1939

Indian Place-Names in Mississippi.

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INDIAN PLACE- NAMES IN MISSISSIPPI

A Thesis

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the
Louisiana State University and
Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of English

By

Lea L. Seale
M. A., Louisiana State University, 1933
1939
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This study is concerned with the origin and meaning of Indian geographic names in Mississippi — only, however, of those names which are derived from the dialects of the tribes that at some time were settled within the Mississippi Territory. Imported names, brought into Mississippi from other geographical sections by white settlers, and pseudo-Indian names are not treated. Pronunciations of names are given when reasonably accurate data were available.

As the primary aim of the study is linguistic, no great deal of attention has been given to the history and legend of those Indian tribes which have lived in the territory now comprising the state of Mississippi.

Inspiration for conducting such an investigation has been provided by the hope that in time a complete collection of all geographic names derived from the dialects of the Muskogean family may be achieved.

In the preparation of this dissertation, free use has been made of all publications concerned with Indian place-names and with the history of the Indian tribes in the Gulf States. Much use has been made also of maps of the
Mississippi Territory and of the sectional surveys of the U. S. Department of Agriculture and of the U. S. War Department. The spellings employed upon early maps and in early documents have been the principal clue to the original forms of the names. Frequently, in the case of streams, eighteenth and nineteenth century cartographers have given the English translation beside the Indian designation. Unfortunately, however, the translation is not always quite accurate.

As most Indian geographic names in Mississippi are derived from the Choctaw, interpretation becomes rather simple as soon as anything like the original form is reached, for we are very fortunate in having an excellent dictionary of the Choctaw language. Scarcely half of the Indian names which remain to-day in Mississippi appear on the earlier maps, however. Only the principal watercourses are designated, and only the names of those towns which were built upon the sites of Indian villages, or which were Indian villages at the time the maps were being made, are recorded. Consequently it has been necessary to supplement investigation of documents and maps with a considerable amount of field research.

"Local information" is very often particularly important in arriving at accurate interpretations of place-names. For example, the name Talla Hala may be derived from
either Choctaw tāli hiel, "standing rocks," or Choctaw tala hiel, "standing palmettoes." As there is no documentary information concerning this name, it remains only to inquire as to whether there is, or there was, a profusion of palmettoes or of boulders in the area through which Talla Bala creek flows to determine the correct solution of the name to be "standing rocks."

Perhaps even more important than "local information" are the bits of information which the older Choctaws who have remained in Mississippi and the innumerable Indian-lore enthusiasts have contributed.

Through more than two centuries, the Spanish, the French, and the British have bandied about the Indian geographic names of the Gulf States, so that, even before the modern American began adroitly to apply the finishing touches of corruption, many of these names have lost sight completely of the original forms. To certain natural forces in language development, such as folk etymology, assimilation, elision, and analogy, numerous other influences which defy classification have added their bit to hastening corruption of forms beyond the point of their being recognized as Indian names.

Indian place-names remain as one of the few memorials of a noble people which is rapidly being swept
away, and it seems but fitting that we should spend some effort to preserve these as a monument to the civilization of that people. In any case, such is the purpose of this monograph.
SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Present-day pronunciations of the place-names are indicated by the use of the International Phonetic Alphabet.

In the transcription of the Indian sources, the vowels and consonants have, in most cases, the value of equivalent Continental sounds. Particular attention is called, however, to the following details:

\[\begin{align*}
a &= u \text{ in } "cut" \\
\text{ai} &= \text{i} \text{ in } "time" \\
\text{an} &= \text{nasal } a \\
\text{ch} &= \text{ch in } "chin" \\
\text{h+ consonant} &= \text{ch in German } "such" \\
\text{in} &= \text{nasal } i \\
\text{j} &= \text{i in } "jest" \\
\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{\text{
INTRODUCTION

The principal concern of this study is linguistic; consequently, no great deal of attention has been given to the history and legend of those Indian tribes which have lived in the territory now comprising the state of Mississippi. The particular interest is with the origin and the meaning of Indian geographic names --only, however, of those names which are derived from the dialects of the tribes that at some time were settled within the Mississippi Territory. Imported names, such as Eutaw and Shawnee, which have been brought into Mississippi from other states, and artificial forms, or pseudo-Indian names, as Arcola and Pinola, are not treated. Pronunciations of names are given only when reasonably accurate data were available.

As the geographic names of Indian origin which are found in Mississippi are for the most part derived from the Choctaw, the linguistic observations which constitute the major part of this section of my study are concerned primarily with that language. However, particular references to the Choctaw language may become sweepingly general (within the Gulf Coast area), because Choctaw and Chickasaw show only very slight divergences, because Choctaw provides the foundation for the Mobilian language, and because many small tribes of the Gulf States spoke the
Choctaw tongue.

Several dialects existed among the Mississippi Choctaws in earlier times, but only that of the Okla hannali, or the Sixtowns, Indians, who occupied the southern part of the old Choctaw territory, showed considerable variation from the Okla falaya, or Longtown, dialect, which came to be considered standard Choctaw. In general, Mississippi place-names of Choctaw origin are derived from the Longtown dialect.

This dialect has a rather complete set of vowels, but it is poor in the number of its consonants. The vowels are [α], [ɛ], [ε], [i], [l], [o], and [ʌ], the last having the value either of u in cut or of a in sofa. In addition to these, there are five nasal vowels, [ɔ̃], [i], [i], [ŋ], and [ã], and two diphthongs, [ai] and [au], the latter corresponding to i in pine and ow in now, respectively.

