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THE TIMUCUA LANGUAGE.

BY ALBERT S. GATSCHET.

(Read before the American Philosophical Society, February 20, 1880, as a third sequel to the articles on this subject read April 6, 1877, and April 5, 1878.)

This third article on the Floridian language once spoken by the Timucua or Atimoke people is herewith presented to those interested in linguistics, with the remark of the author, that all his attempts to connect it by its radical elements with some other language spoken in the neighborhood of its native soil have proved infructuous, and that therefore he regards it as constituting a linguistic family for itself. The position of the author as a linguist of Prof. J. W. Powell's U. S. Bureau of Ethnology, Washington, D. C., has materially facilitated his researches upon the idiom, and any further notice bearing upon the history, ethnography and language of this remarkable nation, the last remnants of which are perhaps not yet extinct, will be received with thanks by the author.

This article subdivides itself into the following portions: Historic Remarks, Ethnographic Remarks, Bibliography, Radical Affinities, Dialects, Grammatic Notes and Selected Texts. Among the texts a missive sent in 1688 by the Timucua chiefs to the King of Spain will be read with much interest.

HISTORIC REMARKS.

Our historic information about the Indians of Florida *speaking the Timucua language* is very fragmentary up to the period of the publication of René de Laudonnière's report on his expeditions to that country, or, as he calls them rather unassumingly, "Voyages." His account treats of no other American people but of this, for Florida was the only portion of this continent of which he possessed a special knowledge. From the reports of the chroniclers of the expedition of De Soto (1539-43) we can gather the fact that this race extended across the whole northern part of the Floridian peninsula, for they mention proper names of persons and places on its western coast, which can be explained through no other language but that of the Timucua.

Modern research has proved that the dialects of the Indians inhabiting the northern part of the Floridian peninsula belong to a linguistic family *differing radically* from that of the Maskoki, Yuchi, Cherokee and Algonkin. But the early explorers were not aware of this fact, or at least they did not put it in evidence. In those times not even instructed people could appreciate the enormous ethnologic importance of the difference of linguistic stocks, and had only a vague idea of linguistic classification. The disparateness of linguistic families means early *local* distance of the tribes or nations speaking them, and those who have paid some attention to these studies, know that these linguistic differences must go back into an epoch remote from ours by fifty or by a hundred thousand years. Thus the differ-

ence of linguistic families proves, and is associated with racial difference. But racial difference is not always associated with a disparateness of linguistic family, for it is recorded that certain individuals, tribes and nations have, in the course of time, been prevailed upon to adopt the idioms of neighboring populations, especially when conquered by them.

Although the method, how to infer a difference of race from a thorough, radical disparateness of language was above the conception even of the most learned men of the sixteenth century, we see that these as well as the common adventurers who flooded the islands and coasts of America were close observers of the ethnographic peculiarities of the tribes they visited. Their records leave us in the dark concerning the languages spoken by the Teqestas and Calos on the southern extremity of Florida; we cannot gather from them whether Caribs, Western or Northern Indians were settled in the peninsula at the time of their visit. But they transmit us many peculiar traits and customs, from which they seem to have inferred that all Southern Indians of the Gulf States belonged to one stock.

Our present knowledge of Timucua shows that it stands in no radical connection with the *Galibi dialects* of South America (Arowak, Cumana-gota, Chaymas, etc.), nor with the extinct Galibi idioms of the West Indies (Eyeri, Taino, Lucayo, etc.), nor with the Carib on the coast of Honduras. We must therefore discountenance, in some degree, the far-going speculations concerning Carib colonies, and their influence on the Indians in the Apalache country, indulged in by Hervas, Catalogo I, pag. 386 &c., though seafaring men of this nation may have temporarily settled on that coast. Hervas quotes the following terms from Bristock: "Palatras de los Apalachinos que tienen de los caribes: buottou *maza*, taumali *guisado*, banaré *amigo familiar*, etotou *enemigo*, allouha *arco*, allouani *flechas*, taonabo *lago, estanque*, mabouya *espíritu maligno*, akarnboue *alma humana* y innumerables palabras de cosas curiosas y raras, comunes á los caribes de las Antillas."* Pag. 386: "Las provincias (apalaches) de Amana y Matibue, en donde hay muchas familias de caribes, tienen muchas palabras del antiguo idioma *caribe*."

René de Laudonnière's report, from which Hakluyt made his English and Théodore de Bry his Latin translation, is dated 1586, and bears the following title:

L'HISTOIRE | NOTABLE DE LA FLO | RIDE SITUEE ES
INDES | Occidentales, contenant les trois voyages faits en icelle par cer-
tains Capitaines & Pilotes François, décrits par le Capitaine Laudonniere,
qui y a commandé l'espace d'vn an trois moys: à laquelle a esté adiousté
vn quatriesme voyage fait par le Capitaine Gourgues.

Mise en lumiere par M. Basanier, gentil-homme François Mathématicien.

(Vignette: Bellerophon and the chimera.)

* Most of these terms can be identified with Carib words once in use on the island of Guadeloupe, etc. cf. Breton, Dict.; Brinton, Notes on the Fl. peninsula, pag. 96-98.

A Paris, Chez Guillaume Aurray, ruë saint Iean de Beauuais, au Bellerophon couronné. MDLXXXVI. AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.
gr. 12mo, 124 leaves, numbered recto only.

To give a historic sketch of the various vicissitudes of the French adventuring soldiers who arrived in Northeastern Florida on June 22, 1564, and established Charlefort or Fort St. Charles (arx Carolana) on the southern shore of the St. John's River, is a task quite foreign to my purpose. My inquiries on the Timucua have prevailingly linguistic tendencies; hence our attention will be solely occupied by gathering from the above, and other sources, notices on the social status, in which the explorers found the people of the Atimoqua, and by the information which can be made available for linguistic science.

In the countries drained by the St. John's River and its tributaries René de Laudonnière heard of the existence of *five paracusi*, and some of them ruled over a considerable number of Indian chiefs and their towns. These five paracusi were called Saturiwa, Holata Utina, Potanu, Onethicaqua and Hostaqua.

Saturiwa and his son Athore resided on the Atlantic coast, south of the outlet of St. John's River, and controlled thirty sub-chiefs, while the Holata Utina, or as De Laudonnière calls him in French orthography, "Olata Ouae Utina," ruled over forty chiefs and their towns further inland. The map added by Theodor de Bry to his pictorial description of these "Voyages" places the seat of the Utina east of some large inland forest, west of the St. John's River, and there are reasons for locating his seat near Lake St. George, a sheet of water formed by the St. John's River in its middle course. That map locates the town of Timoga, which belonged to the domain of this head chief, upon the eastern shore of the St. John, and De Laudonnière's text places it twenty leagues from Saturiwa's seat. The Timagoa people were the most inveterate and implacable enemies of Saturiwa's warriors; and when a war was impending between Saturiwa and the Timagoa, because the former had obtained some silver by force from the latter, De Laudonnière offered his military assistance to Saturiwa. He thereby hoped to obtain trustworthy information on the countries, where the silver, as well as the gold of which some of their ornaments were made, was obtained; constant rumors pointed to the "Apalatci mountains" as to the source of these precious commodities. Both sexes wore various ornaments made of gold, and most conspicuous were the disk-shaped gold pieces worn around their loins at dances and on other solemn occasions.

Potanu, written Potauou by De Laudonnière, was twenty-five leagues from Utina; he gives this name to a chief, Pareja gives it to a province in the interior.* This chief controlled an upland tract of country; in this tract was found the hard slate stone, from which the people made wedges to cleave wood and to finish their canoes after they had burnt out a cavity

* Personal names are frequently confounded in De Laudonnière's and other narratives with local Timucua names, and vice versa.

in the logs beforehand. To deprive Potanu of his slate quarries, the Olata Utina warred against him, and an officer of De Laudonnière assisted him in putting his antagonist to flight.

The home of Onethcaqua is located "near the high mountains"; the map reads: Onathcaqua. Hostaqua, Housaqua is a settlement located by the map a short distance from Onathcaqua, and we are told that the people of these two communities (De Laudonnière calls head-chiefs by these names) painted their faces black, while the people of Molloua (Mulua) used red paint for this purpose.

It is probable that these five paracusi were nothing but *head-chiefs* of tribal confederacies, and that the real power was not in their hands, but in those of their sub-chiefs or holata. Head-chiefs and chiefs surrounded themselves with considerable ceremonial and pomp, and probably on this account the chroniclers call them *kings*; but some kind of etiquette surrounded all chiefs throughout the territories near the Gulf of Mexico, and that the Timucua people enjoyed a sort of democratic rule is shown by the election of a new chief by the warriors. From Pareja's writings alone, which were composed fifty years later, we would certainly be led to assume that the Timucua people was ruled rather despotically. On many points the narrative of the French captain is neither precise nor satisfactory; we learn nothing positive about the territorial extent of the settlements of the Timucua race, nor about the national name by which they called themselves. His book goes to show that Timoga, Timagoa was the name of *one* town, village or chieftaincy only; in later times it was extended over several chieftaincies only by the circumstance that the Indians of this place were among the first christianized, and that missionaries composed books in *their* dialect only. The same thing has occurred with the Mutsun of San Juan Bautista, California.

Some of the French explorers seem to have reached the locality where *gold* was obtained in the sand of the rivers and brooks, but the result being not satisfactory, they soon returned to Fort St. Charles.* When they began to suffer of famine, the Indians showed to them their natural treacherous disposition and scoffed them for their misery, but never attacked them, protected as they were by an insular fort armed with cannons. Two Spaniards were liberated by them, who told them about the existence of the Calos "kingdom" at the southern extremity of the peninsula; one of them had been despatched as a messenger by the Calos chief to chief Oathchaqua, a four or five days' journey north of Calos. Half way he saw the island Serropé in a fresh water lake of the same name.

Fontanedo mentions forty towns or settlements of the *Calos*, or *Callos*

* Gold was called by them *sieroa pira* (*pira*, red, yellow). The chronicler Fontanedo speaks of the "mines of Onogatano, situated in the snow-clad mountains of Onogatano, the most distant possessions of Abolachi;" Mem. p. 32. Cf.: "The precious metals possessed by the early Floridian Indians," pag. 199-202 (Appendix III) of *Brinton*, Notes on the Flor. Peninsula. Brinton thinks that the Timucua were probably acquainted with the auriferous gulches of the Appalachian ridge in Georgia and the Carolinas.

Indians, who held the south-western portion of the peninsula (Brinton, *Notes*, p. 113). Among twenty of their number, Comachica and Cala-obe are probably belonging to the Timucua language (hica, land, country; kála-abo, fruit-stalk or fruit-tree); the town of Tampa has a Maskoki name: itimpi *near, close to it*. Some of these towns were located on Lucayo Islands (the Keys?), and four in the land of the Tocobayo, on Lake Mayaimi. Near Manatee, Brinton found a small lake called Lake Mayaco, a name not altogether unlike Mayaimi; but Lake Mayaimi is described by the chroniclers as being of huge proportions. Sarasota Bay and Island, Manatee Co., on the western coast, seems to be a Timucua name, but the majority of the present Indian names of localities found on maps of the peninsular part of the State are Seminole, an idiom differing but very little from the Creek, of the Maskoki family. Thus Welaka, a town on St. John's River, Putnam Co., is the "great water," o-íwa thláko, contracted into withláko; this was or is still the Seminole name for the St. John's River, and is interpreted by some writer: "river of many lakes." The French called the St. John's River la Rivière Mai, because entered on May 1st by their vessels; the Spaniards named it Rio de San Mateo, Rio Picolata, Rio de San Juan.

South of Cape Cañaveral, the country along the Atlantic Coast was called by the Spaniards, who had a post there, the "Province of Tequesta." The northern portion of this section of land was called in later epochs Ais, Ays, Is, and Santa Lucia by the Spaniards. *Ais* is interpreted by aïsa, *deer*, a term not belonging to the Timucua language, but identifiable with itcho, *deer*, in Seminole, or itchi, itche in Hitchiti and Mikasuke.

