　DAY　　THING

　　　mahli-:fo:ka　　lapoka-k　　　　soko/
　　　BE:RIGHT-when　BE:EXTINGUISHED-conn　NOT:EXIST

　　'The word of God does not fly; on a day when things are right, it is not extinguished'.

There are two other forms of negation, each of which is attested only once. The first is in the phrase */nok i:-fihl-o-ki/* (*noc yfihluqui*) 'bad things', literally 'things that are not good' (cf. */fihla/* 'good'). The negation is, as Haas surmised, *i:- . . . -o*, comparable to the third-person negative form of Koasati verb class IA, *ik . . . o*. The second example is in the phrase */nok inahoba-t ihko ka/* (*noc Ynahuba tih co ga*) 'things that are not prepared'; the negative element is *-t ihko*. This would seem

---

[10] The variant forms of the negative auxiliaries *siki* and *soko* may derive from a previous form like **siko* with varying regressive and progressive vowel harmony.

TABLE 6
OBJECT PREFIXES

	Direct Objects	Indirect Objects
1pl	pi-∠C; api-∠V	pin-∠C; pim-∠V
2pl	haci-	hacin-∠C; hacim-∠V
3	∅-	in-∠C; im-∠V
Reflexive	*ili-	ilim-
Reciprocal ...	ihti-	ihtin-

to be the regular Apalachee form of the third-person negative of the auxiliary *ka*, derived from *-t ik-k-o* by dissimilation (if, of course, orthographic *hc* stands for /hk/ not /kk/ or /k/). However, there are no other examples of this negative formation.

4.3. Direct and indirect object prefixes. In Apalachee, as in other Muskogean languages, there are two sets of prefixes that cross-reference objects—one for direct objects, the other for indirect objects. As I found for the possessive prefixes, only the third-person and plural forms are attested. These are listed in table 6.

Like the corresponding possessive prefix, the first-person plural direct object prefix has a prevocalic form. There are two examples: *ayabisli* 'cause to suffer', *api-yabisli* 'he makes us suffer'; and *ancił̃i* 'cause to wear', *api-ncił̃i* 'he causes us to wear it'.

Examples of the direct object prefixes are as follows:
First-person plural *pi-*

(20) *lat pi pichat, pifiliscat*

/*la-t   pi-pica-t   pi-filiska-t*/
ARRIVE-SS 1plobj-SEE-SS 1plobj-QUESTION-SS

'He arrived and saw us and questioned us'.

(21) *pihuluchi finha*

/*piholoci   finha*/
1plobj-LOVE MUCH

'He loves us much'.

Second-person plural *haci-*

(22) *hachin nutat hachiapilat guangat Ylcaihga*

/*hacin-nota-t   haci-apila-t   wanka-t il-ka   ihka*/
2pldat-SPEAK-SS 2plobj-HELP-SS OBEY-SS 1pls-BE progressive

'We are speaking to you and obeying and helping you'.

(23) *Ynglesi ca lat hachiuit*

／*inglesi   ka la-t   haci-bi-it*／
ENGLISH BE ARRIVE-SS 2plobj-KILL-SS

'As the English are coming to kill you . . . '

Third-person ∅-

(24) *puhat guangat Ylcaihga*

／∅-*poha-t   wanka-t il-ka   ihka*／
3obj-HEAR-SS OBEY-SS 1pls-BE progressive

'We are hearing and obeying him'.

Reflexive **ili-*

Although the reflexive direct object prefix is not attested, it can be reconstructed as **ili-* by comparison with the reflexive indirect object prefix.

Reciprocal *ihti-*

(25) *guat Yhtipi cha hin*

／*wa-t   ihti-pica-hi-n*／
AND-SS recip:obj-SEE-fut-sw

'And they would see each other . . .'

Examples of the indirect object prefixes are as follows:

First-person plural *pin-/pim-*

(26) *Pin iusachit Pin la pulit*

／*pin-yosaci-t   pin-lapoli-t*／
1pldat-CAUSE:TO:LOSE-SS 1pldat-EXTINGUISH-SS

'They cause it to be lost from us and extinguish it in us'.

(27) *Pimichalz*
    ／*pim-icał*／
    1pldat-REMOVE

'They remove it from us'.

Second-person plural *hacin-/hacim-*

(28) *hachin cholz[li]t Ylcaihga*

／*hacin-cołli-t   il-ka   ihka*／
2pldat-WRITE-SS 1pls-BE progressive

'We are writing to you'.

(29) *hachimacat ihquit*

／*hacim-aka-t   ihki-t*／
2pldat-GIVE-ss progressive(?)-ss

'He is giving it to you'.

Third-person *in-/im-*

(30) *i n ialcat hanimacamasa chit*

/in-yalka-t   han im-a-kamasaci-t/
3dat-TALK-ss ?   3dat-loc-STRENGTHEN-ss

'He talked to them, and then(?) he strengthened it in them'.

(31) *Ymacat has cacaio*

/im-aka-t   has-ka kayo/
3dat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE preterit

'You have given it to him'.

Reflexive *ilim-*[11]

(32) *Ylima ganu chit guan gat Ylca*

/ilim-akanoci-t   wanka-t il-ka/
reflex-SADDEN-ss OBEY-ss 1pls-BE

'We make ourselves sad and obey him'.

Reciprocal *ihtin-*[11]

(33) *maquin, Y[h]t in ial cat*

/maki-n, ihtin-yalka-t/
SO-sw   recip-TALK-ss

'So, they talked to each other . . .'

4.4. Stative verbs. Apalachee, like other Muskogean languages, has a class of verbs which cross-reference their subjects with the pronoun prefixes that usually indicate the direct object of a transitive verb. Apalachee, however, is unique in that it forms its stative verbs by means of a double-verb construction using the verb *fa*. This verb can be used independently, although always with its subjects cross-referenced by the direct object prefixes, as a verb meaning 'to have', as in the following:

(34) *Pifan gustini na*

/pi-fa-n   kostinina/
1plstats-HAVE-sw WISDOM

'We have the wisdom'.

(35) *Pifan Anocfilica* [*sic*]

/pi-fa-n   anokfilka/
1plstats-HAVE-sw THOUGHT

'We have the thought'.

---

[11] It is almost certain that the reflexive dative prefix had a preconsonantal form **ilin-* and that the reciprocal dative prefix had a prevocalic form **ihtim-*; however, these forms are not attested.

(36) *yfat fihlachit*

　　/*i-fa-t*　　　　　*fihlaci-t*/

　　3stats-HAVE-SS IMPROVE-SS

　　'He improves it so it has it'.

The verb *fa* is followed by the switch-reference suffixes *-n* or *-t* and by the verb it governs. The choice of suffixes seems to mark a distinction parallel to the use of dative pronoun prefixes versus direct object pronoun prefixes to inflect stative verbs in other Muskogean languages. The following are examples of stative verbs; only third-person and first-person plural forms are unequivocally attested.

(37) *pi fan aioc pat*

　　/*pi-fa-n*　　　　　*ayokpa-t*/

　　1plstats-HAVE-SW BE:HAPPY-SS

　　'We are happy'.

(38) *pifan fihlat*

　　/*pi-fa-n*　　　　　*fihla-t*/

　　1plstats-HAVE-SW BE:GOOD-SS

　　'We are good'.

(39) *yfat huluchi*

　　/*i-fa-t*　　　　　*holoci*/

　　3stats-HAVE-SS LOVE

　　'They love him'.

The verb *holoci* 'to love' can also be inflected as an active verb, as in example (21). Although the reasons for variation between active and stative inflection are unclear in Apalachee, in Koasati the choice is made based on the perceived control or lack thereof which the subject has over the action.

It is possible for a stative verb to be nominalized using the derivational suffix *-na*, as in the following sequence: (1) **i-fa-t onka* 'to be belonging to or dependent on someone', (2) **ifat onka-na* 'someone who belongs to or is dependent on someone', (3) *pim-ifat onkana* 'our dependents; vassals'—Spanish *nuestros vasallos*—(*PimYfat oncana*).