The consonants are [p], [t], [k], [b], [ɡ], [f], [j], [l], [ɾ], [m], [n], [ŋ], [s], [š], [ɛ̃], [h], and [w].

Some unusual features of the Choctaw vowel system are the following: (1) the vowels o and u alternate with surprising frequency, as in oski, uski, "cane," homme, humme, "red," and okha, ukha, "to get revenge;" (2) the vowel i is commonly substituted for ə, a, and u, as in hashtip, hashtāp, "fallen leaves," shitābli, shatābli, "to
swell," and *ibakehifanli, ibakohufanli,* "to taper."

The only frequent, regular interchange between the voiced and the voiceless equivalent-consonants which has come to my notice is that between b and p. Examples of this alternation are *achába, acháp,* "a log foot-bridge," and *koblí, koplí,* "to bite."

Elision of both vowels and consonants occurs frequently in composites. Witness, for example, such forms as *hapñhobák, from hanñhaka hobák,* "mallard duck," and *oskoba, from oski holba,* "small cane." Also, assimilation is not uncommon: *yuppa, from yukpa,* "happy," occurs in the Longtown dialect, and *kanñkhobák, from hanñkhobák,* "mallard duck," appears as a Sixtowns variation.

The range of vocabulary in Choctaw place-names, as in Indian geographic nomenclature generally, is limited largely to the designation of plants, trees, animals, birds, fish, reptiles, settlements, watercourses, topographical peculiarities, and tribes. Personal names, particularly of tribal chiefs and distinguished warriors, in large numbers are perpetuated in the names of streams and towns.

Choctaw place-names are for the most part composed of two or more elements. Three types of combinations of elements are especially common. These are (1) a noun plus a noun, (2) a noun plus a verb to which a locative affix
is frequently attached, (3) and a noun plus a qualifying adjective.

In the combinations consisting of two nouns, the second element is usually attributive, being employed in the function of an adjective, unless the idea of possession is intended, in which case the second noun names the object possessed and the first, the possessor. Examples are peni luak, "steamboat," from peni, "boat," luak, "fire," and nita chuka, "bear's den," from nita, "bear," chuka, "den;" the latter combination may also appear with the possessive pronoun, nita inchuka, "bear his den."

The verb which occurs far more frequently than any other in composites consisting of a noun plus a verb is ansha (plural, asha), "to be there;' examples are bihi asha, "mulberry place," from bihi, "mulberries," asha, "to be there," and tala asha, "palmetto place," from tala, "palmettoes," asha, "to be there." When the verb is not ansha, it is nearly always preceded by the locative particle a, or ai: koi ai ála, "panther there comes;" musi a chiya, "acorns there lie."

With regard to the third type of compound, a noun plus an adjective, it need be observed only that the adjective always follows its noun, as in bok chito, "big creek," and luksi homma, "red turtle."

Perhaps the most popular form taken by those per-
sonal names which are perpetuated in the names of streams and towns is that of two verbs joined by the conjunctive particle $t$. These names are for the most part war names; consequently, the second verb is more frequently than not $\dot{a}b\dot{i}$, "to kill." The following are examples which have application in Mississippi: Mattubby, most probably from Choctaw $m\text{a}nya t\dot{a}b\dot{i}$, "to go and kill," and Mashulitubbe, from Choctaw $amoshuli t\dot{a}b\dot{i}$, "to persevere and kill."

Corrupting forces which have produced modern forms of geographic names so far removed from the Indian originals take various shapes. The two of these forces which have most to offer in the manner of linguistic interest are folk etymology and assimilation. Perhaps this is true because English appears to be particularly receptive to both these types of language development and because both can be traced with considerable accuracy.

Two rather interesting folk-etymological developments which occur in Mississippi are to be found in the names Funny creek and Whiskey creek. The former is derived from Choctaw $f\text{a}ni$, "squirrel," and the latter comes from Choctaw $uski$, "cane."

Some of the results of consonantal assimilation may be observed in the names Bogue Gaba, from Bogue Kabak, "noisy creek," and Tallatuluck, from Tâli Chiluk, "hollow rock."
To folk etymology and assimilation may be added analogy as a third corrupting force. Examples of the development of new forms through analogy are to be seen often in names ending in -atchie. The frequency with which Choctaw hácha (usually written hatchie in English, and signifying "river") occurs in the names of streams has led cartographers to assume it to be the final element of names actually derived from other sources, because of some slight phonetical resemblance. Witness Abyatchie, which probably comes from either abaiyáchí, "one who roams along the side of a stream," or abaiyáka, "the side of a creek or swamp," and Nitakatchie, which is derived from Nitak Echi, the name of a chief in the Pushimataha district, interpreted by Byington as "the commencement of day," "to begin the day."
A BRIEF HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE INDIAN TRIBES
IN MISSISSIPPI

The Choctaws and the Chickasaws, with the Creeks, Seminoles, and other smaller tribes, comprise the great Muskogean family, which was confined for the most part to the Gulf States east of the Mississippi river. According to tradition, the various tribes which composed this family migrated to their historic seats from some point west of the Mississippi.

Marked dissimilarities in both physical and cultural characteristics existed among the tribes. All the groups, however, were agricultural and sedentary. All were very brave, though some fought only in self-defense; for example, the Choctaws. (The Creeks and the Chickasaws were particularly aggressive.)