The *work of christianizing* the Florida Indians began with the establishment of a permanent Spanish garrison at St. Augustine by Adelantado Pedro Menendez de Aviles, in 1564. The padres mostly went to the southern portions of the land; two were sent to the "Calusas" in 1567, and 1568 ten others arrived, who dispersed themselves in various directions. Padre Antonio Sedeño settled in the island of Guale (Mary's, Santa Maria, now Amelia Island) and was the first to compose there a catechism and a grammar of some North American language not specified.

After Menendez had returned to Spain in 1567, the French Huguenot leader De Gourgues, allied with the paracusi Saturiwa, demolished the most important Spanish forts in the same year, and the Spanish missionaries met with the most cruel reverses. Padre Rogel returned from the Calos country, disgusted with his ill-success, and went to San Felipe, a Spanish coast settlement in the "Province of Orista," north of the Savannah River, but did not remain long. Coava, chief of an inland country named Axacán, one hundred and fifty leagues from San Augustine, put to death all the apostolic missionaries sent among his people. The English captain Francis Drake destroyed San Augustine in 1586.

In 1592 twelve Franciscan padres were sent to this bloody field of Catholic martyrdom, and two years after this, twenty "mission houses" were in existence. But the indomitable spirit of the aborigines could not tolerate

any priestly interference with their own customs and traditions. They murdered in cold blood Pedro de Corpa, missionary at Tolemaro, near the mouth of St. Mary's river, killed the missionaries at Topiqui, Asao, Ospo and Assopo, all on Guale island, and destroyed their churches and other mission establishments.

In 1612, the "Custodia" of the eleven convents of Florida was erected into an independent ecclesiastic "Provincia de Santa Elena," the principal house being at Havana; thirty-two Franciscan priests were sent there (1612-13) to found missions, and in 1616 their number was increased by twelve others.

In 1638 a war took place against the Apalache Indians. The civil administration of the province was from 1655 to 1675 in the hands of Governor Don Diego de Rebolledo, "Capitan-General." His successor from 1675 to 1680 was Don Juan Hita de Salazar, who was followed by Don Juan Marquez Cabrera. Twenty-four Franciscans were disembarked in 1676 to christianize the natives. A town Timucua is, not long after this, recorded at New Smyrna, Volusia Co, on the Atlantic coast, about ninety miles south of San Augustine.

In 1687, Governor Juan Marquez attempted to remove some Indian tribes of Florida, Apalachis, etc., to the West Indian Islands. Upon this a revolt broke out in San Felipe, San Simon, Santa Catalina, Sapala, Tupichilasao, Obaldaquini and some other towns; the natives emigrated to Georgia, or took refuge in the forests. This revolt does not seem to have extended over those pueblos or towns who sent the letter, printed below, to King Charles II, of Spain († 1700), and they were evidently well satisfied with their present governor.

It was perhaps a consequence of this revolt that, in 1687, some Yamassi Indians, living under Spanish rule, left their country for the South, invaded the mission of Santa Catalina, in the province of Timucua, pillaged the church and convent of San Francisco by removing its plate and vestments, burnt the town of Timucua, killed many converted Indians, while others were brought as slaves to Santa Elena. The reason given by the Yamas-sis for this unprecedented massacre was that they were disgusted with the rule of the Franciscans, and tried to put an end to it. English instigations were supposed to be at the bottom.

The English colonists of Georgia and the Carolinas, jealous of the Spanish and their power, began from 1702 a series of inroads into Florida, which lasted for half a century, and entailed much misery on the Spanish Indians. Col. Daniels, who led the land force of Governor Moore's army in 1702, took St. Augustine, and met, as far as known, with no resistance. These incursions lasted until 1706, and an inroad of the Alibamu Indians occurred in 1705. Further English inroads are recorded for the years 1719, 1727, 1736, 1740 and 1745.

It is not altogether impossible that some Timucua Indians survive at the present time, for the Pueblo de los Atimucas, on the Muskito lagoon, Volusia Co., has subsisted long after the beginning of the English raids.

Either the Atlantic coast or the borders of the interior fresh-water lakes, or the Seminole settlements, Fla., might still harbor some of the race, though little hope is to be entertained that their ancient vocalic language may still be heard among them.

ETHNOGRAPHIC REMARKS CONCERNING THE TIMUCUA PEOPLE.

Not only for the history of the Floridians, but also for their ethnography the report of René de Laudonnière is of the greatest value. In the small extent of territory which he saw, the manners and customs were probably the same everywhere, on the coast and in the interior; but further to the west, among the Apalache, Hitchiti and Creeks, they must have differed not inconsiderably. The artist Jacques le Moyne de Morgues accompanied the captain on his expeditions inland, and with his skilful pencil reproduced most tastefully what he had observed among the red men of the plains and forests. These sketches do not seem to be historically faithful in every respect, for striking pictorial effect often seems more desirable to artists than historic truth; but taken as a whole, they give us a vivid picture of the reality of life among the Timucua. They were published in Theodor de Bry's collection of pictorial voyages, vol. II, with *Latin* text at the lower margin (*Brevis Narratio; Francofurti ad Moenum, 1598, fol.*). Alb. J. Pickett, *History of Alabama, Charleston, 1851 (2 vols., 12mo.)*, has reproduced several of these drawings, together with extracts from De Laudonnière; but he wrongly supposes that LeMoynes pictures represent the appearance and customs of the Southern Indians in general. Neither he nor Fairbanks, nor any other southern writer speaks of the Timucua as a *distinct* race.

Condensed from De Laudonnière, Pareja and other sources, I present the following short sketch of what appeared to me the most characteristic of all the Timucua customs and peculiarities:

Men and women generally went nude. Their *bodies* were well proportioned, the men were of a brown-olive color, tall stature and without apparent deformities. The majority of men tattooed themselves in very artistic devices on the arms and thighs, and to judge from Le Moynes pictures, the chiefs at least were tattooed over the whole body. They trussed up their long black hair in a bunch resting on their head, and covered their privates with a well-dressed deerskin. Women wore the hair long, reaching down to the hips, but on losing their husbands they cut their hair off to its root, and did not remarry before it had grown again to reach the shoulders. Both sexes were in the habit of wearing their finger nails long. The custom of pressing the heads of infants is not mentioned.*

*This custom prevailed largely among the Cháhta, who were called Flat-heads on that account. The German anatomist, A. Ecker, has lately examined twenty skulls excavated on the western coast of Florida, and published the result in the Brunswick "*Archiv für Anthropologie*," vol. X (1878), page 201-14, under the heading: "Zur Kenntniss des Körperbaues früherer Einwohner der Halbinsel Florida." He thinks that a portion of them was artificially altered and deformed, but that they belonged to a race similar or identical to that encountered by the first Spanish explorers; he further believes, that the people which accumulated the shell-heaps which are so frequent on the Floridian shore-line differed from the above, and perhaps belonged to the Carib stock.

Women were seen to climb the highest trees with agility, and to swim over broad rivers with children on their backs. When they became pregnant, they (and the Creek women) kept away from their husbands, and during their periods were careful to eat certain kinds of nutriment only; they drank blood to render their sucking children stronger and healthier. Chiefs had one legitimate wife, whose children alone could inherit them, and one or two concubines. The first-born males in the tribe were sacrificed to the chief, under solemn ceremonies.

Most Indians were found to be diseased by the "pox," for they were exceedingly fond of the other sex, calling their female friends "daughters of the sun." Pederasty was not unfrequent, and the French noticed quite a number of "hermaphrodites," who were very strong in body, and used as load-carriers, especially on war expeditions. The Indians showed a feeling of repugnance towards them.

The Timucua declared *war* by sticking a number of arrows into the ground, fliers up, in close vicinity to the enemy's camp. This was done with the utmost secrecy the night before the attack, and locks of human hair were seen dangling from the end of the arrows. The chiefs led the warriors on the war-path, club, arrows and bow in hand; when the fight had begun, they placed themselves in the centre of the combatants, and their usual mode of attack was to surprise the enemy, as is done by all Indians. They fought valiantly and impetuously, when compelled to fight openly; their weapons were spears, clubs, bow and arrows, and a small target hung on the chest. Their arrows were headed with stones and fish-bones, both being worked quite handsomely and carefully. The warriors put to death all men captured (though exceptions to this are recorded), cut off their arms above the elbow, and their legs above the knee, took their scalps, and ran an arrow into their anus, leaving them in this condition on the battle-field. The scalps and sometimes the cut-off limbs were brought to camp, stuck on poles which they connected with garlands, and during the scalp dance, which lasted three days and nights, the most revolting orgies were gone through. The oldest of their women were compelled to join hands in the maddening dance; the scalps of the slain were smoked over a fire, while praises were sung to the sun for the victory obtained. Women and children of the enemy were kept as slaves. Warriors ornamented their heads with all kinds of feathers, leaves and plants, like the Aztecs and Mayas, or drew the head or skin of some wild animal over their foreheads, to protect the head.

When *hunting game* they hid themselves in deer skins, and thus shot their game by decoy. The various superstitions of hunters are contained in Pareja's queries. He also speaks of their barbacoas or provision houses, and Le Moyne's picture shows that these were low palisade huts, roofed over, and having only one issue. In the maize gathering season, the whole crop was carried to these *barns*, and subsequently it was portioned out to every man according to his quality. The watchmen of these barns, when found to be neglectful of their duties, were executed by a heavy blow on the head with a war-club.

As one of the pastimes of their young men is mentioned the throwing of balls against a square mat made of bulrush reeds, hanging from a pole 8-9 fathoms high; the one who succeeded in making the mat come down, was winner in the game.

At the *death* of a *holata* or *chief*, men and women cut their hair off to half length, and a thorough abstinence from food was ordered for three days; the deceased was buried ceremoniously, on the top of a terrace-mound, a smaller mound erected over his grave, and a large conch or marine shell, which had been his drinking cup, placed over this monticule. The conch was then surrounded by a circle of arrows stuck perpendicularly into the soil, at two or three feet distance from the conch.

In a people which believes in the power of *conjurers* over ghosts and spirits, the influence of the bewitcher or shaman must be necessarily immense. From Pareja's queries we gather the fact that mostly old men, *naribua*, were acting as conjurers; they consecrated the arrows before a hunting party left for the woods, and when the game did not expire from the first shots, they prayed over another arrow which would certainly finish it; they produced rain, restored lost objects to their owners, spoke their benedictions over corn-cribs and new fish weirs, over a catch of fish and over baskets of recently gathered fruits. They treated the sick with incantations and physicked them with herbs; they sometimes cured them half-ways only to exact more reward from them. They predicted future events, especially at a time when everybody was interested in what they might reveal: during war-expeditions. Before going to war, the chief sitting amidst his warriors, consulted one of the oldest and smartest conjurers (who had to be also an accomplished contortionist), concerning the result of the war, the force and the whereabouts of the enemy. In their midst the magician knelt down on his small round target in such a manner as not to come in contact with the soil; after various incantations he derived inspiration from demoniac powers, and while grimacing, drew a magic circle in the sand around his shield. After contorting himself in the most terrific manner for about twenty minutes, while singing incantations and uttering imprecations against the enemy, he finally stood up, and after getting cooler, he revealed to the "King" the number of the hostiles and their hiding places or whereabouts and the best moment to attack them.

Although we find no direct mention of *solar* and *lunar worship* in Pareja's writings, both prevailed among the Timucua, and solar worship throughout the Southern territories. The term *acuhiba*, *moon*, really means *indicator* (of time), literally: "the one who tells." The Timucua worshipped the sun under the image of a deer; they raised a stuffed deer-skin on a high pole and testified their reverence for it by singing and dancing rites.* The sun was invoked before a battle and praised after a victory gained; the natives once refused to accept meat from the French and

* This is perhaps the origin of the tribal name *A:sa*, *Ais*, *Ays*, previously mentioned.

made them understand that they were accustomed to wash their faces and not to eat before the sun had gone down.