4.5. Tense and aspect. The identification of morphemes indicating tense and aspect in Apalachee is one of the most difficult problems of the language. The vagueness of the Spanish version of the letter makes anything more than a tentative identification of elements impossible.

There are four common elements that occur after verbs and which seem to convey aspectual information. These are *kayo* (*caio*), *ihka* (*ihga*), *hi* (*hi*), and *akobika* (*agoviga*).

The element *kayo* appears as a particle following a verb and appears to indicate that the action of the verb is finished; thus it may be a preterit or perfective marker.

(40) *maquin, Governadori hlos pima cat has cacaio*

    /*maki-n*   *gobernadorih-los pim-aka-t*   *has-ka kayo*/

    SO-SW   GOVERNOR-pl   1pldat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE preterit

    'So, the governors which you have given to us . . .'

(41) *pihnumin noc ansli, pimabachicaio*

    /*pihno min nok*   *ansli*   *pim-abaci*   *kayo*/

    WE   ALSO THING LAW(?) 1pldat-TEACH preterit

    'They also have taught us about the law(?)'.

The element *ihka* also appears as a particle following the verb; if the verb ends in *i*, *ihka* will frequently fuse with the verb. Alone, this element seems to have a continuative or progressive signification; it can cooccur with the element indicating future action, *akobika*, to indicate that an action will be in the process of occurring at some time in the future.

(42) *aiauiscat slaquit Ylca ihcan*

    /*ayabiska-t slaki-t il-ka*   *ihka-n*/

    SUFFER-ss LIVE-ss 1pls-BE progressive-sw

    'We are living and suffering'.

(43) *lan pi chanac siquih can*

    /*la-n*   *pica-na-k*   *sik-ihka-n*/

    ARRIVE-sw SEE-nominalizer-conn NOT:EXIST-progressive-sw

    'They are not seen arriving . . .'

(44) *holahta [h]los ungia, hachin cholz[li]t Ylcaihga*

    /*holahtah-los onhiya hacin-cotli-t*   *il-ka*   *ihka*/

    CACIQUE-pl ALL   2pldat-WRITE-ss 1pls-BE progressive

    'We, all the caciques, are writing to you'.

As in (42) and (43), *ihka* is frequently followed by the switch-reference suffix -*n*. There are no examples of it being followed by the suffix -*t*; however, there is a form *ihki* (*ihqui*) which seems to have the same functions as *ihka* and is frequently followed by -*t*.

The element *ihka* also follows the rare particles *insa* (*insa*) and *namo* (*namu*). The meaning of *insa* is unclear, while *namo* seems to have some kind of modal reference. The following are examples of these two particles.

(45) *maquin anocfilit itahlat insaihga*

/*maki-n anokfili-t itahla-t*   *insa ihka*/
SO-SW   THINK-SS   BE:TOGETHER(?)-SS   ?   progressive

'So, they are thinking together(?) about it'.

(46) *chaspafoga ia Yt hachin choloclz[li] namu ihcan*

/*caspa-:fo:ka*   *ya*   *it-hacin-colokłli*   *namo*
BE:EARLIER-when   THIS   come:and-2plobj-WRITE   modal

ihka-n/
progressive-sw

'At an earlier time this should have come having been written to you'.

The element *hi* appears to be fused with whatever element precedes it; it invariably occurs with the switch-reference suffix *-n* following it. It appears to indicate a possible or dubious future. And it may be cognate to the Koasati verbal suffix *-ahi-*, which indicates a future of probability or intention, to Choctaw *a:hinla* 'potential', and to Mikasuki *-á:h-* 'future'.

(47) *PinRey Yn nutat Yncasaminat siquit Ylcahin*

/*pin-rey*   *in-nota-t*   *in-kasamina-t*   *siki-t*
1plposs-KING   3dat-SPEAK-SS   3dat-RESPECT-SS   NOT:EXIST-SS

il-ka-hi-n/
1pls-BE-fut-sw

'We would not speak to nor respect our king'.

(48) *San Luis tafun chic camasa hin*

/*san luis   tafon   cik   kamasa-hi-n*/
SAN LUIS   TOWN   HOUSE   BE:STRONG-fut-sw

'There would be a strong house in the town of San Luis'.

The element *akobika* also seems to denote a future, one seemingly more definite than that indicated by *hi* (cf. Choctaw *bí:kah* 'always').

(49) *pin puhat has ca agovigaihga*

/*pin-poha-t*   *has-ka   akobika ihka*/
1pldat-HEAR-SS   2pls-BE   future   progressive

'You will be hearing from us'.

(50) *sl in hat has ca ago viga ihga*
/*slinha-t*   *has-ka   akobika ihka*/
GOVERN-SS   2pls-BE   future   progressive

'You will be ruling'.

There are other elements and particles which occur in the letter, such as *han* and *ho*, which also seem to have aspectual meaning. However, because of their rarity and the difficulty of deriving their meaning from the Spanish version of the letter, they remain unidentified.

The suffix -*:fo:ka* (*foga*), although not technically aspectual, is discussed here. It means 'when' and occurs suffixed to the verb. Its form and function are exactly parallel to the suffixes -*fó:ka* in Koasati and -*kfo:k*- in Hitchiti, both of which may be cognate to Creek -*o:f*. The following is an example.

(51) *Don Juᵒ Marques Ca brera holahta slinhafoga Yt Ymamit guataglzlit*

/*don juan marques cabrera holahta slinha-:fo:ka*
DON JUAN MARQUES CABRERA CACIQUE GOVERN-when

   it-imami-t   watakłli-t/
   come:and-WAR-ss CAUSE:TO:FLEE-ss

'The cacique Don Juan Marques Cabrera, when he governed, came and made war on them, and caused them to flee . . .'

4.6. Verbal prefixes. Aside from the direct and indirect object prefixes, there are traces of other verbal prefixes. One is the prefix *o*-, which seems to be a distributive prefix and cognate to the Koasati distributive prefix *ho-/oh*- (the first form is preconsonantal, the second prevocalic). The prefix *o*- occurs before both nouns and verbs. The following is an example.

(52) *nan slac los tacaiali min uslac Yla o slacana Ya gomin*

/*nan   slak-los takayali min o-slaki   la*
ONE:WHO LIVE-pl FEMALE ALSO distr-LIVE ARRIVE

   o-slakana   yakomi-n/
   distr-OLD:AGE BE:SO-SW

'And also the old women, who have thus all arrived living to their old age . . .'

There are also traces of the locative prefix *a*-, which is widespread among Muskogean languages: *kamasa* 'strong', *a-kamasa-ci* 'to strengthen in'; *to:lo* 'two', *a-to:lo* 'second'. The last can be compared with Koasati *tóklon* 'two' and *atóklo* 'second'.

Finally, the prefix *iht-/it*- (prevocalic form/preconsonantal) seems to be cognate to the Koasati directional prefix *i:t-/it-/i*- (prevocalic/ preconsonantal/before a consonant cluster), meaning to come and do something. This prefix seems to be fused in the verb *ihtama* 'to come' (cf. Koasati *amá:kan* 'to go [plural subject]'). The following shows examples of the use of this prefix.

TABLE 7
VERBS NOMINALIZED WITH -na/-ana

Verb	Gloss	Nominalization	Gloss
slaki	'to live'	slakana	'old age'
apoloma	'to believe'	apolomana	'belief'
ayabiska	'to suffer'	ayabiskana	'suffering'
kostini	'to be wise'	kostinina	'wisdom'
slinha	'to govern'	slinhana	'governing'
pica	'to see'	picana	'seeing'

(53) *ma quin it hachin nutat, ha chia Pu laqui chu ba focomblit it
    hachin chologlzlit, not it hachista hlachit, cumat guangat ylca
    ihga*

/maki-n   it-hacin-nota-t,   haci-ya   polaki coba
SO-SW   come:and-2pldat-SPEAK-SS 2plposs-FOOT NOBLE GREAT

fokombli-t   it-hacin-colokłi-t,   nok
SMELL-SS   come:and-2pldat-WRITE-SS THING

it-haci-stahlaci-t,   koma-t   wanka-t il-ka
come:and-2plobj-INFORM-SS BE:THUS-SS OBEY-SS 1pls-BE

ihka/
progressive

'So, we are coming and speaking to you, coming and writing to
you and smelling your great noble feet, and coming and
informing you of things, and so we are obeying you'.