"The Muskogean population at the time of the first contact with Europeans has been estimated at 50,000. By the census of 1890 the number of pure-bloods belonging to the family in Indian Ter. was as follows: Choctaw, 9,996; Chickasaw, 3,539; besides perhaps 1,000 more in Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. In 1905 their numbers were: Choctaw by blood, 17,160; by intermarriage, 1,467; freedmen, 5,254; in Mississippi, 1,235. Chickasaw by blood, 5,474; by intermarriage, 538; freedmen, 4,695."
Creeks by blood, 10,185; freedmen, 5,738. Seminole by blood, 2,099; freedmen, 950; in Florida (1900), 358.

"The recognized languages of the stock, so far as known, each with dialectic variants, are as follows:

1. Muskogee (including almost half of the Creek confederacy, and its offshoot, the Seminole).
2. Hitchite (including a large part of the Lower Creeks, the Mikasuki band of the Seminole, and perhaps the ancient Apalachee tribe).
4. Choctaw (including the Choctaw, Chickasaw, and the following smaller tribes: Acolapissa, Bayougaula, Chakohiuma, Chatot, Chula, Huma, Ibitoupa, Mobile, Mugasasha, Naniba, Ofogoula, Tangipahoa, Taposa, and Torome)."

---

1Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, I, 961-962.

Whether the Natchez belong here as a fifth group is uncertain.

From the statistics recorded above, one readily gathers that the Choctaws were the most important of the Mississippi groups. Yet, as Dr. John R. Swanton observes, the fact that they provided little "copy-stuff" for the early travelers and settlers has left them rather "poorly
In recent years the origin of the name Choctaw has received a great deal of attention from historians concerned with the Mississippi Territory. Mrs. N. D. Deupree thinks the word means "charming voice," the Choctaws being so called "because of their musical talent and soft melodious voices." This interpretation is unquestionably incorrect; it is based purely upon "popular etymology." Halbert's view is that the name probably signifies "separation," referring to the division between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws.

Peter J. Hamilton is of the opinion that Choctaw "is really the Spanish word Chato, meaning flat. It occurs even in Brazil as a tribal name." The earliest account of this interpretation is De l'Isle's chattas ou Têtes Plates (1718). Gatschet gives the same solution more than...
a hundred years later: "The French and British traders called them Têtes-Plattes, Flatheads" (1884). 

6Gatschet, A Migration Legend, I, 100.

Cushman, who is probably Balbert's authority for his interpretation, says that Choctaw signifies "separation" and Chickasaw, "rebellion" -- "separation and rebellion from the Muskogees..."  

7Cushman, History, 62.

Rodge accepts the etymology which derives the word from Spanish Chato, supposing the name to be applied by way of allusion to the custom of the tribe of flattening the heads of the male infants. 

8BAE, Bul. 30, 1, 288.

If any of these solutions be correct, it is perhaps that offered by Cushman and Halbert, though not even that one has sufficient foundation.

The first notice of the Choctaws is found in the De Soto chroniclers, Ranjel and Elvas, about 1540. The Pafalavea province mentioned in the De Soto narratives is, according to Halbert, the land of the Choctaws, to whom the other tribes referred as Pafalavea, "Long Hairs."

9Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 4.
The giant Tascaluss, whom De Soto met in the Coosa Valley, was a Choctaw chief.  

The Choctaw tradition with regard to the nation's origin is, in substance, this: In the remote past, the tribe dwelled in a country far to the west. Being greatly oppressed by a powerful people (Cushman thinks the Spaniards under Cortes), the less powerful Choctaws set forth toward the east under the leadership of two brothers, Chahtah and Chikasah. For many months they traveled, hunting and fishing by the way, until they reached the Mississippi. Here they paused only long enough to construct canoes and rafts with which to cross. Crossing over, they made their permanent settlement in the vicinity of Nana Waiya. Several years afterward, as a result of disagreement between the two brothers, Chikasah drew away with his followers to occupy the northern portion of the Mississippi Territory.

In the early decades of the 18th century, when the French began to establish colonies at Mobile, Biloxi, and New Orleans, the Choctaws allied themselves with the French in their wars against other Indian tribes. This friendly relationship continued until the English succeeded in displacing the French, in 1763.
The Choctaws were the outstanding agriculturists of the southern Indians. Though they were brave, they were not aggressive. "Their principal wars, always defensive and not very sanguinary, were fought with the Creeks; in a conflict of six years, 1765-1771, they lost about three hundred men (Gallatin, Synopsis, p. 100)."

In later times, at least three divisions of the Choctaws came to be distinguished. The southern division was called Okla hanna¹, "Six-people" or "Sixtowns;" the northeastern, Ahepatokla (from Choctaw she ápat okla), "Potato-eating people;" and the western, Okla falaya, "Long people." The Okla falaya division occupied the lands which to-day comprise Neshoba and Newton counties, and perhaps southern Winston county. The Ahepatokla territory makes up present-day Kemper and Lauderdale counties. The "Sixtowns" group occupied southern Newton, southern Lauderdale, Jasper, and Clarke counties.

Halbert divides the Choctaws in a manner which varies slightly from the foregoing in that he suggests a subdivision in the northeastern group -- to the west, the Okla chito, "Big people;" to the east, the Okla ténép, "Antagonistic people," or "People of the opposite side
or party.\textsuperscript{12}

\textsuperscript{12}PAUS, I, 375.

According to Swanton, Ahepatokla is simply a later name given to the eastern division. (Swanton's informant thinks, however, that the name is a corruption of Choctaw Saiyip atokolo, "Second lake" or "Two lakes.")

Rather marked variations of speech existed between the "Sixtowns" and the other parties. "The Sixtown Indians were regarded with some show of contempt by the other Choctaws and their speech was made a subject of ridicule..."\textsuperscript{13} Eventually, the Okla faleya dialect came to be accepted as standard Choctaw.