Another object closely connected with their beliefs was the *sacred* number *three*. While the Maskoki tribes had a traditional reverence for the number *four* on account of the four points of the compass and the winds coming from each of these four quarters, and while they assigned a particular color to each of these four points, we find over a dozen references in De Laudonnière to a worship of the number *three* among the Timucua. They fasted three days at the death of a chief, their scalp-dances lasted three days and three nights; at the *toya* festivity, which probably represents the green-corn festivity of other Indians, men ran into the woods, as if crazed, and stayed there three days, while the women cut themselves and their daughters, crying "*he toya!*" Even in Pareja this number is alluded to, for he mentions that chiefs just coming into power ordered a new fire to be made in their cabins to burn during six days, and at sowing time the chiefs caused six old men (*ano miso*) to eat a pot of fritters. Six is the double of *three*. The holy fire in the temple of the sun, among the Naktche, was fed by *three* logs only; and a Peruvian creation myth pretends that *three* eggs fell from the skies; from the golden egg issued the royal family, from the silver egg the nobility, and from the copper egg the commoners.

Concerning their mode of *sustenance* the Timucua stood high above the northern savages, for they tilled the soil and were not altogether at the mercy of nature, when an inclement summer season had deprived them of food. A hoe, made of a heavy fish bone or shell adjusted to the end of a stick, served in loosening the compact soil; the women made grooves in the ground by hand and carefully deposited maize-seeds in each of them. Here the agricultural work did not devolve entirely on the women, for the males turned the soil with their hoes. They made artificial ponds to let fish, eels, turtles, etc., come in, and afterwards caught them when needed. They were drinking the black drink, an exhilarating beverage made from the cassine-plant (also known among the Creeks), and to this, probably, refers the charge of drunkenness made by Pareja. They ate alligators, snakes, dogs, and almost every kind of quadrupeds and fruits, and were seen mixing coals and sand in their food; their main staple, however, was maize, and the French saw them kissing the "baskets of mill," *tapaga tapola*, standing before them.

During the three or four months of the rainy season they retired to the woods and lived there in huts covered with palmetto leaves. They did so evidently to avoid the burning rays of the subtropical sun.

About their *arts and domestic life* not much is transmitted to us. The term *taca ni timutema*, "my fire is out" (Proc. of 1878, page 496), shows that they kept up the fire in the lodge all day. The description of the town, with the chief's house on a mound, as seen by Hernando de Soto on Tampa Bay, is too well known to need repetition here. The ordinary settlements of the Timucua were a conglomerate of huts surrounded by strong palisade fences, not unlike the *kraals* (from Span. *corral*, medieval

Latin: curtinale) of the Kaffirs. They must have been very fond of personal ornaments as Le Moynes pictures tend to show, and tattooing with some indelible color was carried to a high pitch of artistic development. They seated themselves on coarse benches made of nine poles or canes running parallel, the benches forming half circles; there they held their councils of war and peace, while the women prepared food for them, or let the cassine drink make the round of the assembled warriors. They were adepts in the art of manufacturing fans, hats and other tissues from palmetto leaves, and also moulded large *earthen* vessels, in which water was carried. Not less were they acquainted with ideographic writing, for each of the two head-chiefs Olata Utina and Hostaqua sent five painted skins as presents to Captain René de Laudonnière.

A study of Pareja's *totemic list* goes to show that two kinds of descendencies existed among the Timucua. The names of the first refer simply to the relations which the men of the tribe or tribes entertained to their chief, as councillors, etc.; but the second list contains the ancient names of the gentes or clans, as given to them through their totem. The majority of these totems are names of animals, and herein the Timucua do not differ from other North American Indians east of the Rocky Mountains. The two lists of Pareja seem to stand in no reciprocal connection, and hence it is to be presumed that a man who belonged, *f. i.*, to the Anacotima could belong at the same time to the Apahola or some other clan mentioned in the second list.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.

The following are the titles of Pareja's works consulted by me in the library of the Historical Society of New York:

I.

Catecismo en lengua Castellana, y Timuquana. En el qual se contiene lo que se les puede enseñar a los adultos que an de ser bautizados. Compuesto por el P. F. Francisco Pareja, Religioso de la Orden del seraphico P. S. Francisco, guardian del Conuento de la purissima Cõcepçion de N. Señora de S. Augustin, y Padre de la Custodia de sancta Elena de la Florida. (Woodcut.) EN MEXICO, en la imprêta de la Viuda de Pedro Balli. Por C. Adriano Cesar M. DC. XII.

In 16mo., eighty leaves or 160 pages, not numbered, but every quire marked with a letter of the alphabet running from A to K inclusive, at lower right hand margin, the leaves being marked with Roman figures: Biii, Biiii, Gii, Iv etc.

II.

In the copy consulted by me the following "Doctrina" is bound into same volume as part of a second Catechism:

Catechismo y breve exposicion de la doctrina Christiana muy util y necessaria, así para los Españoles como para los Naturales, en Lengua Castellana y Timuquana, en modo de preguntas, y respuestas. Compuesto por el P. F. Francisco Pareja de la Orden de N. Seraphico P. S. Francisco, Padre de la Custodia de S. Elena de la Florida.

Follows a woodcut extending over more than half the page.

Back of title : Woodcut representing the infant Jesus with the cross, and Spanish verses to its praise. 176 leaves, paged only recto; the last three leaves 174-76 not numbered. Profusely illustrated with rough woodcuts. The colophon reads as follows :

Con Licencia de los superiores, en Mexico, en casa de la viuda de Pedro Balli. Año de 1612. Por C. A. Cesar.

III.

Confessionario En lengua Castellana y Timuquana. Con algunos consejos para animar al penitente. (*) ¶ Y assi mismo van declarados algunos efectos y prerrogativas deste sancto sacramento, etc. Ordenado por el Padre Fr. Francisco Pareja, Padre de la Custodia de Santa Elena de la Florida. Religioso de la Orden de nuestro Seraphico Padre San Francisco. Impreso con licencia en Mexico, en la Empronta de la Viuda de Diego Lopez Daaalos. Año de 1613.

Colophon : Aquino van puestos los Canones, hallarsean en el libro llámado segundo mandamiento.

LAUS DEO DEIPARÆQUE
o MARIÆ o

The book is in 16mo and the title is followed by seven unpagéd leaves, containing testimonials and documents of the press authorities concerning Pareja's books. Follow eight unpagéd leaves containing errata and list of contents. Follow leaves, the numbers of which run from 9 to 230, some set up in one, others in two columns, the former being more frequent. The volume is illustrated with many coarse woodcuts. The star, as marked in the title, occupies the middle of the page.

NOTE.—In the official preface to the Confessionario (leaf 3) the President and auditors of the royal "Audiencia" of New Spain mention the following writings composed by Father Pareja: "Fray Francisco Pareja de la Orden a compuesto, traduzido y declarado la Doctrina Christiana, tres Cathecismos, Confessionario, Arte, y Vocabulario, y otro tratado de las penas del Purgatorio, y de las penas del infierno: y gozos de la Gloria, y el Rosario de la Virgen con otras cosas de deuocion, en lengua Castellana y Floridana, y gastado en esto mas de diez y seys años." It is possible that some of these writings have never appeared in print.

To the above I add the titles of two works by Gregorio de Mouilla, as copied from Icazbalceta's *Apuntes* :*

IV.

Explicacion de la Doctrina que compuso el cardenal Belarmino, por mandado del Señor Papa Clemente 8. ¶ Traducida en Lengua Floridana : por el Padre Fr. Gregorio de Mouilla Diffinidor de la Prouincia de santa Elena, de la Orden de S. Francisco, natural de la Villa de Carrion de los Condes

*Joaq. Garcia Icazbalceta, *Apuntes para un catálogo de escritores en lenguas indigenas de América.* Mexico, 1866, 12 mo, pag. 116-118.

hijo de la Prouincia de la Concepcion, y del Conuento recolecto de ñra Señora de Calahorra. Corregida, enmendada y añadida en esta segunda impression por el mesmo Autor. En Mexico Impressa con licencia en la Imprenta de Iuan Ruyz. Año de 1635.

(En 8º, 12 fojas preliminares. Fojas 1 à 197. 2 fojas de indice, sin numerar. Al fin :)

Acabose à 9. de Enero de 1636. con licencia en Mexico, por Iuan Ruyz.

V.

(A continuacion se halla este otro opúsculo):

Forma breve de administrar los Sacramentos à los Indios, y Españoles que viuen entre ellos. ¶ Aprobado por Autoridad Apostolica, y sacado del Manual Mexicano, que se vsa en toda la nueua España y Pirù, mutatis mutandis, esto es, lo que estaua en lègua Mexicana traducido en lengua Florida. Para vso de los Religiosos de ñro Padre S. Francisco, que son los ministros de las Prouincias de la Florida. ¶ Por el Padre Fr. Gregorio de Mouilla. ¶ Con licencia del señor Don Lope Altamirano Comissario general de la santa Cruzada. Impresso en Mexico. Por Iuan Ruyz. Año de 1635.

(En 8º, 32 fojas. En la biblioteca del Señor D. J. F. Ramirez, México.) La primera edicion de este libro es de Madrid, 1631, en 8º; pero habiendo resultado con muchas erratas, volvió el autor á imprimirlo en México, corregido y aumentado. Así lo dice en su prólogo.

RADICAL AFFINITIES OF LANGUAGE.

My attempt to compare the Timucua language with other linguistic families in regard to lexical affinity may be called premature, for we do not know over two hundred vocables of it with some degree of certitude. There are no two languages in the world which will not yield many real or fancied resemblances when confronted with each other, and to build air-castles on these has been a frequent mistake of many unexperienced investigators. Linguistic families, which are ancient neighbors of Timucua, are the Yuchi, Cherokee, Maskoki and Carib, but none of them seem to give any chances for fruitful radical comparisons, and Yuchi and Maskoki differ widely from it phonetically. The Carib or Galibi dialects, anciently spoken in the West Indies, are quite fluctuating in the pronunciation of their vowels as well as of their consonants, like some Polynesian dialects, and since we observe the same peculiarity in Timucua, an additional difficulty springs up in the way of arriving at a result.

A. *Timucua-Maskoki affinities.*

Holata chief. This Timucua term is evidently *loaned* from the Eastern Maskoki dialects, for in Creek *holá'hta* is a ceremonial title of men officiating in annual festivals and busks, and is often connected with the war-title *hadjo, hádsu*, which corresponds to our *bold, reckless* (*holá'hta hádsu*). In rank the *holá'hta, huláχta* stands below the *tusténóki*, who is himself inferior to the *miko* or chief. *Holá'hta* is

the word *holáti*, with prefix *ok-*: *oxoláti blue, sky blue*, the blue color having become in some way or other the emblem of these titled warriors. In the cognate Hitchiti dialect blue is *holatle*. Among the Creeks *blue* was the color symbol of the *south*.

Aba, abo stick, club; *stalk, plant*; maize-stalk; abopaha corn-crib; aboto to beat with a stick; abara maize field. In the Maskoki dialects this term appears as *ápi* in Creek: stalk, stem; adshim *api* stalk of maize or Indian corn; *ádshi-intal-ápi* cob of Indian corn. The Hitchiti dialect pronounces the a longer than Creek: *ápi* stem, handle; *nofápi* beech, lit. beech-stalk. In *Chá'hta* this word may be traced in: *nusápi* oak-tree, and in *haksh-ap* bark.

B. *Timucua-Carib affinities.*

Piro *red*; ano *pira red man, Indian*. In Galibi *ta-piré* is red and yellow; in Tupi *piranga* is red; *pira piranga* red fish, name of some fish species (Martius); in Taino *pu*, *bu* meant scarlet.

Paha *house, lodge, wigwam*. In Arowak we find *bahü* (and: *baacheh*) house; *boharque* in Taino: *bohio, búhü, ubanna: tujurium*, in the same dialect (Martius).

Ele *young, fresh, recent*. In Eyeri *el* is *son*, in Taino *el, ili, gua-ili* (with demonstrat. prefix *gua-, wa-*) young, offspring, infant; in Arowak *elunchy*: boy.

Ichali *weir, fish-pond*. Raymond Breton (Dictionn. Caraïbe français, 1665) page 282, has *ichali*: garden for raising vegetables, p. 468: *tona icali* (or *áriche*), fish-weir: "réservoir de poisson," *tona* meaning river. The word *oubacali* he also translates by *garden*; *óubao* island, *icali* garden. Ibid. p. 111: *chaláali* he was drowned; *na chálaroyem* I am drowning, I go to the bottom. These two words are evidently representing different linguistic roots, and the first has to be pronounced *ishali*, according to the French pronunciation. Pareja expressly states that *ichali* was used for *weir* on the coast, *puye* in the interior, and I think it may be a loan word from the south incorporated into the language after suppressing the *tona*, which alone qualifies the Carib word (as spoken on the island of Guadeloupe) as a fish-pond. In Eyeri, as spoken on Porto Rico, *chali* meant a garden also.