5.1. Nominal derivation. There are various methods of nominal deri-
vation in Apalachee. The most common of these is with the use of the
nominalizing suffix -na∼-ana. This suffix seems to be cognate with the
Creek suffix -anna,[12] as in *ilita* 'to die', *ilanna* 'something dead'. In usage,
an item derived with this suffix varies from true nominal to something
like a verbal noun; it has often been noted in negative constructions,
such as in (4). Examples of nouns derived with this suffix are shown in
table 7.

Other derived nouns in Apalachee are the old verbal nouns of verb
classes no longer productive in the language. Each of these seemingly
irregular derivations has a parallel in Koasati, where such derivations
are the regular verbal nouns of the various verb classes. The examples of
these nominalizations are given in table 8. The existence of these various

---

[12] This form is extremely rare; it was noted in Loughridge and Hodge (1890) but has not
been discussed elsewhere in the literature on Creek.

TABLE 8

Apalachee Noun	Related Verb	Koasati Verb	Class[1]	Nominalization	Other Cognates
holtina 'count'	—	*ho:tihno* 'to count'	IB	*holtolihná*	Ch. *holtinha*
alinci 'clothing'	*ancilli* 'to make wear'	*áncin* 'to wrap around'	IIC	*alinci*	Mk. *alinci* *anci:ki* 'to wear'
anokfilka 'thought'	*anokfili* 'to think'	*tafillin* 'to overturn (pl subject)'	IIA	*tafilka*	Ch. *anokfilli* 'to think' *anokfila* 'thought'
yalilka 'talk'	*yalka* 'to talk'	*nati:kan* 'to speak'	IIIA	*natihilká*	Mk. *-i:ki*, infinitive suffix[2]

[1] Examples of Koasati verb classes (with the exception of IB) are given in Haas's 1946 article; see also Kimball (1985:55–83).
[2] In Mikasuki, the Proto-Muskogean cluster *lk* has become *:k*, thus the infinitive suffix comes from a form *-ilki*, which in turn is derived from *-ilka* followed by the citation suffix *-i*.

TABLE 9
NOUN DERIVATION WITH *nan*

Word	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
kostini	'to be wise'	*nan kostini*	'wise person'
polaki	'noble'	*nan polaki*	'nobleman'
slaki	'to live'	*nan slak*	'old person'
		nan colika	'commoner'
		nan lakoski	'pagan'
		nan ilosika	'ignorant person'

forms is a strong indication that at some time in its past Apalachee had productive verb classes like those of Koasati.

Six nouns have been noted to have been derived with a preposed element *nan*. In those cases where the word from which the noun was derived can be identified, the word is a noun modifier or a verb. The element *nan* seems to be cognate with the Choctaw element *na:n*, which is used to derive agentive nouns in that language.[13] Nouns derived with *nan* are listed in table 9.

5.2. Verbal derivation. Three derivational morphemes have been noted in Apalachee which derive verbs from nouns or other verbs. All three are causative in nature: *-łli*, *-ci*, and *-li*.

The causative suffix *-łli* does not seem to have cognates in other Muskogean languages. Frequently in the text *-łli* is written simply as *lz* rather than *lzli*. This may be simply scribal shorthand, or it may reflect an actual change in pronunciation under conditions which are not yet clear. Examples of this suffix are given in table 10.

The causative suffix *-ci* is cognate to the Koasati compulsive *-:ci* and to the Mikasuki causative *-:ci-*, the Choctaw causative *-ci*, and the Creek causative *-i:c-*. Examples of this suffix are also given in table 10.

---

[13] It has been suggested that Ap. *nan* and Choctaw *na:n* come from PM **nakni* 'man; male'. This is, however, unlikely on phonological, syntactic, and semantic grounds. On phonological grounds, Ap. *nan* could possibly derive from **nakni*; however, it is an exact cognate of Choc. *na:n*, and in Choc. PM **k* is not contracted before resonants, thus Choc. *nakni* 'man; male'. On syntactic grounds, if *na:n* were an adjective, it should follow the noun it modifies, as is the grammatical pattern of both Ap. and Choc. But *na:n* precedes the noun it governs. Finally, on semantic grounds, *na:n* cannot be from **nakni*; the examples in Byington (1915:269–74) are reinforced by one from Nicklas (1974:192): *na:n ahčifa* 'washing', literally 'that which is to be washed'. It is clear that Choc. *na:n* and Ap. *nan* mean 'that which' and are probably related to Creek *naki*, Mikasuki *nā:kī* 'thing', and K. *ná:si* 'something'.

TABLE 10
VERB DERIVATION

	Word	Gloss	Derived Form	Gloss
-łli				
	*anci	'to wear'	anciłli	'to cause to wear'
	coba	'great'	cobałli	'to cause to be great'
	kostini	'to be wise'	kostiniłli	'to make wise'
			balayłli	'to cause to dress'
			colokłli	'to write'
			watakłli	'to cause to flee'
-ci				
	fihla	'to be good'	fihlaci	'to improve'
	holahta	'cacique'	holahtaci	'to ennoble'
	inahoba	'to be ready'	inahobaci	'to prepare'
	kamasa	'strong'	kamasaci	'to strengthen'
	*makahli	'to open the eyes'	makahlici	'to cause to open the eyes'
	slaki	'to live'	slakici	'to cause to live'
-li				
	ayabiska	'to suffer'	ayabisli	'to cause to suffer'
	lapoka	'to be quenched'	lapoli	'to cause to be quenched'

The causative suffix -li is used only on verbs that end in the element -ka; the suffix -li replaces the -ka. This is cognate to a rare Koasati construction where the class suffix -ka is replaced by -li to form a compulsive, such as in haktinípkan 'to be crazy', haktiníplin 'to drive someone crazy'; falkóhkan 'to wake up (plural subject)', falkóhlin 'to cause to wake up (plural object)'. The two examples noted of this construction in Apalachee are given in table 10.

6.1. Syntax: word order. As noted above, Apalachee has a relatively rigid word order of Subject, Object, and Verb. The following are examples of this word order.

(54)   *ma quin Aiauis cana chuua aia viscat slaquit Ylca ihcan*

   /maki-n ayabiskana coba   ayabiska-t slaki-t il-ka
   SO-SW   SUFFERING   GREAT   SUFFER-SS   LIVE-SS 1pls-BE

   ihka-n/
   progressive-sw

   'So, we are living and suffering great sufferings'.

(55)   *Pilzquihlos Pin Ynhulihla fislachit milzlit, haban sachit, maga*
       hlichit

   /pi-łkih-los   pin-inholihla fislaci-t   miłli-t
   1plposs-FATHER-pl 1plposs-SOUL CLEAN-SS SCRUB-SS

> *habansaci-t   makahlici-t/*
> MAKE:PURE-SS CAUSE:TO:OPEN:THE:EYES-SS

'Our fathers clean, scrub, purify and open the eyes of our souls'.

(56) *Pilzqui saserdo tihlos noc fi hla amali Pimabachit oni*

/*pi-łki   saserdotih-los nok   fihla   amali*
1plposs-FATHER PRIEST-pl   THING GOOD ALL

pim-abaci-t   oni/
1pldat-TEACH-SS ?

'Our fathers the priests have taught us all good things'.

Modifiers, both nominal and verbal, are attested in the letter; these follow the words they modify. Sequences of modifiers are permitted, and there are no connective markers between members in a sequence. The following are examples of modifiers.