With the erection of the Mississippi Territory, in 1798, and with the rapid influx of Americans, the Mississippi Choctaws began to decline both in number and in significance. Shortly after Mississippi became a State, in 1817, the clamor for the removal of the Indians to lands farther west grew so great that the Choctaws themselves agreed to move.

By the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit,\textsuperscript{14} September 27

\textsuperscript{13}BAE, Bul. 103, 56-57.

\textsuperscript{14}For full details of the treaty, see Halbert, PAPSS, VI, 373-402.
and 28,1830, the Indians of Mississippi were given in
c consideration for the territory which they gave up a
tract of land in what is now southeast Oklahoma.

Between 1831 and 1835, the majority migrated to
their new territory. However, a few continued to hold on
to their old lands. In 1830, the number remaining in
Mississippi was 1,665.15

15For a full account of the removal of the Choctaws, see
Wade, PMSIS, VIII, 397-426.

For the care and supervision of those Indians
who have remained in Mississippi, the U. S. government
has established a Choctaw Agency at Philadelphia, Miss-
issippi. There are also several schools in the old Choct-
taw territory maintained by the government for the
education of Indian children.

The first account, aside from tradition, that we
have of the Chickasaws is from the historians who crossed
the Chickasaw province in northern Mississippi with De
Soto in 1540. And the first clear account of the Chick-
asaw territory is given by Adair: "The Chikkasah country
lies in about thirty-five degrees N. Lat., at the distance
of one hundred and sixty miles from the eastern side of
the Mississippi....about halfway from Mobile River and
within twelve miles of Tahre Shehe [Tallahatchie]. ....In 1780, they had four contiguous settlements, which lay nearly in the form of three parts of a square, only that the eastern side was five miles shorter than the western, with the open part toward the Choktah. One was called Yaneska, about a mile wide and six miles long.... another was ten miles long.... and from one to two miles broad.... The other square, Chowkka Pharash or 'the long house,' was single and ran four miles in length and one mile in breadth."16


Thus, the center of the Chickasaw territory in the 18th century was, roughly, the area which comprises Pontotoc and Union counties today, but the aggressive and warlike Chickasaws laid claim to other lands far beyond the narrow limits of their villages. To the north, they claimed lands up to the confluence of the Ohio river with the Tennessee. "They also claimed a large area N. of the Tennessee to the ridge between Duck r. and the Cumberland to the headwaters of Duck r. and S. to Chickasaw Old Fields on the Tennessee, thence along an indeterminate S.E. line to the Mississippi. This claim was admitted by the Cherokee."17

17Rodge, BAE, Bul. 30, I, 261.
From the earliest accounts down to the last, we learn that the Chickasaws always maintained a reputation for bravery and independence. They were constantly at war with their neighbors—"sometimes with the cognate Chas'hta and with the Creeks, at other times with the Cherokee, Illinois, Kickapoo, Tonica, Mobilians, Osage and Arkansas (Kapaha) Indians. In 1732 they cut to pieces a war party of the Iroquois invading their territory, but in 1748 cooperated against the French with the confederacy."\(^{18}\)

\(^{18}\)Gatschet, A Migration Legend, I, 92.

With regard to the white colonists, the Chickasaws maintained a steady enmity toward the French, but permitted a good number of British traders to settle among them.

"The relations of these Indians with the United States were regulated by a treaty concluded at Hopewell, 1786, with Pio mico and other Chickas chiefs. Their territory was then fixed at the Ohio river on the north side, and by a boundary line passing through Northern Mississippi on the south side. They began to emigrate to the west of Arkansas river early in this century, and in 1822 the population remaining in their old seats amounted to 3625. Treaties for the removal of the remainder were concluded at Pontotoc creek, October 20th, 1832, and at Washington, May 24th, 1834."
Before 1858, the Chickasaws "enjoyed the privilege of settling indiscriminately among the Choctaws" in the new Indian Territory, but on June 22 of the year mentioned, a treaty severing political connections between the tribes was concluded, and the Chickasaws were established in a separate territory to the west of that occupied by the Choctaws. The separation, however, has never been strictly observed by the two "nations." 19

In 1904, the official number of Chickasaws was set at slightly less than 5000. This number included mixed bloods.

The language of the Chickasaws is closely related to that of the Choctaws. Gatschet observes that the Chickasaw language "served as a medium of commercial and tribal intercourse to all nations inhabiting the shores of the great Uk-'hins ('water road'), or Lower Mississippi river." 20

The third large Indian nation in Mississippi was the Natchez. The Natchez dialect has not been definitely identified as Muskogean, though Swanton, considering Brin-
ton's position (1887) and that of others interested in the ethnology of the Natchez, states tentatively that "the core of the Natchez state was Muskhogeen." 21

21 Amer. Anthrop., IX, 527.

The actual historical accounts of the Natchez seem to begin with La Salle's visit to their villages in 1682. The villages, at that time, were scattered along St. Catherine's creek, Natché proper being located about two or three leagues from the Mississippi.

According to legend, as Du Pretz records it, the Natchez came from Mexico. But this is highly improbable, "both on account of the distance of that country from the Mississippi and the implied nearness of that ancient home to the later Natchez habitat." On the other hand, De la Vente's letter of 1704 (in compte Rendi Cong. Internat. des Amér., 15th sess.) states that "the Natchez, who have the most definite (assurées) traditions and who count 45 or 50 chiefs who have succeeded each other successively, say that they came from a very far country, and it is, according to our reckoning, to the northwest." 22

22 Swanton, BAE, Bul. 43, 185.

Swanton, considering collectively language, myth, and customs, offers the theory that the Natchez "originated
from the fusion of people from the southwest, affiliated with the Chitimacha and Atakapa with a Muskogean tribe from the northwest, probably part of the advance wave of the great Muskogean immigration, which latter became the ruling class of the resulting state."