The terms pointed out certainly agree in both languages, but they may be loan words; even if they rested on a common origin, their number is too small to prove identity of ethnic origin of the two peoples.

Other resemblances may be traced, but they are too doubtful for being relied on:

hapu three: *kabbuin, kabuin* Arowak.

maca, moca sea, ocean: *bagua* in Taino; cf. *pa* in *paraná*, the Tupi term for *sea*.

iyoroua eel: *ihiri* in Arowak. The Timucua word is derived from the verb *yuru* to shake, tremble.

DIALECTS OF THE TIMUCUA LANGUAGE.

This is a topic on which very few indications were transmitted to us by the authors. But we are told by Pareja that dialects spoken by one tribe were intelligible to tribes speaking other dialects. He mentions several dialectic differences, f. i., that between ichali and puyu *fish-weir*, yame and yaman-chu *brother-in-law*, amitina and chirima *my younger sister*.

The dialects to which he refers, are :

1. The dialect of Timoga or Timagoa, on Lower St. John's River.
2. That of Potano, west of St. John's River.
3. That of Itafi.
4. That of the Fresh-water District.
5. The dialect of Tukururu, on the Atlantic coast.
6. The dialect of Santa Lucia de Acuera, a short distance south of Cape Cañaverl.
7. The dialect of Mocama, a term which means : "on the coast."

Many other dialects and sub-dialects must have been spoken throughout the vast interior of the peninsula, of which we have no knowledge. The most instructive passage on this subject is found in Hervas, *Catálogo de las Lenguas conocidas*, I, p. 388, who quotes Pareja, of whose writings he had seen none but the catechism of 1627 : "Los indios que tienen mas diferencia de vocables y mas toscos que son los de Tukururu y Santa Lucia de Acuera, por participar de la costa del Sur, que es otra lengua, entienden á los de Mocama, que es la lengua mas politica, y á los de Timuqua, como lo he experimentado, pues me han entendido predicandoles."

Thus Pareja declares the coast dialect of Mocama (which latitude?) to be the most polished of all and a medium of inter-communication with the southernmost dialect with its rude pronunciation. *Otra lengua* does not necessarily mean "a language of a different stock," but only *an idiom differing from ours*.

GRAMMATIC NOTES.

On account of the unsatisfactory state of the Timucua texts at hand, our grammatic and lexical knowledge of this idiom can increase but slowly. Pareja's "Arte" or grammar would considerably help our investigations, but no trace could as yet be discovered of its manuscript or of the book itself, if it has ever been printed.

The following remarks contain the result of my studies on the grammatic part of the idiom. Many of them may be revoked in doubt or corrected by further research, for the state of the texts often admits several interpretations of the wording. For this reason I have even hesitated for a while, whether it would be justifiable to publish them or not.

In *phonetics* the most prominent feature is the alternation of some vocalic sounds among themselves, and of the consonants pronounced with the same phonic organ of the vocal tube.

Other changes are very frequent also, especially those produced by contraction, viz. : synzesis, syncope, ekthlipsis.

Thus, the article (or pronoun) *na* frequently combines with the following word, whether this begins with a vowel or not :

na ucuta : *nacuta, ucuta* ; *nacunu* : *na acu ano*.

na uquostano : *naquostano, uquostano*.

iti-aye : *itaye* ; *iti ayaye* : *itayaqe* ; *isaye isa* : *isayesa* ; *isaye nate* : *isayente*.

soba hebi : *sobaebi* ; *piaha* : *pia*.

chuqua cosa : *chuquosa* ; *chi iquila* : *chiquila*.

aya-lacota : *yalacota* ; *ano eyo* : *anoya*.

THE VERB.

The *verb* being the most important part of speech in every language, I first call attention to the polymorphic and intricate nature of its *inflection* as it appears in the texts. It certainly shows analytic features by not incorporating the subject-pronoun, for this may be placed before or after the finite verb, its place being determined by the run of the sentence. Where this pronoun is found combined with the verb, phonetic attraction alone seems to have produced this effect.

The synthetic character of the Timucua verb exceeds largely its analytic features or anything that could be construed into such. It shows itself in the formation of the modes, participles and verbals, of the numbers, of the voices and tenses, of negative and interrogative verbs. To express grammatic relation and derivation, prefixation is much less resorted to than suffixation.

A large number of American languages do not distinguish more than two tenses, though others show a variety of them. Timucua is poor in tenses; the tense of the incompleted action, which mostly coincides with our *future*, is expressed by suffixing *manda, manta* to the stem, a derivative of the verb *mani* *to desire*. The fact that *manda* sometimes appears before its verb, and sometimes is used as a verb for itself (*to be willing, to want, to require*), proves that its real function is that of an auxiliary verb. As such it is placed after all the suffixes that may be added to the stem :

viroma niponosihromanda bohobi cho? did you believe that the husband *would* possibly return (to you)?

honosoma cayamaquene ubahautilamanda bohobi cho? did you believe that the deer and the partridge *would* not (no longer) be caught?

nocomilemanda it will become true.

The action completed or just being completed is expressed as follows :

1. When the action belongs to the *past*, and is expressed by our imperfect, preterit or pluperfect, *-bi, -vi* is suffixed to the stem or basis of the verb : *taca quosobi cho?* did you make a fire?

2. When the action is in course of completion, and the tense answers to our *present* tense, then the pure stem of the verb is used, and *-la* is added, when the action is done in the presence of the speaker : *motala* I assent, I agree (while I am here) ; *habosotala* I accept.

-la, -le being the particle of the *affirmative* mode, expressing certainty,

positive statement, actuality, can be added to any tense or mode, but is most frequently used to express the present, especially when the first persons are used.

nocomi nihihabelamanda bohobi cho? did you believe that he would certainly expire?

balu nanemima ohohaulæ it gives everlasting life.

hanibitila evidently he has not neglected.

In chuqualehaue chuquosa cho? how often did you do this? the preterit tense is not marked by any suffix or other syllable.

The *plural* of the verb is often indicated by the suffix -ma, in participles by the suffix -qe, both of which are used for many other purposes also. In the queries (Proc. 1878, p. 498) mante he desires, has pl. mantema they desire or want; lapustela it requests, pl. lapustamala they request.

No instance of a *dual* form has occurred to me in the verb or substantive. From yucha *two* is formed yuchaqua *both*.

Whether the verb is making a distinction concerning *male* and *female gender* is a matter of doubt, and I can adduce only one passage (ibid., p. 498), which seems to indicate some distinction of this kind:

viro uquata puenonicala I bring a male infant.

nia uquata puentanicala I bring a female infant.

viro niaquene puenonicala I bring male and female infants.

Of the *modes* of the finite verb one is marked by the suffix -hero, -ero, -ro, which expresses possibility and probability, corresponding somewhat to our auxiliary verb *may, might, could*. This form, which could be called either a conditional or a facultative mode, may be illustrated by the following syntactic instances:

anoco nihihero manibi cho? did you desire that anybody may die?

balu pontahero he may give life.

niponosihero-manda bohobi cho? did you believe that he would possibly return?

To show the forms of the *imperative* and *exhortative* mode with some degree of certainty we have not enough instances on hand.

Participles are formed by means of the suffixes -mate, -no and -ta, -te.

-mate corresponds to our participle in *-ing*, and to the Latin gerunds, but is appended to nouns also, especially when they become connected with verbal forms in -mate.

paha ponomate samota quosobi cho? after returning home, did you rub yourself with herb juice?

cuyumate honoso honomate feeding on fish and deer meat.

henomate ibinamate for eating and drinking.

etabualunimate after having given birth to.

-no, -nu is found in participles of the medial and the passive form:

ecano made, worked, worked over.

itorinolehaue equelacoma on days where (people) have to fast.

PROC. AMER. PHILOS. SOC. XVIII. 105. 2J. PRINTED MARCH 27, 1880.

honoma, calama ituhunuleqe fruits prayed over.

na care henomano caqua all these things, when eaten.

-ta and -te occurs in participles of passive, and also of intransitive verbs; to distinguish it from the negative and the interrogative -ti, -te is not always an easy matter. -ta mostly occurs as the ending of a substantive. ubuata caught, from ubua to catch, capture.

hibate missa the missa having been said, or having said the missa.

atofa hororoquene hebataqe when the owl and the red owl were screeching. nimota being hunted.

ibirita (a woman) who is menstruating.

eta baluta (a woman) confined.

inosobote one compelled to work.

ituhute over which a prayer was said; prayed over.

There are two *negative* particles in the language, aya (ya) and -ti, -te. The former either stands for itself, or is prefixed to the verb; when prefixed it becomes only agglutinated to, not incorporated into the verb. Aya is a particle of an objective nature, while -ti, -te is used in a subjective, putative sense, the negation of a fact or thought existing rather in the speaker's mind, than objectively. Therefore it serves also as an interrogative particle, and then is mostly joined to in- as inti, though frequently found incorporated into the verb, and placed after particles of derivation. It then corresponds to Latin -ne in dicisne? and to $\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ ($\mu\tilde{\eta}$ οἶον) or to our *not* in "don't you say?" which means the same as "do you say?" though with a slight shade of difference.

aya honoma ituhunu fruits not prayed over.

hanibitila he did not neglect.

manino-ticote without feeling hunger.

Diosi hubuasotanatila? have you not loved God?

isayente (for isaye nate)? is she thy mother?

isayeste? does thy mother say so?

The formation of reflective, reciprocal, medial and causative verbs is effected by derivational affixes, and some of them are mentioned among the "Prefixes and Suffixes of Derivation." How frequentative and usitative, durative and attributive verbs are formed cannot be determined yet on account of the infrequency of syntactic examples. Instances how derivatives are formed, will be seen under mo- and orobo- in the "Words and Sentences."

THE NOUN.

The Timucua *noun* presents many difficult problems. To designate the objective case of the direct object we find in the *substantive* four suffixes: -co, -nu, -ma, and the plural suffix -qe, or we find no suffix at all. While -ma is locative, plural and verbal suffix at the same time, -nu seems connected with certain classes of nouns only, of the animate as well as of the inanimate order. None of them is a sign of a distinct *case*.

chofama pilenoma ibine-ichicosa to throw liver and lungs into cold water.

ponachica viroma ? niama ? do you bring a male, female (infant) ?
balunu nanemima ohohauela it gives eternal life.

The adjective, when used attributively, does but in a very few examples agree in its suffix with the substantive it qualifies, and generally has no suffix at all, but stands *after* the substantive.

-mate is a postposition joined to nouns, in honosomate cayamatequene, from the deer and from the partridge, Confess. p. 129.

The possessive pronouns can become suffixed to conjunctions and adverbs just as if they were substantives or participles. Thus the suffix of the second person of the singular, -aya, -aye is met with in examples like the following, which prove that these particles were originally participles or other nominal forms :

naquostanaye ? in which manner you ?

chucaya haheno ? how often did you eat ?

equelaya haheno chuqua ? how many times a day did you eat ?

The third person of the singular :

Diosi hebuanemoquamima emoqua against God's law : lit. "God's law against his against."

In participles this is observed as follows :

orobotanaye one cured by you.

ara uque naponaye you anointed with bear's grease.

caqi nia hutanaye that woman with whom you slept.

ilifotanaye for your killing (deer).

A syntactic curiosity are the suffixed particles -leqe, -lehe, -mia, -mano, -qe, which are sometimes placed after each word of a series of consecutive terms. They serve, no doubt, to establish a connection or reference, or to show mutual coordination of these terms. cf. tacachuleheco, &c., Confess. p. 132 v. ; cuyuleqe, *ibid.*

The suffix -qe often serves to connect a principal clause with the principal clause just preceding.

We also find repetitions of verbs and nouns, which seem quite unnecessary to us, and embarrassing the sense :

honoso henomate inti uquabi cho ? deer-meat eating did you eat ?

hehanimanda hanibi cho ? did you quit to cease eating ?

nia iquimi iquiti mosobi cho ? did you insult any women ? lit. "to women with insults did you insult-cause ?"