(57) *Pin holahta chuba*

/*pin-holahta   coba/*
1plposs-CACIQUE GREAT

'our great cacique'

(58) *hachia Pu la qui chu ba focom blit*

/*haci-ya   polaki coba   fokombli-t/*
2plposs-FOOT NOBLE GREAT SMELL-SS

'smelling your great noble feet'

(59) *Amali apia isli fin[h]a*

/*amali api-yabisli   finha/*
ALL   1plobj-MAKE:SUFFER MUCH

'He made us all suffer much'.

6.2. Switch-reference. Apalachee, like other Muskogean languages, has a system of switch-reference to indicate whether a verb or phrase has the same subject or a different subject than that of a following verb or phrase. The suffix indicating the same subject is *-t*, that indicating a different subject is *-n*. In addition, there is a suffix *-k* which is used almost entirely in negative constructions; semantically it seems more or less equivalent to the suffix *-t*. This system can be compared with that of Koasati, where *-t* indicates the same subject, with concurrent action, *-n* indicates a different subject, and *-k* indicates same subject with sequential action. Examples illustrating the Apalachee switch-reference system follow.

(60) *lat pipichat pifiliscat*

/*la-t̲   pi-pica-t̲   pi-filiska-t̲*/
ARRIVE-ss 1plobj-SEE-ss 1plobj-QUESTION-ss

'He arrived, saw us and questioned us'.

(61) *hachin nutat hachiapilatg guangat Ylcaihga*

/*hacin-nota-t̲   haci-apila-t̲   wanka-t̲ il-ka   ihka*/
2pldat-SPEAK-ss 2plobj-HELP-ss OBEY-ss 1pls-BE progressive

'We are speaking to you and obeying and helping you'.

(62) *Cumahlihin, atuluia nan Ylusica Pi mih can, maquit Pifan Anocfilica [sic]*

/*komahli-hi-n̲, ato:lo   ya   nan   ilosika*
BE:THEN-fut-sw SECOND THIS ONE:WHO IGNORANT

pim-ihka-n̲   maki-t̲ pi-fa-n̲   anokfilka/
1pldat-BE(?)-sw SO-ss   1plstats-HAVE-sw THOUGHT

'And then, secondly, although we are ignorant people, so we have the thought . . .'. Literally, '. . . we are these ignorant ones, but . . .'

(63) *Pifan gustini na Dios Pislaquichi nacaio, inhuli hla Ymina ihcan, api nip inhulihla atihlit Yma bachit tubaslit, gusti nilz[l]it, ma gomin Pin holahta chuba Pin Rey pula qui imi na ihta [sic]*

/*pi-fa-n̲   kostinina dios pi-slakici*
1plstats-HAVE-sw WISDOM   GOD 1plobj-CAUSE:TO:LIVE

nakayo, inhulihla imina   ihka-n̲ api-nip
CALLED SOUL   BEING:HIS BE(?)-sw 1plposs-BODY

inhulihla atihli-t̲   im-abaci-t̲   tobasli-t̲
SOUL   CORRECT-ss 3dat-TEACH-ss CHASTISE-ss

kostiniłli-t̲,   makomi-n̲ pin-holahta   coba
MAKE:WISE-ss BE:SO-sw 1plposs-CACIQUE GREAT

pin-rey   polaki imina   ihka/
1plposs-KING NOBLE BEING:HIS BE(?)

'We have the widom that souls are the possession of God, called the one who makes us live, and he corrects, teaches, chastises and makes wise the souls of our bodies; and also they are the possession of our great cacique and noble king'.

(64) *hachip pulaqui chuba picha nac siquihcan*

/*haci-polaki   coba picana-k̲   sik-ihka-n̲*/
2plposs-NOBLE GREAT SEEING-conn NOT:EXIST-progressive-sw

'The seeing of your great nobleness does not exist, but . . .'

(65) *nihtaga noc mahlifoga lapogac sogo*

/*nihtaka nok   mahli-:fo:ka   lapoka-k̲*
DAY   THING   BE:RIGHT-when   BE:EXTINGUISHED-conn

soko/
NOT:EXIST

'On a day when things are right, it is not extinguished'.

6.3. Conjunction. There are several connective words used in Apalachee. These are *acit*, *wat*, and *wan*, which are more or less equivalent to 'and', and *koma*, with the variant forms *komahli* and *komahka*, which seems to be equivalent to 'thus' or 'therefore'.

The connective word *acit* occurs most frequently between noun phrases, as in the following.

(66) *Carlos atu lu pin holahta Pulaqui achit Pin Rey chuba*

/*carlos   ato:lo   pin-holahta   polaki acit pin-rey*
CHARLES SECOND 1plposs-CACIQUE NOBLE AND 1plposs-KING

coba/
GREAT

'(To) Charles the Second, our noble cacique and our great king'.

The words *wat* and *wan* are used most frequently to join verb phrases. *Wat* is used when the subjects of the phrases are the same, *wan* when the subjects are different.

(67) *maquin, oc chiquiti apila San Mar cos canacaio guat pichahin Castillo ca noc mitac ca*

/*maki-n okcikiti   apila san marcos ka nakayo wa-t*
SO-SW   WATER:PORT HELP SAN MARCOS BE CALLED AND-SS

   pica-hi-n   castillo ka nok   mi:tak ka/
   SEE-fut-SW CASTLE BE THING OTHER BE

'So, he helps the port, which is called San Marcos, and that he might see a castle or another thing being there'.

(68) *cu mahli hga cumahli hin hima hanhlaba [sic] 88 hitoc henero ca nacaio, guan pin tafun Abalahchi tafun canaca io lat pipichat pifiliscat*

/*komahl-ihka   komahli-hi-n   hima hahlaba [16]88*
BE:THUS-progressive BE:THUS-fut-SW NOW YEAR   1688

   hitok   enero   ka nakayo, wa-n   pin-tafon
   MONTH JANUARY BE CALLED AND-SW 1plposs-TOWN

   abalahci   tafon ka nakayo la-t   pi-pica-t
   APALACHEE TOWN BE CALLED ARRIVE-SS 1plobj-SEE-SS

    pi-filisca-t/
    1plobj-QUESTION-SS

'And thus, now it is the year 1688, in the month that is called
January, and he came to our town, to the town called Apala-
chee, and saw us and questioned us'.

The word *koma* in one of its variants introduces nearly every discrete
section of the letter. Frequently, as in (68) above, it is followed by the
elements *ihka* or *hi*. It seems to be equivalent to English 'thus', 'there-
fore', 'then', 'and then', and 'this being so'. However, its exact meaning
and the differences in meaning among its variants are still obscure.

(69) *cu mat guailin, aiahin puhat vnti[ti]lca*

    /koma-t   waylin, aya-hi-n poha-t onti-t   il-ka/
    BE:THEN-SS BORDER GO-fut-SW HEAR-SS COME-SS 1pls-BE

    'And then we came and heard that they had gone to the border'.

(70) *cumahlihga hima Governadori slit icha ca*

    /komahl-ihka   hima governadori slitica ka/
    BE:THUS-progressive NOW GOVERNOR   ENDED BE

    'Therefore, the governor who is now ended . . .'

(71) *cu mah lihga cu mah lihin chaspafoga ia Yt hachin choloclz[li]
    namu ihcan*

    /komahl-ihka   komahli-hi-n caspa-:fo:ka   ya
    BE:THUS-progressive BE:THUS-fut-SW BE:EARLIER-when THIS

        it-hacin-colokłli   namo ihka-n
        come:and-2plobj-WRITE modal progressive-sw

    'Therefore, at an earlier time this should have come having been
    written to you'.

The conjunction 'so' also has forms indicating a switch of reference—
makit, same subject, and *makin*, different subject—as shown in the
following examples.

(72) *maquit iap cat hasca agoviga ihga, Achit magomin San Luis
    tafun chic camasa hin*

    /maki-t ya-p ka-t has-ka akobika ihka,   acit
    SO-SS   THIS-? BE-SS 2pls-BE future   progressive AND

        makomi-n san luis tafon cik   kamasa-hi-n/
        BE:SO-SW SAN LUIS TOWN HOUSE BE:STRONG-fut-SW

    'And so, you will be being thus, and in the same way there would
    be a strong house in the town of San Luis'.