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Sixteen years after La Salle's visit to the Natchez, Le Moyne d'Iberville set sail from Brest with two frigates, *La Radine* and *Le Marin*, to execute the project of establishing a colony near the mouth of the Mississippi River, a project which had earlier resulted in the untimely death of La Salle. By March 11, 1700, Iberville had ascended the river as far as Natchez, where he was cordially received. And it is from Iberville that we have the first somewhat lengthy account of the Natchez country. 24

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24 *See Margry, Découvertes et Établissements des Français dans l'Ouest et dans le Sud de l'Amérique Septentrionale (1614-1754)*, IV, 410-418.

By 1700, a few English traders had established themselves among the Natchez. This, of course, revived the interest of the French in Louisiana, and, in 1713, M. de Lamothe-Cadillac, governor for Crozet, sent M. de la Loire to Natchez with a party of men to establish a trading post. The members of the party were soon obliged to retire,
however, because of the treachery of the Indians.

In the summer of 1716, Bienville ascended the river to Natchez and established Fort Rosalie upon the lofty bluffs beside the river. This movement of Bienville upon Natchez is commonly styled "the first Natchez war." Before 1730, two other "wars" occurred. "The last, which proved fatal to their [the Natchez'] nation, was caused by the attempt of the French governor, Chopart, to occupy the site of their principal village as a plantation, and it opened with a general massacre of the French at Fort Rosalie, established in 1716. The French, in retaliation, attacked the Natchez villages with a strong force of Choctaw allies, and in 1730 the Natchez abandoned their villages, separating into three bodies." One group remained near their former home; a second moved to Sicily Island, near Ouachita river, where the French attacked them in 1731, killing many and selling the remainder into slavery in Santo Domingo; the third group settled among the Chickasaws.

In 1735, a group of Natchez refugees obtained permission of the colonial government to settle in South Carolina. Some years later, however, they moved up into the Cherokee country, where they set up a distinct town and kept their own language. After about 1800, the few survivors moved to the Indian Territory to live among
the Cherokees there.

In 1908, Swanton found four persons who could still speak the Natchez language, living near Bixby, Oklahoma, then in the Cherokee nation.

The etymology of Natchez is dubious. Gatschet, for a long time, thought the name to be of Chitimacha origin. "Nakah in that language means one that is in a hurry, one running, nakah ási literally, 'a hurrying man,' abbrev. nakah warrior; and the earliest French explorers may have heard that name from the Chitimacha Indians settled on the Mississippi, where Bayou Lafourche, also called the river of the Chitimacha, branches off from it."25 However,

25 Gatschet, A Migration Legend, I, 35.

In what appears to be his final attempt at solution of the word Natchez, the same authority prefers to think that the source is Caddo and that the signification is "forest wood."26

26 See Natchez, infra.

Besides the great "nations" -- the Choctaw, the Chickasaw, and the Natchez -- there were in Mississippi numerous smaller tribes. With the exception of the Biloxis, these are for the most part associated with the Choctaws
and the Chickasaws to form a more or less distinct branch of the Muskogean family.

In 1699, when Iberville came to know the Biloxis, they were living near Biloxi Bay. Before the middle of the 18th century, they moved into the territory around Pearl river. In 1764, they crossed the Mississippi and settled in what is now Rapides parish, Louisiana. Today, the tribe is practically extinct.

An investigation into the language of the Biloxis has shown that they belong to the Siouan or Dakotan family, they having separated from the parent stem in some remote prehistoric time. In their native tongue, they call themselves Taneks, and refuse to be known as Biloxis. Taneks have, 'the first people.'" 27 The name Biloxi is

"27Elbert, EMES, V, 302.

perhaps simply a Mobilian corruption of the name by which the Biloxis called themselves. 28

28See Biloxi, infra.

When the Acolapiassa Indians were first visited by white men, they were living on Pearl river, a few miles from its mouth. Iberville knew them, but he confused them with the Quinipiassa. In about 1702, the Acolapiassa moved
from Pearl river and settled on Castembayouque, a bayou on the north side of Lake Pontchartrain. It is supposed that they were absorbed before the end of the 18th century by the Houmas. However, de Kerlérec, in 1758, refers to the Acolapissas as "one of the tribes destroyed by the neighborhood of the French and trade in liquor." 29

29 Swanton, BAE, Bul. 43, 281-284.

Oatschot thinks the name is Choctaw okla, "people," plus pisa, "to see;" hence, "those who look for people." "Some French writers, however, take it from Choctaw haklo, 'hear,' and pisa, 'see' — 'those who hear and see'" 30

30 Read, La. Place-Nemeg, 26.

The Chakohiumas, or Chocchumas, lived until about 1770, when they were exterminated by the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, on the upper Yazoo river. This tribe is one of the few which can be rather definitely identified in De Soto's narratives. The name is Choctaw shi-ki, "crawfish," homma, "red," referring (Swanton supposes) to the tribal badge or totem. 31

31 Swanton, BAE, Bul. 43, 292.

In 1836, the remnant of the Chakohiuma tribe was
incorporated into the Chickasaw nation.