INCORPORATION.

There are also a few instances where the nominal object, direct and indirect, seems to be incorporated into the verb, as it is the rule in the Aztec language. Traces of this have been discovered in many other American languages. Some of the examples below are simply compound words, which differ in nothing from the Greek *οἰξοδομέω* and the Latin *animad-vertō*.

utihanta one banished from home, exulant ; lit. one yearning (hani) after (his) country (uti).

sobae to eat meat ; lit. to meat-eat (soba-he).

ibine-ichicosa to put or throw into cold water ; lit. to cold-water (something). It is not probable that cosa forms here a word for itself, but ibine ichi, a noun with its attribute, becomes verbified by the suffixation of -cosa. cf. afatacosi to gather chestnuts. If the relation existing between the suffixes -co and -ma was clearly established, we could decide whether -co is here the sign of the objective case or perhaps the radix of the verb *coso to make, produce*.

cuyuhanta one who eats no fish, lit. missing, deprived of fish.

atimouqa lord, master ; lit. servants attend (on him).

As well as the direct and indirect object of the verb, other portions of the sentence can become incorporated into one single term in this idiom. If the constituent parts of the sentence, the subject, object, predicate, attribute, etc., were *morphologically* as well defined here as they are in the Indoeuropean and Semitic languages, this would be an impossibility. The grammatic affixes of Timucua do not bear the imprint of sharp logical distinction and segregation, but embody too many relations at once, material and purely relational ones, as we clearly perceive in the example of -ma and -mate.

Diosi hebuano nemoquamima emoqua, lit. God-law-against-his-against (did you proffer curses?). In this sentence -mima, which is the possessive pronoun *his*, could stand just as well after the possessor (Diosimima hebuano), but the simple fact that it can stand elsewhere also, shows us the true character of the language.

Soba sobaebi (for : soba-hebi) cho? did you eat meat? lit. "meat did you meat-eat?" Here the first soba is the object of the verb sobaebi cho, the second soba is the incorporated object of hebi cho only. This sentence seems *to us* to contain an unnecessary repetition, but the Timucua certainly did not consider it in this light.

Chuqualehaue chuquosa cho? how often did you do this? chuqua, how often, is here verbified in both instances, chuquosa standing for chuquacosa. This seems to be more than a mere ellipse of a syllable.

Cuyuma ubuata qibenco melasonolehabetele mosobi cho? did you order that the first fish (pl.) caught be not thrown into hot water? In the direct object, cuyuma ubuata qibenco, the last term only contains the sign of the objective case, -co, hence the two terms standing before qibenco must, in the mind of the Timucua, have formed one word only with qibenco through incorporation.

Ano pequataye inosobotequa : your subordinates who are put to work. Here the sign of the plural number, -qua, is appended to the last term only, though plurality extends to pequataye as well as to ano.

Paha ponomate, lit. "after-home-returning." After paha a postposition of a locative character is expected ; its lack seems to prove that the Timucua regarded both terms as one compound word formed by incorporation of the indirect object into the verbal form.

PREFIXES OF DERIVATION.

Prefixes subservient to the formation of derivatives are not numerous and cannot be easily confounded with syllables entering into the composition of compound words. The demonstrative pronoun *na*, which we can often render by our definite article *the*, coalesces in some instances with the word following it after losing its accent, and the same is true of the pronoun *chi thou*; but these are not prefixes.

i-, verbal prefix : *iquaso*, *iquase* to screech, scream ; *iparu* to swallow (?) *iquileno* in *iquilnona* married to the sister of my wife ; *iquiti* to insult, abuse ; *ko*, *ccso* and *ike* to make, do, to cause to.

i-, nominal prefix : *ichini* and *chini* nose, nostrils ; *iti* father ; *isa* mother ; *isale* sister of mother. *itori* subsequent to : *iquini* breast, udder, milk ; *ibine* water, lake.

yu-, *yo-*, a prefix equivalent to our *through*, *across* or *by*, *near*, *past* ; *yubueha*, *yubehe* to transfix, pierce ; *yuquiso* to deposit on the side of ; *yoqua* past, bygone.

ni-, verbal prefix : *mero* hot, *nimaru* to preserve one's heat ; *naquila* to perfume, *ninaquilasi* to perfume ; *pona* to come, *niponosi* to return to ; *nacu* to drink, *ninacu* to ask for a drink.

si-, verbal prefix of a medial signification, which frequently adds to the verbal base the idea of "for oneself" and is sometimes reflective. *Siqi* or *siqisa* in *siqisama* my father, lit. "the one who procreated me," cf. *siqita pahana* all people belonging to my house, family ; *uque* oil, grease, *suquoni* to rub something on oneself (for *si uquoni*).

SUFFIXES OF DERIVATION.

A short examination of the specimens of Timucua given by me in the "Proceedings" will prove to readers that this language is in a high degree polysynthetic, not only in its signs or syllables of relation (inflectional forms), but also in derivational forms. Often one and the same syllable serves as an inflectional and as a derivational form, and it is a peculiarity of this language that these forms can occur in the form of whole syllables only, either single or double.

Suffixes are more numerous than prefixes. They are either inflectional or derivational. The latter alone will be considered in this chapter, and although the number of them as given here is rather small, Timucua forms a much larger number of them by combination. To define accurately the functions and origin of them all, is what a full grammar of this Floridian language will perhaps one day be able to give.

-ba, nominal suffix : *hiyaraba* lion ; *nariba* and *naribua* old (of persons ; from *na ariba*) ; *hibe* louse ; *soba* meat, deer-meat.

-bale, identical with *-male*, Proc. 1878, p. 497.

-bo, verbal suffix forming transitive verbs : *tinibo* to pierce, perforate ; *iniso* and *iniso*bo to make somebody work ; *aboto* and *abotobo* to beat with a stick ; *orobo* and *oroboni* to cure, heal, to treat for sickness.

-cha, *-chi* suffixed to nouns is not a real suffix ; it is the relative particle

cha, hacha, "the one who, those who, that which;" chulufi-chi those of the jay-clan or totem; caru yachimale she that was born with a brother, the female of twins, ya being the pronoun *she*; po-cha, and hachi-pa-cha somebody, anybody, lit. "the one who is born;" ela-pa-cha the members of of one family, lit. "those born young together."

-co in isitoco to cause to bleed; -co is a verbal suffix, but mostly occurs in combination with other suffixes and has a factitive or causative function: ichi cold: ibine-ichicosa to throw into cold water; afata chestnut: afatacosi to gather chestnuts; isi blood: isitoco to cause to bleed. -co also occurs in paracusi head-chief. This suffix seems to be merely the sign of the objective case, here incorporated into the verb.

-fa, nominal suffix: chofa liver, chorofa jay, atofa owl; ituhu to charm, bewitch: itufa conjurer. This suffix probably alternates with -ba, -fi, and also with -hi.

-hani expresses the idea of cessation, discontinuance, and is in fact a verb; when connected with other verbs it serves as a sort of auxiliary verb. (ni) he-hani-manda I shall cease to eat, I will not eat.

-la, -le, nominal suffix: itele uncle, so called by nephews: uncle on fathers' side; cumele heart; iqila sick, diseased; apahola buzzard, crow; ege, equela day; tola laurel; anoquela lineage, kinship, pedigree.

-lesí, -lesiro, verbal suffix expressing the idea of *to become, to begin to be*: -sí being causative, -ro pointing to probability and future time; -le seems to have the power of verbifying, like -sí. Christianolesiro to become a Christian. holatalesiro to become chief. muenolesiro to receive a name; lit. "to begin to be called." abotosiro to receive blows, to get beaten.

-mi, verbal suffix: ené to see, enemí to discover, find out.

-mi, nominal suffix: nanemi perpetual; adv. always; nocomi true; hasomi those belonging to one lineage, clan-people.

-ni, nominal suffix: ichini nose, nostrils; ibi, ibine, ibino water, lake; he to eat, hini tobacco; the word for tobacco is in many Indian languages a derivative of *to eat*, because the smoke is often swallowed by the natives. meleni petticoat.

-ni, verbal suffix: hani to cease, stop: hanini to neglect. orobini to go to confession; orobo and oroboni to cure, treat in sickness: suquoni to rub oneself with. icasini to altercate, quarrel; pona to come: puenoni to bring.

-no, -nu nominal suffix, also found in participles of the passive: ituhu to pray; ituhunu prayer; hebua to speak, hebuaño word, saying, discourse; pacano subsequent to; pileno lungs; ahono young; banino rainbow.

-no, verbal suffix: pona to come: ponono to return to; bohono to believe.

-ra, -ro, nominal suffix: aba maize, abara maize-field; itori late, posterior; hororo red owl; jufere fish-catcher's wicker basket.

-sí, verbal suffix: afatacosi to gather chestnuts; elosi to whistle (or is it elofí?); icasini to altercate, quarrel; niponosi to return to somebody; ibinése to bathe; nulasi to tickle.

-so, verbal causative suffix: uqe rain: uquiso to produce rain; inoso and

inosobo to cause to work, to work somebody ; ituhu to pray : ituhusu to cause to pray, to let pray ; uquaso to give to eat ; coso to make, produce ; moso to make, cause ; iquaso, iquase to scream, cry ; inibiso to drink to excess. he to eat, heso to make eat.

-so, nominal suffix : he, heno to eat : honoso deer, antelope.

-ta nominal suffix, forming (1) *nomina acti*, and other terms : hibuata sayings, words, ceremonial terms ; uquata body, flesh ; afata chestnut ; aquita maid ; ibine water : hibita river ; pequata bondsman ; hulubota maize-ear. (2) occurring in participles : eta baluta a woman after confinement ; ibirita a female during her period ; nimota for na emota being hunted ; ene to see : na eneta a seer, one who sees ; heta nacuta adv. immoderately.

-ta, -to forms transitive verbs : abo stick, aboto to beat with a stick ; isi blood, isito to cause to bleed ; samota to tinge, rub oneself with ; huta to cohabit with.

CONCLUSION.

A retrospective view upon all that could be gathered to this day concerning the structure of the Timucua or Atimoke idiom shows it to be remarkably simple as far as its *phonetic* structure is concerned, but intricate in its morphology. Its syllables consist either of one (long or short) vowel, or of one consonant followed by one vowel. When exceptionally two consonants are joined, some vowel must have been eliminated. The r seems to be a real trilling sound, and not a graphic substitute for some other sound, for it alternates with no other sound but with l.

This elementary syllabism impresses its character on all the *morphologic* features of the idiom ; roots, prefixes, suffixes are monosyllabic, or if polysyllabic, the suffixes at least can be proved to be compounds. A vocalic character is imparted to the language by this elementary syllabism, but whether the idiom was *sonorous* is still an open question, the solution of which depends on the fact, whether the vowels were pronounced clear or dumb. No doubt the Timucua dialects showed some differences in this particular among themselves.

The language is thoroughly synthetic in forming the voices of the verb, possesses an affirmative form in -la and a negative form in -ti, and verbals as well as participles are formed by suffixation. Its synthetic structure is also shown by its numerous array of derivational prefixes and suffixes (in this respect Timucua is polysynthetic, not synthetic only), and by a set of postpositions and case-postpositions affixed to the noun. A possessive case does not exist ; possession is indicated by a possessive pronoun added to the sign or term of the proprietor, or by placing the latter before the thing possessed. The other nominal cases are not made clearly distinct from each other by their postpositions. The synthetic character of the idiom is shown also by various suffixes, which serve to form a plural in the noun and in the verb, and by others which impart to the verb a modal or a temporal character.

Timucua is analytic in not incorporating the subject pronouns into the

verb; they are placed either before or after the verb. Concerning the object pronouns the evidence on hand is too scanty. The nominal object can become incorporated into the verb, but this is not done regularly.

The language has two relative or demonstrative-relative pronouns, *hacha* (*cha*) and *acu*, which help in a great measure to disengage the intricacy of construction and prevent the language from becoming too "participial." The number of conjunctions seems to be rather small, and in this respect the language is far from being analytic.