(73) *achit Magomin, holahta Governadori hima pima cat has cacaio*
Don Diego quiroga canacaio, nan gustini soconuli ca maquin
holahta slinhanac [*sic*] *man nih taga hultina Yma cat has*
cacaio

/*acit makomi-n, holahta governadori hima pim-aka-t*
AND BE:SO-SW   CACIQUE GOVERNOR   NOW   1pldat-GIVE-ss

has-ka kayo don diego quiroga ka nakayo, nan
2pls-BE pret   DON DIEGO QUIROGA   BE CALLED   ONE:WHO

kostini sokonoli   ka, maki-n holahta slinhana
BE:WISE GOOD:HEARTED BE   SO-SW   CACIQUE GOVERNING

man   nihtaka holtina im-aka-t   has-ka kayo/
AGAIN DAY   COUNT 3dat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE pret

'And in the same way, the cacique and governor that you have
now given us, Don Diego Quiroga as he is called, is a wise and
good-hearted person; and so you have given to him the
governing of the caciques, and again the count of the days'.

The conjunction *makit/makin* may be related to the word *makomin*,
which appears to mean 'to be so'. The segment *-omi* in this word may be
a reflex of Proto-Muskogean **omli* 'to be', Koasati *ómmin*.

7. Note on the classification of Apalachee. This examination of the
Apalachee language indicates that Haas (1949) was completely correct in
assigning Apalachee to the subdivision of the Muskogean languages
containing Koasati and Alabama. One piece of information that Haas
did not have access to that adds strength to her conclusion is that
Apalachee, like Koasati and Creek, contracts the Proto-Muskogean
sequence **Vk* to *V:* before liquids or nasals. This is attested by the words
a:nip 'body', K. *a:nipo* 'flesh', Ch. *haknip* 'body', Proto-Muskogean
*haknipo and *to:lo* 'two', K. *tóklon*.

In addition, the clarification of the system of verbal inflection of
Apalachee shows that it is remarkably parallel to one of the verbal
classes that appears in Koasati (and Alabama) but which occurs in no
other Muskogean language.

8. Texts. The following texts comprise eight sections of the letter,
sections 1 through 3 and 10, which are relatively clear, and sections 11
through 14, which are relatively opaque. These latter sections are in-
cluded here to show how much more needs to be accomplished before it
can be said that Apalachee is well understood.[14]

[14] Justification for these glosses is beyond the scope of this article. The inclusion of the
Spanish version of these sections in the appendix should be of use to those interested in

Section 1

Carlos atu lu pin holahta Pulaqui achit Pin Rey chuba

/carlos   ato:lo   pin-holahta   polaki acit pin-rey   coba/
CHARLES SECOND 1plposs-CACIQUE NOBLE AND 1plposs-KING GREAT

'(To) Charles the Second, our noble cacique and our great king:'

Dios yhtin noc hina ma quin aiauis cana chu ua aiaviscat slaquit Ylca ihcan

/dios ihtin-nocina maki-n ayabiskana coba   ayabiska-t slaki-t
GOD recip-?   SO-SW SUFFERING GREAT SUFFER-SS LIVE-SS

   il-ka   ihka-n/
   1pls-BE progressive

'God, having . . . , so we are living and suffering great sufferings'.

ymila Pislaqui chinacaio inbana ma quin aia visca na chu ua aia uis cat guan gat Ylcaih can

/im-ila   pi-slakici   nakayo i-nbana   maki-n
3poss-BY:HIMSELF 1plobj-MAKE:LIVE CALLED 3poss-WILL SO-SW

   ayabiskana coba   ayabiska-t wanka-t il-ka   ihka-n/
   SUFFERING GREAT SUFFER-SS OBER-SS 1pls-BE progressive-sw

'It is the wish of he alone who is called the one who makes us live so we are suffering great sufferings and obeying him'.

maquit ih ca pi Ylca hin Dios pilzqui nacaio nihtaga Ylungta Ynsulat in nutat Guangat Ylcaihca

/maki-t ihkapi il-ka-hi-n   dios pi-łki   nakayo nihtaka
SO-SS   SAY   1pls-BE-fut-sw GOD 1plposs-FATHER CALLED DAY

   ilonkta in-sola-t   in-nota-t   wanka-t il-ka   ihka/
   [EVERY] 3dat-CARRY-ss 3dat-SPEAK-ss OBEY   1pls-BE progressive

'So, we would say, and we are carrying it to, speaking to and obeying God, called our father, every day'.

Section 2

Cu mah lihin Pihnu min Nan Pulaquih los min nan amali chuli cah los min nan slac los tacaiali min uslac Yla oslacana Yagomin Agan Aba lah chi Agan Aba lah chi ta fun canaca iu n quila Ynhulihla nihtaga amali

/komahli-hi-n   pihno min nan   polakih-los min nan
BE:THUS-fut-sw WE   ALSO ONE:WHO NOBLE-pl   ALSO ONE:WHO

---

the derivation of the glosses. Further justification will have to wait for the completion of a lexical study of Apalachee.

amali colikah-los   min nan   slak-los takayali min
ALL   COMMONER-pl ALSO ONE:WHO LIVE-pl FEMALE ALSO

o-slaki   la   o-slakana   yakomi-n a-ka-n   abalachi
distr-LIVE ARRIVE dist-OLD:AGE BE:LIKE:SO loc-BE-SW APALACHEE

tafon ka nakayo-n, kila   inholihla nihtaka amali/
TOWN BE CALLED-SW [JUST] SOUL   DAY   ALL

'Therefore, we and also the nobles, and also all the commoners, and also
all the old women, who have arrived living to old age, are in such a
state; and those who are in the town that is called Apalachee just in
their souls every day (say):'

*Pin holahta chuba PinRey Yn nutat Yncasaminat siquit ilca hin hachin
yalilga pulaqui lauina sunqui*

/*pin-holahta   coba   pin-rey   in-nota-t   in-kasamina-t*
1plposs-CACIQUE GREAT 1plposs-KING 3dat-SPEAK-SS 3dat-RESPECT-SS

siki-t   il-ka-hi-n   hacin-yalilka polaki labina
NOT:EXIST-SS 1pls-BE-p-fut-sw 2plposs-TALK NOBLE RECEIVE

sonki/
NOT:EXIST(?)

'We would not respect or speak to our great cacique and our king, and
your noble word is not received,'

*iap choconsca i[h]tihcapi pi hac chup puhal iman Pifan a[h]talzlit abagat
huluchit apulumana ahta apulum at, Yna huba chiut insa ihga*

/*ya-p   cokonska iht-ihkapi   pi-hakcop   poha-li man*
THIS-? HEART   recip-SPEAK 1plposs-EAR HEAR-? AGAIN

pi-fa-n   ahtalli-t   abaka-t holoci-t apolomana
1plstats-HAVE-SW MAKE:DWELL-SS MEET-SS LOVE-SS BELIEF

ahta   apoloma-t inahobaci ot   insa ihka/
DWELL BELIEVE-SS PREPARE part ? progressive

'This, the hearts speaking to each other and our ears hearing, makes the
belief to meet, love and causes it to dwell in us, being prepared to
believe in its dwelling(?)'.

Section 3

*Cu mah lihga Cu mah lihin chaspafoga ia Yt hachin choloclz[li] na mu
ihcan*

/*komahl-ihka   komahli-hi-n   caspa-:fo:ka   ya*
BE:THUS-progressive BE:THUS-fut-sw BE:FORMERLY-when THIS

> *it-hacin-colokłli*   *namo   ihka-n/*
> come:and-2pldat-WRITE modal progressive-sw

'Therefore, at an earlier time this should have been written to you,'

nihtaga noc un na gag, Ygua tihqui capi Yh foga hima Ygua

/nihtaka	nok	on	nakak,	iwatihki	kapi	il-ka-:fo:ka(??)	hima
DAY	THING	part	?	?		SAY(?)	1pls-BE-when	NOW

> *iwa,/*
> ??