"But little is known about the Choctettas and the Mochotobys. Early in the eighteenth century they were living on the Pascagoula river. Perhaps they became absorbed by the Pascagoulas and Biloxis." 32 Cateschet's opinion is that the Choctettas were Choctaws. Nothing is known of the language of the Mochotobys, but it is supposed from their intimate relations with the Biloxis that they belonged to the Siouan linguistic stock. 33

32 Halbert, PMHS, V, 303.
33 Rodge, BAT, Bul. 30, I, 917-918.

The Chato, or Chatot, tribe, according to Baudry des Lozières (1794), was related to the Choctaws and spoke the French and Choctaw languages. "According to Choctaw tradition, they were incorporated in the Six Towns Choctaws. There is a creek near Mobile, Alabama, still called by the Mississippi Choctaws, Chato creek, a memorial of this extinct nation." 34

34 Halbert, PMHS, V, 303.
Gatschet mentions the Chula (Choctaw chula,"fox") Indians as a Yazoo tribe. At a later time, they were confederated with the Chickasaws.\(^\text{35}\) Whether the village of Tchula, in Holmes county, Mississippi, has any connection with the tribe is problematical.

The Houma tribe,"when the French first descended the Mississippi, was located on high ground in the extreme southern part of Milkerson County, Miss., or in the northern edge of West Feliciana Parish, La.....

"In 1682 La Salle and Tonti were informed of the existence of a tribe of this name, but passed without stopping, nor did they visit it on their return. Four years later, however, on his ascent, the latter made an alliance with them and notes that they were 'the bravest savages on the river'.\(^\text{36}\)

\(^\text{35}\)Gatschet, A Migration Legend, I, 99.

\(^\text{36}\)Swanton, Bull. 43, 285.

The next visitor to the Houmas was Iberville (March, 1699), who has left a rather full account of the tribe.

According to Penicaut, the Houmas moved farther down the river, while the Tunicas came to to live at the
place which the Houmas abandoned. The Houmas settled first on Bayou St. John, near New Orleans, but later moved into the southern part of what is now Ascension parish, Louisiana. "It appears from all the records extant that the Houmas continued to live here at least until 1776."37

37 Ibid., 291.

Sometime before 1900, the remnant of the tribe moved to Terrebonne and Lafourche parishes, Louisiana, where they live to-day, mixed with white, negro, and other Indian bloods.

Swanton thinks "there is every reason to believe that the Houma and Chakchiumas were part of one original tribe, the difference in their names having been brought about by an abbreviation of one of them. Chakchiumas, or sek'tsi-home, as it is more correctly spelled, signifies 'red crawfish,' while houma (or houma) means simply 'red;' but we are informed by Dumont, Vem. Hist. sur La Louisiana, I, 184 that the red crawfish was the war emblem of the Houmas.... It is also worthy of mention, too, that the Chroniclers of La Salle's expedition to the mouth of the Mississippi give the name of that tribe, which had destroyed the Tancipahoa, sometimes as 'Chouchouma' and sometimes as Houma, though we know that the latter tribe was the one intended."38

38 Ibid., 29.
Besides the Chakchiumas, there were three other small tribes on the Yazoo river -- the Taposas, the Ibitoupas, and the Ofogoulas. The Taposas had their village about eight leagues (according to La Harpe) above the Chakchiumas. They were ultimately absorbed by the Chickasaws. The Ibitoupas lived along the Yazoo at a point which lies in the present Holmes county, Mississippi. They were never a numerous people; even as far back as 1722, they possessed only six cabins. Swanton thinks they were united with the Chickasaws shortly after the Natchez war, "though they may first have combined with the Chakchiumas."

The name Ibitoupa is probably of Choctaw origin. Choctaw ibetap signifies "fountain-head," "source."

The first definite information that we have concerning the Ofogoulas appears to be the statement of Father Gravier, who mentions them under their Tunica name, Omnapiik (Usapi), that they possessed ten or twelve cabins.

In 1784, they were known to have a small village, situated eight miles above Pointe Coupee, Louisiana, on the west bank of the Mississippi. Their language was very similar to that of the Choctaws, from whom they received their name: Choctaw oki okla, "dog people."

Ibid., 286-297.

The Pascagoulas (Choctaw paska, "bread," okla, "people") lived on the river which now bears their name. "Nothing is known of their language; but as they were always associated with the Biloxis in their various migrations, they may have spoken the language of the latter, or one closely related thereto.... In 1764, this tribe emigrated to Louisiana, and located near the Biloxis. The census of 1830 gives their number as one hundred and eleven. But little is known of their later history."  

In 1908, Swanton found two brothers, sons of a Biloxi father and a Pascagoula mother, near Livingston, Texas.  

Finally, there is to be considered the Tunica group of Indians in Mississippi. Of the group, the Tunica tribe, proper, is the largest and perhaps the greatest from the point of view of historical significance. "The name of the tribe signifies simply 'men' or 'people' [ta, definite article, plus uni, 'people,' plus ka, nominal suffix -- Halbert] in their language, but they prefer to call themselves as a nation by another term, Yor-on."  

41 Halbert, PMHS, V, 302-303.  
42 See Swanton, BAE, Bul. 43, 31-32.  
43 Ibid., 306.
Tunics were encountered by De Soto in northeastern Louisiana and southeastern Arkansas. However, the first encounter by Europeans that is actually recorded did not occur until the tribe had settled in Mississippi on the lower Yazoo river. In 1699, the number of their cabins was estimated at 200.