The most important question of morphology to be decided by every linguist who gives a grammatic sketch of an idiom to the world, is whether the idiom possesses a *real* verb or not, the verb being typical of the language itself. For the Timucua the answer is, that the verb is neither a real verb, nor a pure noun, but a noun-verb. It is true that the plural is formed in the same manner and by the same suffixes in the noun and in the verb, as we find it done also in the Maya family; it is true that no real subject-case exists, and therefore no real case for the direct object either, all the nominal postpositions being originally of a *locative* character, as it seems; it is true also that several relational suffixes of nouns repeat themselves in the verb. But the subject-pronouns are by no means identical with the possessive pronouns of the nouns and particles, some of which are always suffixed, not prefixed to them, and though the verb does not inflect for person, it inflects for tense and mode. The verbal forms which correspond to our finite verb are *nomina agentis*.

The result is that the verb of this peninsular idiom is a mixed production between a real verb and a noun used as verb; it is a *noun-verb*, holding a middle position between the finite Indoeuropean verb, and the finite Algonkin and Creek verb, both of which are *nomina actionis*.

The nature of the texts makes it difficult to find out whether there is a substantive verb *to be* or not, and therefore we are still in the dark concerning the attributive verbs. However, the existence of a verb *to be* is very improbable; it is often circumscribed by the article *na*. Adjectives used attributively are sometimes inflected with the same postpositions as the noun which they qualify; sometimes with other postpositions, while at other times they show no inflectional endings at all, which proves that they were then considered as forming *one* term with the noun, which they qualify. They always *follow* the noun, unless used predicatively.

The incorporative tendency of the language has been spoken of above. It is not very prominently nor frequently put to use, and most sentences do not show any trace of it; but it *exists*, and this fact is enough for us to direct our judgment concerning the nature of this southern idiom. Subject pronouns and some of the adverbs are not, but most other parts of speech can become united with the verb, or among themselves, into "collective terms," which are so instructive for the study of agglutinative languages.

SELECTED TEXTS.

QUESTIONS ADDRESSED TO THE CHIEFS.

Holatama bueta yechinoma cantela.

(Pareja's Confessionario, leaf 183 v.—184 v.)

Did you exact more tribute or other articles from your subjects than you were formerly in the habit of doing?

Did you exact the labor or day's work from those who work for you?

Did you employ your subjects at some work, so that they missed the holy mass?

Did you order [them] to work on feast days without the priests' permit?

Did you order, that no one open the corn-crib or approach it, unless the conjurer has previously said his prayers over it?

Did you forbid to eat of the new maize or other new fruit, before the conjurer has tasted it?

Did you design that weddings should take place to the benefit of the Indians without giving a share to the priest?

Did you consent to [your] slaves' sleeping together?

Do you keep any negro slave as a mistress?

Did you consent that some people of your village recite incantations over some herbs?

Did you cause any conjurer to search by diabolic arts for something stolen or lost?

After eating bears' meat did you ask for drinking from another shell, lest you would fall sick?

Andaque cumeleta hachibueno hachi ichusubinaco christianolenaye ofuenona yameta hachima osoarosota nichusimaca mobi cho?

Ano pequataye inosobotequa hacheleheco yerebana nayolehecoquene hochi uquabi cho?

Ano pequataye inosobo chique Missaleno hani mobi?

Itimilenoye inosohale masetiqua fetecatiqua fiesta equelama inosobi cho?

Ano misoma ituhutetima avohopahama iqinoleheleqete mobi cho?

Tapolabacaqe aya hono tocaco tocoqe uquaca ano misoma hetetileta heqeqere henolehabela motabi cho?

Anopira comeleta niamate nata hibuaasi mota viroma nacunata hibuasomata mosobi cho?

Ateco anoco fastaqe nate manibi cho?

Atemimaqua inihimi chu mosobi cho?

Hicaye ano niye uquata ituhuteco hibuatage nate naqenta hani-mate manibi cho?

Nuquenoco hachibueno teraco chebeque yalacosobi cho?

Ara-hete toomama nacunuma ninacusi chi caqe honi-hete ninacuqe niqilabosohabele nacunu eyo nacunulehaue mosobi cho?

To preclude young women from dancing did you have some of them insulted, or inflicted punishment on them?

Early in the sowing season did you cause six old men to eat [a pot of fritters]?

Just before becoming chief did you order a new fire to be made for six days in the cottage, and to have it closed up by laurels or other things?

Did you desire the chief's death to succeed him?

Having fallen sick, did you construct a new house, declaring "Here I shall live and die?"

Did you order laborers to be punished so as to have their arms broken, not for the sake of work, but for being angry?

For what other reason, but for being angry, did you have anybody punished?

Ela nia muquano iquimi iquiti mosobota hachibueno nabalusobota mosobi cho?

Echerosota ano miso marecama hesobi cho?

Holata ichi qilabeleta taca chaleca alata itorita ela mareca hutanolahaue, acu tolalehecote hachibuenolehecote viro pahama naquiluta mosonolehaue mobi cho?

Nihitaruqe honihe holatalesiro manibi cho?

Chiquilabotanimano paha chaleca ucunuleqe fata orobinihale caqua fanomano ninihihauele mobi cho?

Anoco inonino namoquatima maha ine eyo nayuricomita chacali carema tuchemaca mo chi abotomoque yabi vichubi?

Anoco ineca luba ticote hochie yuricono yebueta iqimileqe ineco nahiqe abotosiro-manda quosta nasi-sobi cho?

INDIAN PROGNOSTICATIONS AND PAGAN CEREMONIES STILL IN PRACTICE.

Anopira hachicare isinomate hitinacumelenomatequane cantela.

(Confessionario, leaf 123 r. and v., 124 r. and v.)

When somebody was crazed, did you believe [his] words would become true?

Did you believe that it was a sign of somebody's arrival, or that something new would happen, when a jay was chattering to another bird, and when my body was trembling?

Did you believe, that by making a new fire in a separate spot, the sick would recover?

When you were sick, did you have a fire (candela) made separately so that they may cook victuals to be your food, for otherwise you would die; did you believe in this?

Isucu echa, hebuatema nocomile-manda bohobi cho?

Hachipileco cacaleheco chulufi eyolehecote nahebuasota, caquenihauae qestela, mota unayaruru cate-mate, caquenihauaeqe intela manta bohobi cho?

Ano iqlabamabuetaleqe taca chaleca arecotana baluhauae-manta bohobi cho?

Chiquilabotaqe, taca chaleca nalasinolehaue hono intico tacama echeqe ninihihauela-manda mosobi cho? yanacu ano eyocobueta motaqe bohobi cho?

When a woman was in travail, did you think it sinful to approach the fire (lumbre) just burning?

Did you consent that a herb-doctor should cure you by reciting over you demoniac words?

Did you offer to this purpose at the door of the house the maize to the Devil, as you were in the habit of doing before?

The ceremony of the laurel, performed to [serve] the Demon, did you perform it?

[When collecting] acorns or other fruits, did you not eat the first [gathered]?

When lightnings struck into the clearing (roça) or maize-field, did you not eat of it? and did you advise anybody not to eat of it?

Did you advise not to eat the first maize of the newly-cleared field?

When the water is flooding the new fish-pond and the first fish is caught, did you order not to throw it into hot water, lest no others would be caught?

Did you place the first fish close to it (the new fishpond), to make come a large quantity by the next tide?

When flooding a new fish-pond, did you desire that the conjurers pray over it, believing that many more fish will enter it?

(Same sentence, the inland term *puye* "weir" being substituted for *ichali*, used on the coast.)

Vilu tacaco inti uquata ibiretaco-co inti uquata quosobi cho?

Isucuma chorobonima hiti hebuata ituhuta choroboqe nate manibi cho?

Tapolama ucuchua easota hitima tacatosibinaqechu naquosobi cho?

Tola ucuchua nacaquibinaqechu naquosobi cho?

Ahano calama qibemate, hachibueno eyo calama qibemate inti uquabicho?

Pilema numa hebuama nabotoqe, tapolamano inti uquabicho? yanacu ano eyo, inti uquasota, mosobi cho?

Auara ele tapolama ecano qibemano inti uquata mosobi cho?

Ichali ele iribosobinaco, cuyuma ubuata qibenco melasonolehabetile cuyuma naqua ubuahauetile naquosatiqa nimaca mobi cho?

Cuyu ubuata qibenco yuquisotaniqua, cuyu arota ubuahaele-manta quosobi cho?

Ichali ele iribosota, hiti hebuano-mani ituhusinoleqe ubahaele manibi cho? yanacu ituhubi cho?

Puyeca quibinaco hiti-hebuano-mani ituhusinoleqe hubuahaele manibi cho? yanacu hoqua ituhubi cho?

(Confessionario, leaf 127 v.)

All these things, all these abuses, the tremblings of the body, the omens from the birds, from the beasts, nothing of them must be believed in.

Una caremaqua hachibueno, care nayalacota, caque nihaue yatala muenomate isticoqe namota bohonole bitima chisotamano bohatiquani hach(e?).

TO MARRIED PEOPLE.

(Confessionario, leaf 208 r.)

Did you suspect your consort of some wicked action?

Did you outrage your consort by affronting terms, by insults, by scoffing, or by laying hands on?

Have you gratified too much the desires of your sons, allowing them their own will without punishment and correction, and leaving them their liberty?

Did you consent that your son or others of your house act in a turbulent or knavish manner?

Did you give no longer to eat to your husband, and did you not act upon his command?

Inihimima inibati cumelesta inta ninco nahe v- nale manibi cho?

Inihimima hebuanoleheco inoleheco mosima na-isticosota iquiti-mosota hebuabi cho?

Siquisonaye maha ere timoqiti mine cumelebi nincoqua na-inta-nasiqi puente honochiqe heta nacu:a orobistileno chiqena inta alihota-habe nate manibi cho?

Siquisonayeheco anoyaleheco orobistitima anoletaqe nate manibi cho?

Inifaye cobuosatileta hono, nacume ecatileta tera hebuatanima hanisobi cho?

(Here follows: Have you not murdered.....Proc. 1878, pg. 499.)

MISDEEDS TO BE CONFESSED TO THE PRIEST ONLY.

(Catechism, leaf 83 verso to 84 verso. In the original, this article is *not* divided into paragraphs or sections as here.)

Hono-melomano pilanileqe nabe chaleqe quenema hayarota ebetoqe ibama nahabosoqe mosotequarebama nahitanima; naquentequa elasosiqe nimarubi michuqui mosilenomano anoco, neneha manibi michuqui mosimano hecate.

Naqui monihauemano iniheti ininomile atichicolo orobotemaqua orobinta naahosta mosonihauete caqi ano orobotemano Iesu Christoma, na ichiqitechule.

Naque nihaue quentelaha yahamosimano isticoma inta nabo nabomota, naquosonole hetimane na anolatema.

The shell of the ocean opens every night and every morning to receive the dew from the sky, wherewith the pearl congeals in it; the pearl locks itself in, when the sun has risen and the day has advanced, and preserves its natural heat (*y viene escalentando*), and so that it may be seen afterwards by all, it locks itself in.

We likewise must manifest our shortcomings only to the confessing priest, as to a vicarious person for Jesus Christ, and to none else.

Many are doing just the opposite of this; those who glory themselves when acting mischievously and praise themselves on account of their sins.

Nahitela naquenema Esaias : Istanimano namotemano mine isticoinino mimiqua na-iribota hebuata nelacare chienta, Sodoma hicayayima, anoma isomoni michuqui mosotema nahitela.

Naquenema hanta eyobeta taanolenomano unabine yuchinoma elacare chienta, halifonoma nantela.

Gatomano piaha-manda ayahibuanoma ; piteta nuqua ecate hachipile inemimano, yuchi nihe mosima, apimiqua nacuquete una oquò yuchi namotemabeta, na-iqilabono nahitemano isucumaqua nahiabosota eyomano.

Chigesta mosote quentemano iniheti ininomileno eyomano ; chigesta atichicolo isucumaqua sacerdote intema toloba ajosta na-orobininolehauela.

Naquenemano ano yaha mosimano iniheti ininomima yucheti elacare ahota.

Acu caquenta nabaluhache itimilonoma mota nimate canimasela mota nabeta nabonta na-anoletema nahitela quosonolebitila Sacramento na-orobininoma nabena sabata isonola naquenema intila.