'on a day when we say . . . now . . .'

maquin it hachin nutat, hachia pu la qui chu ba focom blit it hachin chologlzlit, noc it hachi sta hlachit, cumat guangat ylca ihga

/maki-n	it-hacin-nota-t,		haci-ya	polaki	coba
SO-SW	come:and-2pl-SPEAK-ss		2plposs-FOOT	NOBLE	GREAT

> *fokombli-t it-hacin-colokłli-t,*   *nok*
> SMELL-ss   come:and-2pldat-WRITE-ss THING

> *it-haci-stahlaci-t,*   *koma-t   wanka-t il-ka   ihka/*
> come:and-2plobj-INFORM-ss BE:THUS-ss OBEY-ss 1pls-BE progressive

'So we are coming and speaking to you, smelling your great noble feet, coming and writing to you, coming and informing you of things, and thus we are obeying him'.

Section 10

Carlos los min christianohlos yntafun lan pi chanac siquih can magomin yt in banan la ihga,

> /carlos-los min   kristianoh-los in-tafon   la-n   picana-k
> CALUSA-pl ALSO CHRISTIAN-pl 3poss-TOWN ARRIVE-sw SEEING-conn

> *sik-ihka-n*   *makomi-n iht-inbana-n*   *la*
> NOT:EXIST-progressive BE:SO-sw come:and-WANT-sw ARRIVE

> *ihka/*
> progressive

'Also, the Calusa, who are never seen coming to the towns of the Christians, in such a way as he came and wished, are arriving,'

viin hu lu pu la qui, holahta supa[s] ma quin ymila yn yic sa yntascaiah-los min,

> /bi   *in-holo*   *polaki, holahta sopas, maki-n im-ila*
> [INDEED] 3poss-SHAMAN NOBLE CACIQUE SON   SO-SW   3poss-WITH

in-yiksa   in-taskayah-los   min/
3poss-CLAN 3poss-WARRIOR-pl ALSO

'Indeed, his noble shaman, the son of the cacique, and so with them also warriors of their clan'.

iac Gover na dor[i] Don Diego quiroga canacaio, lat yvitachu cu ta fun

/ya-k   gobernadori don diego quiroga ka nakayo, la-t
  THIS-? GOVERNOR   DON DIEGO QUIROGA BE CALLED ARRIVE-SS

  ibitacoko   tafon/
  IBITACOKO TOWN

'This governor, Don Diego Quiroga by name, arrived in the town of Ibitacoko'.

man yhtipichat yalil ga fihla yma cat nacahlos min yma cat cumat
  guailin aiahin puhat vnt[it]ilca

/man   ihti-pica-t   yalilka fihla im-aka-t   nakah-los min
  AGAIN recip-SEE-SS TALK   GOOD 3dat-GIVE-SS CLOTH-pl ALSO

  im-aka-t   koma-t   waylin aya-hi-n   poha-t onti-t
  3dat-GIVE-SS BE:THUS-SS BORDER GO-fut-SW HEAR-SS COME-SS

  il-ka/
  1pls-BE

'Again they saw each other, and he gave them good speech, and he also gave them bolts of cloth, and thus we come and hear that they went to the border'.

ma quin pi fan aioc pat guangat ylca i[h]ga

/maki-n pi-fa-n   ayocpa-t   wanka-t il-ka   ihka/
  SO-SW   1plstats-HAVE-SW BE:HAPPY-SS OBEY-SS 1pls-BE progressive

'And so, we are happy and we are obeying him'.

Section 11

Basi sah los min Yn tafun ma itihfat guat yhtipi chahin Dios Yn ialilga
  abakanac on calzli hin maqui liqui abagana liqui,

/basisah-los   min in-tafon   ma   it-ihfa-t(?)   wa-t
  BASISA:PERSON-pl ALSO 3poss-TOWN THAT come:and-?-ss AND-SS

  ihti-pica-hi-n   dios in-yalilka   abakana-k onkalli-hi-n
  recip-SEE-fut-SW GOD 3poss-TALK MEETING-? CAUSE:TO:BE-fut-SW

  maki liki abakana liki/
  SO   ?   MEETING ?

'Also he went(?) to that town of the people of Basisa, and they would see each other, and that the word of God might be made to meet them, so . . . meeting . . .'

Yhti qualz[li] calzli ha ga hin magomin puhat guangat Ylcaihga

/ihti-waƚli kaƚli haka-hi-n makomi-n poha-t   wanka-t il-ka
recip-?   ?   ?-fut-sw BE:SO-SW HEAR-SS OBEY-SS 1pls-BE

  ihka/
  progressive

'. . . , this being so we are hearing and obeying him'.

Pih nu iagomin Pihuluchi finha cama cha quit oncat Ylcag sogo

/pihno yakomi-n pi-holoci   finha kamacaki-t onka-t il-ka-k
WE   BE:LIKE:SO 1plobj-LOVE MUCH ?-SS   BE-SS   1pls-BE-conn

  soko/
  NOT:EXIST

'As we are such, he loves us much . . . we are not being . . .'

iap pihuluchi ih ca na pi hga, Pin balailz[li] naga iago min Pin balailzlit
alinci ancina amali min Apin cilzlit pi cumahli[h]ga

/ya-p pi-holoci   ihkana   pi-hka,   pin-balayƚli   naka
THIS-? 1plobj-LOVE BEING(?) 1plstats-BE(?) 1pldat-MAKE:DRESS CLOTH

  yakomi-n pin-balayƚli-t   alinci   ancina   amali min
  BE:LIKE:SO 1pldat-MAKE:DRESS CLOTHING VESTURE ALL   ALSO

  api-nciƚli-t   pi-comahl-ihka/
  1plobj-MAKE:WEAR-SS 1plstats-BE:THUS-progressive

'As we are being loved by this one(?), he has dressed us; he has dressed us in things of cloth, he has also given us to wear clothing and wearing apparel of all kinds, and thus we are'.

Section 12

cumahli hga cumahli hin hima, hanhlaba [sic] [16]88 hitoc henero ca nacaio guan pin tafun Abalahchi tafun canaca io lat pipichat pifiliscat, Dios Ynialilga min nan ansli amali apulumanac iagomin

/komahl-ihka   komahli-hi-n hima, hahlaba 1688 hitok
BE:THUS-progressive BE:THUS-fut-sw NOW YEAR   1688 MONTH

  enero   ka nakayo wa-n   pin-tafon   abalachi tafon ka
  JANUARY BE CALLED AND-SW 1plposs-TOWN APALACHEE TOWN BE

  nakayo la-t   pi-pica-t   pi-filiska-t   dios in-yalilka
  CALLED ARRIVE-SS 1plobj-SEE-SS 1plobj-QUESTION GOD 3poss-TALK

min nan   ansli amali apolomana-k yakomi-n/
ALSO ONE:WHO [LAW] ALSO BELIEF-?   BE:LIKE:SO

'Therefore, now it is the year 1688 in the month that is called January, and he came to our town, to the town called Apalachee, and saw us and questioned us about the word of God also, and all the laws(?) and about the faith in the same way'.

amali Yfat han i n ialcat hanimacamasa chit, hasnu hachin Yalilga pulaqui min, han mahlin guangana ihca

/amali i-fa-t   han in-yalka-t   han im-akamasaci-t,
ALL   3stats-HAVE-ss ?   3dat-TALK-ss ?   3dat-STRENGTHEN:IN-ss

 hasno hacin-yalilka polaki min, han mahli-n   wankana
 YOU   2plposs-TALK NOBLE ALSO ?   BE:RIGHT-SW OBEDIENCE

 ihka/
 BE(?)

'Having them all(?), he spoke to them . . . , and strengthened in them your noble word also, and what true obedience is(?)'.