In 1706, the Tunics joined the Houmas, being driven from their homes by the Chickasaws and Alibamus. La Harpe states that the Tunics subsequently surprised the Houmas, killed more than half of them, and occupied their territory.44


In the great Natchez war of 1729, the Tunics stood firmly by the French, but the consequence of their loyalty was a serious one. Those Natchez who had taken refuge among the Chickasaws burned the village of the Tunics and killed a large number of the inhabitants. From this time on, the Tunics drop with the other tribes of Louisiana into insignificance insofar as the history of the country is concerned.

According to Hodge, the remnant of the tribe numbered 30 people in 1910. These remaining Tunics were living on what is called Marksville prairie, near Marksville, Louisiana.45

The Tunica language appears not to be connected with any other linguistic family. Gatschet, who studied it in 1886 or earlier, found it to be a vocalic and harmonious tongue, possessing a rich supply of verbal forms, a declension system, and a nominal and pronominal gender.

Because their name is the same as that of one of the principal streams in Mississippi, the Yazoo are perhaps the most widely known tribe of the Tunica group. (The signification of the name YAZOO is apparently completely lost.) In reality, however, they are far less prominent in history than the Tunicas or the Koroas.

Swanton thinks that the Yassos are the oldest of the "Yazoo River tribes." "The position of the Koroas there [on Yazoo river] appears to have been by no means constant, while the Tunica may have descended from higher up the Mississippi." 46

46 BAE, Bul. 43, 332.

In 1729, the Yassos and the Koroas rose against the French and destroyed the fort which the French had erected near the mouth of the Yazoo river in 1718. However, both tribes were put to flight soon afterward, and they probably joined the Chickasaws and Choctaws. So far as is known, the tribe is now completely extinct.

The Koroas, who have already been mentioned several
times in connection with the Tunicas and Yazoos, appear to have been separated into two distinct groups when La Salle descended the Mississippi in 1682: the one (which La Salle actually encountered) lived on the west side of the Mississippi a few miles below the Natches; the other lived along the Yazoo river with the Tunicas and Yazoos.

As to the later history of the Koross, it is known that they joined the attack upon the Tunicas in 1751, when the Tunicas were almost wiped out. "It is probable that they afterward retired with their Natchez allies to the Chickasaws, but instead of keeping company with them, it would appear that they finally went over to the Choctaw, for Allen Wright, late head chief of that nation, was of Koros descendent." 47

47Ibid., 332.

Du Pertz's information that the Tioux, another of the Yazoo river group, possessed the y-sound in their language seems to place them with the Tunicas, Yazoos, and Koross into the Tunica group.

Tradition has it that they were driven from their lands on the Yazoo to seek protection among the Natches, who permitted them to form a separate village. In 1700, the Bayougoules invited the Tioux, together with the Acolapians, to occupy the deserted lodges of the Mugalasha, all
of whom the Bayougoulas had killed in conflict.

Shortly after the third Natchez war, the Tioux were said to have been completely destroyed by the Quapaws. Though this is questionable, the Tioux were not heard of again.

Though the Grigras were adopted as Stinkards

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48. Grigra is a nickname given the tribe by the French because of the frequency with which the word grigra appeared in the speech of this group of Indians. So far as is known to-day, this is the only name by which the tribe was called.

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(the lowest social group in the Natchez system) by the Natchez some time before 1720, they are commonly supposed to have belonged to the Tunica group, the presence of the η-sound in their speech being the ground for such an assumption. Of their part in the history of the Natchez subsequent to their adoption, we know nothing.
LIST OF NAMES

A

ABOLO CHITTO. See HOBOLOCHITTO, infra.

ABOTCAPUTTA

The lack of variant forms of this name makes the solution somewhat difficult. The first element appears to be apokta, and the second, pátha. Apokta is Choctaw for "doubled;" pátha signifies "broad." The meaning of the combination then, as applied to the stream which bears the name to-day, is "a broad creek consisting of two branches." Although Simpson Tubby is not familiar with the particular stream to which the name is now applied, he assures me that Apokta pátha is a perfectly normal Choctaw designation for a creek or river. Cf. also Homo-chitto, infra, as an example of a Choctaw geographic name composed of two adjectives.

With regard to the shift of p to b in the transfer of the name from Choctaw to English, little need be said. While it may be explained here as a case of consonantal dissimilation, the general proposition appears to be that the European ear did not always distinguish in the Choctaw the voiced sound from the voiceless.
Perhaps, in connection with this name, it ought to be observed that in the Choctaw the consonantal combination th, as in pátá, is not equivalent to the English dental fricative th. Choctaw th is rather an aspirated plosive. On this basis, -putta is explained, as the Anglicized spelling of pátá.

Abotcaputta creek drains the area between Palusha and Coila creeks, in western Carroll county.

ABYATCHIE  [ebo'ekte]


Abyatchie creek, rising in south Carroll county, pursues a westerly course to the Carroll-Leflore line, where it turns southward into Holmes county to join the Yazoo river.

Abyatchie is obviously of Choctaw origin. Though the present-day spelling suggests at once that the name is composed of a noun plus hácha, "river," the pronunciation common among Mississippians (recorded above) and the spelling of Hardee point rather significantly to abáiyáke, "the side of a creek or swamp."

Simpson Tubby thinks the source of the name is abáiyáchi, "one who roams along the side of a creek" or "a group of people who roam along beside a stream," the creek having taken its name from the person or the group
of persons who "roamed along its side."

ALAMUCHA, or ALAMUCHEE [əˈlaɪmətʃə]

1871. Alamutche, Hardee.
1899. Allamuche, Cushman.
1902. Alamarche, Riley.

Franklin L. Riley lists Alamucha among the names of those extinct towns which have retained their post offices (1902). The "neighborhood" which is served by

\[49\] PMHS, V, 382.