Of these people says the prophet Esaias: "Peccatum suum sicut Sodoma praedicaverunt." They have praised and publicly exhibited their sins, like those of Sodom.

That the sinner should reveal his sins, unless while confessing, seems to be against nature.

Cats will hide their excrements and cover them well [so that they do not stink nor smell bad to others], and all animals cover themselves by their tail ; and people who have any ugly infirmities conceal and hide them from others' sight, except from the physicians who are to heal them.

All this teaches us, that sins must be covered and concealed from all, save from the spiritual doctors, to whom they must be confessed openly.

Sinners must not be like monkeys, who show themselves nude to all, without shame or bashfulness.

There are people, also, who divulge not only the sins which they have confessed, but even the penances, which they have endured for them, and in this manner almost expose to mockery the Sacrament of the confession.

MISCELLANEOUS QUERIES.

(Confessionario, leaf 210.)

Pahamico anomilheco ano eyolehecote quenema inibati intaqe nate manibi cho ?

Inihimanco ano eyo napatabohero maninoma nate quentahaue manibi cho ?

Niaco obachamisibi cho ?

Chuqua ?

Niareqe chuquareqe ?

Caqi nia hutanye inemimano anomicote hutabi cho ?

Did you permit any married or other person to have sexual intercourse in your house or elsewhere ?

Did you consent that any one have connection with your consort ?

Did you kiss a woman ?

How often ?

How often each woman ?

Are there any mothers among all those with whom you had intercourse ?

(Catechism, leaf 50.)

Santa Maria aquitasiqema hebuas-
ta istala.

I speak with the Virgin Mary.

Caqi aquitasiqe Mariancono chica-
conte ?

Who is the Virgin Mary ?

Mine (h)achibueno tera inemi naya
iynomate, graciamate nacumotaqe
iyenotima ; nocomi Dios-isomima
nantela.

Some great queen, rich in all vir-
tues and graces; the true mother of
God she is called.

Caqi minequa iyenotincono chan-
co libuante ?

Where dwells this grand queen ?

Hachaqueniqe Diosima mueno-
lete ?

Why is he called God ?

Nanacu hachibueno carema na-
eueta nagebanta, numamate utimate
quenequa mine ecoyaleta hachibuena
carema caquenta hauemantema nan-
taqe ona Diosila.

Because he sees all things, and
ministers to them, he being the
powerful ruler of all things in heaven
and on earth.

Dios itimi, Dios qiemima, Jesu
Christo nante, Espiritu Santomate.

God father, God's son Jesus
Christ, and the Holy Spirit.

Ano qiemamate Diosi ?

Is the Father God ?

O, Diosila.

Yea, he is God.

Quiemilenomate Diosi ?

Is the son God ?

(Catechism, page 27v.)

Mime una oquomimano hacha-
quenta tuqualamanafaye ?

In which state did his body re-
main when in the tomb ?

Nanacu una oquomano utinaleno
divinidad muenomacasinta yahota
fayela.

His body was united with the
Godhead itself.

Nihinima hachaquentaquere tabu-
ale ?

In which manner did he rise from
the dead ?

Acuyano, hachequeniqe Christia-
nolehala mote cho ?

Furthermore, why do you declare
that you want to become a Christian ?

Mine Diosi maqua, inostaniqua
numa abo orabonoma nimihero ni-
mandaqe, Christianolesiro ni ma-
nela.

That I may serve Almighty God,
go to Heaven, and that there the
glory may be conferred upon me ;
therefore I want to be a Christian.

ADDRESS OF THANKS,

SENT TO THE KING OF SPAIN BY HIS LOYAL SUBJECTS, THE CHIEFS OF
THE TIMUCUA PEOPLE ; DATED THE 28TH OF JANUARY, 1688.

Shortly after the revolt of the Indians of the northern part of the Floridian peninsula against their Spanish governor, who attempted to send some of their number to the mines in the West Indies, and after the inroad of the Yamassi Indians into their pueblos (1687), the loyal Apalache chiefs sent a letter of explanation to the Spanish monarch, dated Apalache, Febr. 15, 1688, and endorsed by the Governor Diego de Quiroga y Lossada, "Capitan-general," on April 1, 1688; the Timucua chiefs sent to him a loyalty address bearing date of Jan. 28, 1688. The vidimus of this letter states, that it was "escrita de todos los CaCiques de la timucua," and translated by Fray Francisco de Rojas, a Franciscan of Santa Elena Province, interpreter of Timuquano in the city of St. Augustine and "ministro de los naturales, etc." This remark of the translator is dated February 17; the vidimus of the magistrate, "Alonso Solana," is dated February 21, 1688.

The Apalache and the Timucua letter were published in fac similes of the original documents, with printed Spanish translations and vidimus, by Mr. Buckingham Smith, in an undated (1859) folio edition of nine leaves, and printed in fifty copies only.

A copy having no printed title is in the Library of Congress, and from this I have reproduced the text below. Leclerc mentions the publication of Mr. Smith in his "Bibliotheca Americana," Paris, Maisonneuve & Co., 1878. 8°.

In my English rendering of the address I have followed as closely as possible the corrected Timucua text. The vertical bar | shows the end of each line in the text of the original.

Readers will remember that only the "*Text of the Original*" and the "*Spanish Translation of 1688*," are reproductions of what is left to us. The original is worded in a dialect differing in some respects from that found in Pareja's books, and was written some eighty years later. Where we find, *e. g.*, lahacu, bota in the address, Pareja would use leheco, mota. The queer orthography of the original prompted me to attempt a more correct reading of it, and this I have sought to reproduce in my English translation.

At the head of the letter stands the sign of the holy cross, and in the original it is repeated where the C stands before reiheca. Every C of the text is written as a capital letter. The i's have all long oblique dashes over them (í). In the term namonimanibotela the *nam* is erased in the original with ink. Numerous difficulties still encumber the full understanding of this interesting missive.

Spanish Translation of 1688.

†
Al Rey nro Señor

Siempre emos sido vasallos de V. M. pero agora con mejor raçon y de ttodo coraçon lo somos y así queremos hablar.= V. M. a ynviado muchos gobernadores pero como Don Diego no emos vistto ninguno; otros que an sidos gobernadores estan aqui pero como este no emos vistto ninguno, y por estta causa damos a V. M. las gracias; nos a socorrido a los casiques y pobres vassallos de V. M. con ropa por cuja causa estamos muy agradecidos, Dios se lo pague a V. M.; y si los señores gobernadores que han benido fueran como el que oy esta fuéramos mejores xptianos y hubiera muchos mas xptianos. Su me^d a trauajado mucho en nro vien con tan malos tiempos y por si mesmo a uisitado ttodos los lugares de xptianos y de ynfeles como fue Basisa y nos a dado mucho consuelo y con todos estos trauajos nunca a dejado de oyr misa y así deçimos q^e es un hombre santto. A nos encargado mucho que honrremos que rreberenciamos a los sacerdottes que nos asisten, como su m^d lo açia delante de nosotros, suplicamos a V. M. se sirua de continuarnos muchos a^{os} al Sr Governador que es porque procura n^{ro} vien aconsejandonos como buen xptiano que oygamos misa y atendamos mucho a lo que los rreligiosos nos enseñan; boluemos a suplicar a V. M. nos continúe el Sr Don Diego nuestro Governador para nro consuelo: nro Señor de en ttodo a V. M. ttodo goço y salud como estos pobres vasallos le deseán: escrita en S^a Matheo en el mes de henero veinte y ocho de mill ss^{as} y ochenta y ocho años. Escripta y firmada de los casiques que nos hallamos presentes.= Don Fran^{co} casique de San Matheo.= Don Pedro casique de San Pedro.= Don Bentura casique de Asile.= Don Diego Casique de Machaua.= Gregorio casique de San Juan de Guacara.= Fran^{co} Martinez Residente en San Matheo.

Text of the Original.

†
C reiheca AnoConiCa

nanemí Anequelamítónoma ní eíabobíla hacacheqeno | CumenatimocoCo Anoquelamítónoma ní eíabotela | queníqe Anohebasísfromimanibotaqe— — — | Anonafo holata puquahímesobonfbílahacu | dontieCunaquimosí nínebobítíla Ano nafo holata | yoqua Caremate eíatamalahacu naquimosí ní | enebobítíla naquenema betaleq diosíquimí leqeysa- | co níquosoboríhabenamotaniCa ieholataynemínote | Anoquelacunemate Amunapuquanínabarasobo | ta níquo soboníqueysacomanta < intanicíla Acu Ano | naíoholata ponobí ícquacaremaCa. Co niso bonemaqu | mo sínisobomobileníncono Cristiano nípuquaCoColebo | hela Cristianoleno lenolehabemí tacubaníheba | síbonela mínete pataquílononebeleca ynta Crístí. | Anoutíma níparífosíbonelahacu pataquílonoma | quayquímíleqemísamano haniníbítí la santole | nelenela namonimanibotela ytecarena boso | noletahabe caremate níhebasíbotamosoníqeysa | Comanta eíatanicaRemisa oCotono letahabeCa | remate níhebancCa síbotahomotamíníqueysaco | manta eíataniCare naquenemabetaleqe Caqí | Anonafoholatahibantema diosíquímíleqe | AnilapúsimitaniCale diosíbalunu ohontahaué | tomanCo Caquaníhí basíbon-taheronímaní | botaqe Anihebasímitaníbale San Mateo | enero elautuma yuíbòqe píqínahí eromano 88 | don fransisco naystale Acu franciscamartine | Don P San P^o holata Dudíe go MachaUa holata | Venturo Asile holata Gregorio S Ju^{an} ho | lata — —

Text as corrected by myself:

†

Reyheca anoconica :

Nanemi anoquelamitonoma ni eya bobilahaca cheqeno cumena atimococo anoquelamitonoma ni eya botela queniqe ano hebasi-siro ni mani botaqe.

Ano nayo holata puquahi miso bonibilahacu Don Diecu naqui mosi ni-enebobitila; ano nayo holata yoqua caremate eyatamalahacu naqui mosi ni-enebobitila. Naquenema betaleqe Diosi iquimileqe; isaco ni-quooso ponihauena mota nica naye holata inemi mote anoquelacunemate amuna puquanina barasobota ni-quooso boniqe isaco manta intanicala. Acu ano nayo holata ponobi yoque caremacaco nisobonemaque mosi nisobo mobilenincono Cristiano nipuqua cocolebobela Cristianoleno lenolehauema. Tacubani hebasi ponela minete pataquilono nebeleca inta Cristi (-anole?) ano ultiima niparifosi ponelahacu pataquilonomaque iquimileqe misamano haninibitila santole nelenela nimani botela; itecare nabosonoletahaue caremate nihebasi bota mosoniqe isaco manta eyatanicare misa ocotono-leta haue caremate nihebanica sibota homotaminique isaco manta eya tanicare. Naquenema betaleqe caqi ano nayo holata hibantema Diosi iquimileqe, ani lapusi mitanicale Diosi balunu ohontahaue tomanco caqua nihibasi pontahero nimani botaqe. Ani hebasi mitanimale San Mateo, enero erao tuma yuchaqe piqinahu eromano 88. Don Francisco na-istale, acu Francisco Martinez. Don Pedro, San Pedro holata. Du(n) diego Machaua holata. Ventura Asile holata. Gregorio San Juan holata.

English Translation :

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To our King our Lord :

Always we have been your subjects, but now with more reason and with whole heart are we your subjects, and intend to speak in this way.

Some white governors you have sent us, but like Don Diego we have seen none; former white governors stay here, but like him we have not seen any. Therefore we invoke (upon you) the grace of God; he has succored us, the chiefs and the poor subjects (of you) with clothing, and for this cause we show our gratitude. Those white governors who came (here), had they all been like the present one, we would be better Christians, and there would be many more Christians in existence. For our benefit he has worked a great deal, and in person has visited all settlements of Christians and unbelievers, has helped us with advice, and having during all his trouble never neglected to attend holy mass, we hence call him a saint; all the priests who assist us, he told us to honor and reverence, as he has done himself before our eyes. We therefore pray you to let the governor stay many years with us, for he works for our weal, advising us to hear mass, and listen to the teachings of the priests. Therefore we supplicate, that God bestow His graces upon this white Governor, our adviser; we all pray God he may give life (to him), and thus we constantly pray and wish.