Section 13

cu mahli hin, holahta iac tocaio, noc ama li Yfat apiafis tai lac hin,

/komahli-hi-n   holahta ya-k   tokayo, nok   amali i-fa-t
BE:THUS-fut-SW CACIQUE THIS-? ?   THING ALL   3stats-HAVE-ss

 api-yafis(?) tayilaci-n/
 1plobj-?   ?-sw

'Therefore, the cacique . . . all things pertaining to our . . .'

y ma cat has ca maquin, oc chiquiti apila, San Mar cos canacaio

/im-aka-t   has-ka maki-n okcikiti apila, san marcos ka
 3dat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE SO-SW SEAPORT HELP SAN MARCOS BE

 nakayo/
 CALLED

'You give it to him, so he helps the seaport, which is called San Marcos,'

guat pi chahin, Castillo ca, noc mitac ca altut ynglesi yhtibi noc Ysiquin

/wa-t   pica-hi-n   castillo ka, nok   mi:tak ka, alto-t   inglesi
AND-ss SEE-fut-SW CASTLE BE   THING OTHER BE [IF?]-ss ENGLISH

 ihtibi nok   i-siki-n/
 FIGHT THING 3stats-NOT:EXIST-sw

'and he would see that there be a castle or some other thing (for) if the English were to fight, there would be nothing'.

oh cumaga lap noc mah lac sogo Yhtis qui Ymo gacapi hihta [*sic*]

/ohkomaka	lap	nok	mahla-k	soko	ihtiski	imoka	kapi
?		?	THING	?-conn	NOT:EXIST	?	?	SAY

ihka/
progressive

'There is not . . . thing . . . , and he says:'

min Ynglesi ca lat hachiuit un lataca, castillo ca, torre ca nacaio ca un slaclz[l]ina tih can, Soldadohlos min, hasnuh los min

/min	inglesi	ka	la-t	haci-bi-t	on	lataka,	castillo	ka,
ALSO	ENGLISH	BE	ARRIVE-SS	2plobj-KILL-SS	part	PILE:UP	CASTLE	BE

torre	ka	nakayo	ka	on	slakḷlina-t	ihka-n,
TOWER	BE	CALLED	BE	part	CAUSING:TO:LIVE-SS	BE(?)-SW

soldadoh-los	min,	hasnoh-los	min/
SOLDIER-pl	ALSO	YOU-pl	ALSO

'Also, as the English are coming to kill you, put up what is called a "castle" or a "tower" so that the soldiers and also all of you may continue being made to live'.

altut Yn glesi la ihtama Yhtibit atolo man cumalzi tachi hi yhtama

/alto-t	inglesi	la	ihtama	ihtibi-t	ato:lo	man	komaḷi-t
[IF]-SS	ENGLISH	ARRIVE	COME	FIGHT-SS	SECOND	AGAIN	?

aci-hi ihtama/
?-fut COME

'If the English arrive, coming to fight, the second again . . .'

maquit iap cat has ca agoviga ihga

/maki-t	ya-p	ka-t	has-ka	akobika	ihka/
SO-SS	THIS-?	BE-SS	1pls-BE	future	progressive

'So you will be being like this'.

Achit magomin, San Luis tafun chic camasa hin un naliqui han la noc Yfat unac mahli aglalz[li]

/acit	makomi-n	san luis	tafon	cik	kamasa-hi-n	on	naliki
AND	BE:SO-SW	SAN LUIS	TOWN	HOUSE	BE:STRONG-fut-sw	part	?

han	la	nok	i-fa-t	onak	mahli	aklaḷli/
?	ARRIVE	THING	3stats-HAVE-ss	?	BE:RIGHT	?

'And this being so, that there might be a strong house in the town of San Luis, . . .'

ifat ut hachi[a]pi lat un talica [sic] noc tulu oncalica inahu bat naliki

/*i-fa-t*   *ot*   *haci-apila-t*   *onka-li*   *ka nok*   *to:lo onka-li*
3stats-HAVE-ss part 2plobj-HELP-ss BE(?)-1ss BE THING TWO BE(?)-1ss

   ka inahoba-t   *naliki*/
   BE BE:PREPARED-ss ?

'I am helping you that it might have it; it is two things I am doing to prepare it(?)'.

Picummah c[h]olzli hin ma qui liqui cat, pifan fihla soconoli ca un lac guangat Ylcaihca

/*pi-komah*   *cołli-hi-n*   *maki liki ka-t, pi-fa-n*
1plstats-BE:THUS WRITE-fut-sw SO   ?   BE-ss 1plstats-HAVE-sw

   fihla   *sokonoli*   *ka on*   *lak wanka-t il-ka*   *ihka*/
   BE:GOOD GOOD:HEARTED BE part ?   OBEY-ss pls-BE progressive

'It is thus with us, and it might be written(?), so . . . it is, and we are good and are good hearted . . . and we are obeying him,'

guan to caiag min, Yfat fihlat pinpuhat has ca agoviga ihga

/*wa-n*   *tokaya-k min, i-fa-t*   *fihla-t*   *pin-poha-t*
AND-sw ?-?   ALSO 3stats-HAVE-ss GOOD-ss 1pldat-HEAR-ss

   has-ka akobika ihka/
   2pls-BE future   progressive

'and, also the . . . , you will be hearing about the goodness of it (him?) from us'.

Section 14

cumahlihga, cumahli hin Pin holahta chuba pin Rey pulaqui Yh ca na pi Dios pilzqui nacaio, nihtaga mitanag ma hachimacat ihquit

/*komahl-ihka*   *komahli-hi-n*   *pin-holahta*   *coba*
BE:THUS-progressive BE:THUS-fut-sw 1plposs-CACIQUE GREAT

   pin-rey   *polaki, ihkana pi-dios*   *pi-łki*   *nakayo,*
   1plposs-KING NOBLE BEING   1plposs-GOD 1plposs-FATHER CALLED

   nihtaka mi:ta-nak ma   *hacim-aka-t*   *ihki-t*
   DAY   OTHER-?   THAT 2pldat-GIVE-ss progressive(?)-ss

'Therefore, our great cacique and our noble king, our God being called our father, may(?) he give you still(?) other days,'

cat hachin nutat hachiapilat guangat Ylcaihga

/*ka-t hacin-nota-t*   *haci-apila-t*   *wanka-t il-ka*   *ihka*/
BE-ss 2pldat-SPEAK-ss 2plobj-HELP-ss OBEY-ss 1pls-BE progressive

'and it is that we are speaking to you, obeying and helping you'.

achit magomin, holahta Governadori hima pima cat has cacaio Don
  Diego quiroga canacaio, nan gustini soconuli ca, maquin holahta
  slinhanac man, nih taga hultina Yma cat has cacaio

/*acit makomi-n holahta gobernadori hima pim-aka-t   has-ka*
  AND BE:SO-SW   CACIQUE GOVERNOR   NOW 1pldat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE

  kayo don diego quiroga ka nakayo, nan   kostini
  pret DON DIEGO QUIROGA BE CALLED ONE:WHO BE:WISE

  sokonoli   ka, maki-n holahta slinhana-k   man,   nihtaka
  GOOD:HEARTED BE SO-SW   CACIQUE GOVERNING-? AGAIN DAY

  holtina im-aka-t   has-ka kayo/
  COUNT   3dat-GIVE-ss 2pls-BE pret

'And this being so, the cacique and governor that you have now given
us, who is called Don Diego Quiroga, is a wise person and good-
hearted, so you have given him the governing of the caciques, and
again the count of the days'.

Ygua ṣbichit oni i[h]ticapi, acubitlit, imacana tag hitoc guah ca nacaioc
  min hachin nutat hachin guagant [sic] insa ihga

/*iwa sbici-t oni iht-ihkapi, akobitli-t imakana tak hitok   wah ka*
  ?   ?-ss ?   recip-SAY ?-ss   ?   ?   MONTH ?   BE

  nakayo-k min hacin-nota-t   hacin-wanka-t insa ihka/
  CALLED-? ALSO 2pldat-SPEAK-ss 2pldat-OBEY-ss ? progressive

'. . . is called also, and he is speaking to you and obeying you'.

Yalilka Ynahu bat ih qui ca oncana min san capi ifoga maquit ih capi
  han chalz naliqui guan ti quilihga, puhat, Y tah lat has caho, Dios
  Yhta nasat slinhat has ca ago viga ihga

/*yalilka inahoba-t   ihki   ka onkana min san*
  TALK   BE:PREPARED-ss progressive(?) BE BEING   ALSO ?

  kapi-:fo:ka(?) maki-t ihkapi han cal naliki wa-n   tikil-ihka,
  SAY-when   SO-ss SAY   ?   ?   ?   AND-SW ?-progressive

  poha-t itahla-t   has-ka-ho dios iht-anasa-t slinha-t
  HEAR-ss BE:TOGETHER(?)-ss 2pls-BE-? GOD recip-?-ss GOVERN-ss

  has-ka akobika ihka/
  2pls-BE future progressive

'The words are prepared . . . , so he said . . . , and . . . you will hear it
together(?) with God . . . you will be ruling'.

Appendix

  The Spanish versions of the sections translated above are as follows,
transcribed directly from Smith's version.

Section 1. Carlos Segundo Nro Casique Principal y Nro Mayor Rey. Dios con su poder hauiendonos criado de la nada y miseria por ser su bolunttad vibimos aunque con trauajos y desdichas: no importta que aunque bibimos asi, con nro poco enttendimientto, ttodos los dias sin cesar: asi decimos, nro criador lo quiere asi, y asi lo alauamos y rreverenciamos:

Section 2. dejando esto apartte nosottros tanvien toda la nobleça tanuien y ttodos en comun asi viejos como viejas (que de biejas tiemblan) hastta los muchachos huerfanos y desvalidos, ttodos quanttos nos hallamos en este territorio que se llama Abalachi todos los dias y de hordinario decimos: parece que a nro casique Principal y a nro Rey no lo rreuerenciamos ni rrespecttamos, parece que no abraçamos ni rrecibimos con un coraçon su noble palabra; y diciendo estto entre nosottros nos hallamos mas rrendidos y mas ovedienttes y umildes a reciuir vra palabra y mandattos luego que entre por nras orejas como el presentte lo hacemos:

Section 3. Muchos tiempos ha que os pudieramos hauer escritto por la ovediencia que os damos, mas no se deuia de hauer llegado el dia en que lo hicieramos sy se deue de hauer llegado; y asi lo hacemos rreuerenciando os y oliendo buesttras nobles planttas; y asi mesmo haciendo os sauidor de lo que aca estamos viendo e padeciendo,

Section 10. y asimismo los de Carlos que nunca los emos vissto en lugares de xptianos hauiendo side llamados por el mismo governador Don Diego de Quiroga vino el hijo del casique que es el heredero y principe de aquel territorio trujo en sus lados tres nobles y rrejidores y ttanvien quince tascaias o valienttes que le accompañaban y ttodos se uieron en el pueblo de Yvitachuco y a ttodos los agasajo con palabras de su bien enttendimientto los rregalo con rropa y otras cosas de que sauemos que se boluieron a su tierra mui conttenttos y con esso todos lo estamos.

Section 11. Asi mesmo fue al lugar y pueblo de Vasisa y hablandoles con buenas palabras paraque fueron xptianos le rrespondieron que si, e asi lo enttendemos de que nros coraçones estan contenttos; a nosotros tanuien nos ama y estima tantto que no es ponderable y nos a uestido

Section 12. y asi os lo hacemos sauer como tanuien que este año de ochentta y ocho por la luna de henero y sus dias a benido a estos nros lugares y therritorio que se llama Abalachi adonde nos a uisto escudriñado, y asi en la ley de Dios y cosas de fee nos a forttalecido con palabras dulces de su buen coraçon como tanuien en lo que hace a vro seruicio principal y cunplir o guardar vra palabra principal y buenos mandos o govierno de nros pueblos;

Section 13. y siendo asi y porque dice se los mandais y encargais fue con el mandatto vro al la puertta del agua que es onde llaman San

Marcos y la uio y rreconocio sin que hubiese castillo ni otra cosa en que metternos y defendernos del yngles o otros enemigos y diciendo palabras de senttimientto de su coraçon nos dijo y propuso no estar bueno aquello asi que seria muy bueno hacer vn castillo o vna torre para que si biniera el enemigo por aquella partte asi los soldados como nosotros nos entrasemos alli y nos defendiesemos que hauiendo estto podreis vivir con menos rrecelo.[15] Asi mesmo en este lugar de San Luis vna casa fuertte tanuien para vra defensa bueno sera que la hagamos que io os ayudare con harramienttas y ttodo lo necesario: haciendonos estte rraçonamientto y pensando nosotros con suestros coraçones era la verdad y lo que a nros pueblos le era de util y probechoso todos los casiques y governadores deste territorio y sus pueblos convenimos en un parecer para que haga como nos lo deja mandado que quedamos muy conttenttos y goçosos nros coraçones:

Section 14. siendo estto asi estamos alauando y dando gracias a nro gran Dios y Padre de la misericordia y le pedimos le de a nro casique grande y mayor Rey muchos dias en que biba, y a vos os suplicamos con rrendidos coraçones por vros pies principales que por ser este Governador Don Diego de Quiroga hombre de tan vuen coraçon y de tantto enttendimiento tengais misericordia del y de nosotros y si se ajusttaron los años y lunas que le disteis por medida paraque nos govierne selos acrecenteis, y a nosotros como nro padre y casique principal nos perdoneis si nuesttras palabras no son buenas. Hastta aqui llego estto: miraldo [*sic* for miradlo] y enttendedlo y Dios os acompañe.

REFERENCES

BOOKER, KAREN M. 1980. Comparative Muskogean: aspects of Proto-Muskogean verb morphology. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas.

————. 1983. Some unexpected reflexes of Proto-Muskogean labiovelars. 1982 Mid-America Linguistics Conference Papers, ed. Frances Ingemann, pp. 349–59. Lawrence: Department of Linguistics, University of Kansas.

BOYNTON, SYLVIA S. 1982. A grammar of Mikasuki. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida.

BYINGTON, CYRUS. 1915. A Dictionary of the Choctaw Language, ed. John R. Swanton and Henry S. Halbert. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin no. 46. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office.

DERRICK-MESCUA, MARY T. 1980. A phonology and morphology of Mikasuki. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida.

GATSCHET, ALBERT S. 1884. A Migration Legend of the Creek Indians. Philadelphia: D. G. Brinton.

---

[15] Note here, with *podreis*, the switch from the first-person plural to the second-person plural in the Spanish when the scribe decides to translate more literally. The preceding section is the one which caused Swanton confusion in his version of the letter.

HAAS, MARY R. 1946. A Proto-Muskogean paradigm. Language 22:326–32.

————. 1949. The position of Apalachee in the Muskogean family. IJAL 15:121–27.

KIMBALL, GEOFFREY. 1983. Verb pluralization in Koasati. 1982 Mid-America Linguistics Conference Papers, ed. Frances Ingemann, pp. 401–11. Lawrence: Department of Linguistics, University of Kansas.

————. 1984. Koasati internal change. 1983 Mid-America Linguistics Conference Papers, ed. David S. Rood, pp. 230–45. Boulder: Department of Linguistics, University of Colorado.

————. 1985. A descriptive grammar of Koasati. Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University.

LOUGHRIDGE, ROBERT MCGILL, AND DAVID M. HODGE. 1890. English and Muskogee Dictionary. St. Louis.

LUPARDUS, KAREN. 1982. The language of the Alabama Indians. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas.

MCCALL, MARY. 1972. Pronominal prefixes in Alabama. Ms.

NICKLAS, THURSTON DALE. 1974. The elements of Choctaw. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan.

TOOMEY, T. NOXON. 1918. Analysis of a Text in the Apalachi Language. Hervas Laboratories of American Linguistics, Bulletin no. 6.