We all present have thus spoken at San Mateo, the twentieth and eighth day of the year (16) 88. Don Francisco was speaker, and he Francisco Martinez. Don Pedro, chief of San Pedro. Don Diego, chief of Machaua. Ventura, chief of Asile. Gregorio, chief of San Juan.

WORDS AND SENTENCES.

acuyano besides, further, furthermore ; in addition to.

afuenoma, see ofuenoma.

Alimacani a Floridian chief, also called Halmacanir, Allimicani paracussi ; contains the word maca, moca *sea, ocean*. The map in De Bry, Brevis narratio. locates his settlement on the coast, just North of the mouth of St. John's River.

anoleta knavishness, sin, misdeed.

antipola bonassu. These words were uttered by the Indians on the St. John's River, when they saw De Laudonnière revisiting them on his second expedition. They seem to represent the Timucua words : "anta, balu pona cho?" brother, have you come (returned) alive? This author interprets them by "brother" or "friend," and A. Gallatin (Archæol. Amer. II, page 106) attempted to explain the first word by a Chá'hta, the second by a Creek term.

ati, ate subordinate person ; slave, subject, servant. Atemima chu somebody's negro slave. Atemalema master and slave, or : female slave and owner.

atichicolo spiritual.

atichicoloye atimoqua your spiritual lord ; your Christian God.

atimoqua, atimoqe master, ruler, lord ; from ati and maqua, moqua.

Atore, Athore, nom. pr. of the eldest son of the paracusi Saturiwa (De Laud.). Contains the word itori following, subsequent to.

ayahibuano excrements ; lit. "what cannot be spoken of."

benasaba, balusobo to dance.

betale to supplicate.

Bimini, nom. pr. of the mythic "Fountain of Life" imparting eternal youth to those who drank from it and restoring health to the diseased. Ancient traditions and maps place it on an island north of the Bahama Islands. Contracted from ibine mine, "superior water." The authors of the sixteenth century mention the Antillian *bi life* and *mini source*, but I have looked in vain for analogies to these terms in the other Galibi dialects.

cani 1) palmetto leaf 2) hat made of palmetto leaves.

care, pl. carema "together;" expresses the idea of temporal and sometimes local simultaneity. Viro niaquene care uquata: male and female infants at the same time. Caru amitimale: male twin, lit.: brother born at a time with a sister. Hica nocoromale: fellow-citizens.

Chillili, nom. pr. of an inland Indian town, on an affluent of St. John's River, and of its chief.

Chiquola, nom. pr. of a "great lord of the country," dwelling north of St. John's River. His stature exceeded that of his subjects by more than one foot (De Laud.).

chulufi, chorofa jay; chulufi-chi those of the jay-clan (chi, apher. of hachi).

cote, ticote, ticotacu, cotacu (suffixed to verbs) : unless, lest, if not ; although, though not.

manino ticote without feeling hunger.

cote, cota tongue ; language ; portion of discourse, paragraph.

mine cotemano the first part (of book, sermon, etc.).

anacoti councillor, adviser.

Cuaresma the fasting period of Lent, lat. quadragesima.

Cuaresma pira : Red Lent, viz : Lent marked red in the calendar.

cumele heart.

cumelenima bohote cho? do you believe with (or *in*) the heart?

cumeleno natimo heartily, with full heart (de todo coraçon).

cumelesota document ; c. hebuanoma d. of all what was said.

ecaleta to perform, to obey, act upon something.

ecano made, prepared ; part. of ica to make.

auara ele ecano field recently cleared or prepared for maize-culture.

ecoyaleta ruler, manager.

elo, elosi, or elofi to whistle, hiss at ; aqetu elosibi cho? did you hiss at the tempest?

Emoloa, Emola, Molua, nom. pr. of a Timucua settlement and of its cacique or chief, who is reported to have been subordinate to the Holata

Utina. De Bry's map has a locality Homoloua on the St. John's River, near Fort St. Charles.

equelete to-day.

hachipacha some person, somebody ; lit. "who is born."

hani to cease, stop, quit. itorinoma hanibi cho? did you cease fasting?

Missaleno hani to miss the holy mass. inifaye viroma chi hanique after your husband had left you.

hanini to neglect ; haninibitila he has not neglected.

utihanta exulant, deserter.

Helicopile, nom. pr. of a chief (De Laud.).

heso to causè or give to eat ; from he to eat.

heta nacuta, heta ucuta to excess, immoderately.

hete what can be eaten : meat, food, edibles ; hetetileta untasted yet.

ara-hete bear's meat ; honi-hete edible mussel, nutritious sea-shell.

hiatique interpreter.

hibuasi, hibuaso wedding.

hini tobacco ; der. of he to eat.

Hiocaia, nom. pr. of a chief dwelling twelve leagues north of Fort St.

Charles. From hio to imitate, and caya turkey, partridge, the name perhaps referring to a headdress of feathers.

Hirrihiqua, nom. pr. of the Timucua chief, who captured Ortiz, a Spanish soldier. This is in fact a local name ; War-land, or war-district (iri, hica).

hitiqiri owl, lit. "demon-screacher."

hochie, hochi, echa, other pronunciations of hacha, pron. relat.

hono 1) shell, fresh-water or sea-mussel ; lit. food (he : to eat).

honi-hete edible shell, bivalve ; hono-melo shell of the salt (melo) water ; oceanic shell, pearl-shell. On Floridian fresh-water shells, shell heaps and shell mounds, cf. Fifth Ann. Report of Peabody Museum, Boston, 1872, page 22 sqq.

2) fruit ; berry found in the woods.

hororo red owl.

Hostaqua or Hustaca, nom. pr. of an Indian settlement and its chief, on an affluent of St. John's River.

iarua sorcerer, conjurer (De Laud.). This epithet given to the Timucua shamans refers to their prophetic power and the convulsions affected by them to obtain oracles of war ; from yuru to tremble, to be shaken or contorted.

ichi cold ; ibine-ichicosa to throw into cold water.

ichuqui to throw away, to spill.

inoni to work. Domingo equelemate inonibicho? did you do any work on Sunday?

inoso, inosobo to make work, to cause to work.

iquaso, iquase to cry forth, to utter a cry, to scream ; iquaseti not to utter a cry. Cf. qi in hitiqiri.

Iracana, nom. pr. of a river falling into the Atlantic, probably in Georgia (De Laud.); also called Salinacani. The French called it "*la Somme*," or according to the map of De Bry, *l'Aisne* (Axona).

iriboso to flood something.

isi blood.

isito to bleed ; ichinima isitoco to cause my nose to bleed.

itori alligator. These reptiles served as food to the Timucua people.

ituhunu prayer.

jufere a wicker basket for catching fish (Span. *nasa*).

yechino query, question.

yoqe, yoqua past, bygone. ano nayo holata yoqua former white governors. yuquiso to lay, deposit on the side of.

yubueha, yubehe to transfix, pierce, strike. atulu chi yubeheti the arrow may pierce you.

yubuo, yubana sodomite.

Yupaha, nom. pr. of a town seen by Hernando de Soto's army. Contains paha "houses;" perhaps: Yoque paha, "Oldtown."

yuri, yuru to be shaken up, to tremble ; to be angry.

iyorona (for yuruna) eel.

Maracu, in the French orthography Marracou, an inland camp of Indians.

Seems to contain mero, melo *warm, hot*.

mela, mero hot, heated, boiling.

melasonolehabetile cuyuma : not to throw the fish into hot water.

nimaru to preserve one's heat.

meleni petticoat ; probably made of bulrushes of the salt marsh (cf. melo).

meleniqi to put on a petticoat.

melo salt. ibini melo salt water ; moca melo salt sea ; hono-melo ocean

- shell. Probably identical with mela, mera hot, warm, the temperature of the sea water forming a contrast with that of fresh-water springs in southern latitudes.
- mine winter ; minama in winter-time, during the wintry season ; viz. first (mine) of year.
- miso old, aged ; older than. ano miso mareca six old men. ano misoma ituhute incantated by a conjurer.
- mo to speak, say, tell.
- mono, mueno to call by name, to name.
- moso to make.
- mani to consent, desire ; manino to be hungry or thirsty.
- manta, manda 1) to wish, desire ; 2) sign of the future tense.
- mota to agree, consent, declare ; 2) a word, saying ; 3) thus, so.
- moqua, maqua to serve, attend to wait upon, cf. atimoqua ; mine Diosi maqua to serve the great God.
- nabe, every, each ; nabe chaleque every morning ; viz. : every new (day).
- naboto to strike (for ni-aboto) ; said f. i. of the thunderbolt (numa-hebua).
- nacu to drink ; ninacu to ask for drinking.
- nacunu contr. from na acu ano.
- nayo (when standing for na eyo) : another, any other.
- naquila, ninaquilasi to perfume ; from uque oil, grease.
- nate (among other significations) or, or else, or either ; acunate again.
- Nia Cubacani, nom. pr. of a woman (De Laud.) ; probably : niaco pacano.
- niponosi to return to somebody ; from pona to come.
- niponosihero-manda bohobi cho? did you believe that he would possibly return (to you)?
- ofuenoma, afuenoma, ofonoma, 1) after, behind (temporal and local). ofuenoma Diosima : in preference to God, after God. hibate maytines ofonoma : after having said the morning mass ; halifonoma nantela I call it to be against nature. 2) on the subject of, concerning, about something : caqi mandamiento ofuenoma yechino cantela, or : caqi mandamiento ofuenoma na-yechinoma cantecarela : all these are questions (or queries) concerning that commandment.
- Olataraca, nom. pr. of the nephew of the chief Saturiwa (De Laud.). The first part of the name is holata, chief.
- orobo, oroboni to cure, heal ; to treat for sickness.
- ch-orobonate you to be cured.
- orobisi to correct, chastise. orobini to go to confession.
- orobisiono advice, counsel ; na orobisionoma (good) advice, intelligence ; orobaso to bewitch. orobota incantation, witchcraft.
- orobono glory (of heaven).
- Patuca, nom. pr. of a coast settlement or locality eight leagues from the French Fort St. Charles, on St. John's River. It lay a short distance south of the outlet of that river ; the name is a compound of paha houses, and tico canoe ; canoe-houses, cabins near a harbor.
- pia, piaha to hide, cover up.

pile field; pilema numa hebuama nabotoqe when lightnings have struck the field.

hachipile animals; lit. "what is on the field."

purucusta to run. If paracusi is a derivative of this, it means "the chief of the war-expeditions."

samota 1) to bathe in; samota niyena to bathe in the juice of an herb; 2) a rubbing with, a bathing in.

Sarrauahi, also written Saranay, Serraney; nom. pr. of a river and of an Indian settlement located on its shores, north of the outlet of St. John's River.

Saturiwa, or, in French orthography, Satourioua, nom. pr. of a paracusi on St. John's River, mentioned by De Laudonnière. Lived on sea-coast, a short distance south of the outlet of St. John's River.

Seloy, nom. pr. of a river in the Timucua territory, interpreted by De Laudonnière par "la rivière des dauphins," Porpoise River.

sieroa pira red metal, *gold* (De Laud.).

suquoni to rub on, to rub oneself with; niye suquoni to rub oneself with the juice of herbs.

Tacatacuru, nom. pr. of a river falling into the Atlantic Ocean north of the St. John; contains *taca fire*, probably in a redoubled form. The French under De Laudonnière called this river *La Seine*.

tapaga tapola "little baskets of mill" (Hakluyt); a compound term; the latter word is holaba, tapolaba Indian corn and contains abo stalk, maize-plant.

toca "new fruit," tococo to eat that "new fruit."

toya name of a feast of the Timucua people (De Laud.).

tola laurel; Tolemaro a town near the outlet of the St. Mary's River, on Northern boundary of Florida; once inhabited by Timucua Indians. The name contains tola laurel.

ubua, uba 1) to enter, go into, as into the net. cuyuma ubuata qibe the first fish (plur.) caught; 2) to catch, get hold of.

uqua to eat, said of certain edibles only. tapolamano inti uquabi cho? did you eat the maize (-ears)? uquaso to eat, and to give to eat.

uque oil, grease; ara uque bear's grease.

uqui, huge, rain; uquihe, uquisa, uquiso to produce rain.