Alamuche post office lies in what is now Lauderdale county, near the Alabama line.

The name, spelled Alamuchee, is also applied to a creek which has its headwaters in southeast Lauderdale county, Mississippi, but lies for the most part in Alabama.

According to Simpson Tubby, Alamuchee refers to a secret society which corresponds roughly to Freemasons. The name is derived from alamancha, which is alama, or aluma, "a secret place," plus ansha, "to be there" -- "a secret place is there." The name was originally applied to a point near the head of Alamuchee creek at which the members of the secret order were accustomed to meet. The creek took its name from the meeting place, and the present-day Alamucha got its name from the stream.
The three spellings recorded here will show that the second element would appear to be *asha*, plural of *änsha*, in which case both elements of the name would have to be plural. But Simpson Tubby assures me that in the Choctaw original of Alamucha the singular, or nasalized, form was employed.

ALPICA

Until about 1900, the name *Alpica* designated a little village in De Soto county. When the Y&MV railway company built a station, sometime about the turn of the century, at this point and named it Walls, the town gradually came to be so called also. According to the information of Postmaster Hilda P. Toombs, Alpica, Mississippi, old money order records show that the name of the post office was not changed until about 1909. The Mississippi river levee-section station near Walls still bears the name Alpica.

The name is commonly thought to be derived from that of an old Choctaw who, with *Mashulatubbi*, formerly

50 See *Mashulaville*, infra.

owned much of the land in the Alpica section of De Soto county. (The records in the county clerk's office show the name to be spelled *Up-pi-ke*.)
Dr. W. A. Read believes, however, that the source of the name (if it is Indian: it may be Spanish Alpica, "pertaining to the Alps") is Choctaw abeka, "unhealthy," "unhealthful." Of course, the personal name Uppika may be a corrupted spelling of Choctaw abeka, which as a noun signifies "the unhealthy one" or "the one affected with disease."

**AMITE [əˈmiːt]**


The name Amite is applied in Mississippi to both a county and a river. The county is situated in the southeastern corner of the state, and the river, which consists of two branches, flows southward across the county into Lake Maurepas, in Louisiana.

Dr. W. A. Read, in his study of Indian place-names in Louisiana, has given a rather thorough analysis of this name. The common interpretation, he says, is based upon the belief that Amite "commemorates the friendly reception which the French settlers on the Amite river received at the hands of the Indians.... Towards the end of the eighteenth century amite no doubt came to be considered the source of the name by some of the inhabitants.
of Louisiana." But finding no documentary evidence in support of this view, Dr. Read concludes that this popular interpretation has grown out of the verbal resemblance of Amite and French amitie.

Upon the same ground, verbal similarity, Latin amita, "a father's sister," has been suggested as the source of Amite. But the more likely solution appears to be that which derives the name from Choctaw himmita, "young."51 This last view suggests that the original

51Read, La. Place-Names, supplement, 7ff.

Choctaw name consisted of two elements, himmita being preceded by a noun, such as bok, "creek," nàche, "river," tāshka, "warrior," or okla, "people." (Cf. Tuscalometa and Oaklemeter, infra.)

APOOKTA

This is Choctaw apokta, "doubled." The name as applied to a stream means "a creek with two branches." Cyrus Byington, in his description of the word apokta in his Dictionary of the Choctaw Language, makes particular reference to the stream which bears the name to-day, or to a stream similarly named. He says: "Apokta Chito, n., the name of a particular creek."52

52BAE, Bul. 46, 56.
Both branches of the stream rise in Attala county, and their point of confluence is just a few miles to the east of that of the main stream with Big Black river.

The index to Rand McNally's Map of Mississippi for 1934 gives the spelling Apookla. But this is certainly a printer's error, for the map itself has Apookta.

Cushman interprets Apookta erroneously. He selects ayukpa as the original Choctaw form and renders it "a place of happiness." Ayukpa means "happiness," "joy," but there is no indication of a locative affix to warrant his rendering, "a place of happiness."  

Cushman, History, 595.

ARCHUSA  [dˈkjuːsa]

There are two streams of this name in Mississippi. One rises in T4N, R15E, Clarke county, and flows southward to join the Chickasawhay river. The other lies in Smith county.

According to Halbert, the name is derived from Choctaw hàcha,"river," and osi,"little" --"little river." Osì is a variant form of the Choctaw diminutive 

ushì. (Cf. ınkosì and ishkosì, diminutives of ınkì,"father,"
and Ishki, "mother" — Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 87.)

Halbert observes that Romans applies the name Hatcha Oose to Noxubee river, perhaps in order to dis-

55PMHS, VI, 435.

inguish that stream from Tombigbee river, which was commonly called Hâcha.

ARKABUTLA [əˈkɑːbatlə]

1839, Arkabutla, La Tourrette.
1871, Arkabutla, Hardee.

Arkabutla is the name of a village and a creek in western Tate county. The creek is a tributary of Coldwater river.

The name is pretty clearly a corruption of Choctaw akka, "bottom (of a stream)," and botoli, "pulverized;" that is, "[creek with] a pulverized bottom."

B

BAHALA [baˈhələ] or [baˈhələ]

1818, Bahala, Ludlow.
1835, Bhalá, Mitchell.
1835, Bhalá, Bell (sectional map).
1934, Bhalá, Rand McNally.

Bahala creek originates in Copiah county and flows into Pearl river in northern Lawrence county. Little Bahala creek, which rises in Lincoln county, joins Bahala
at a point approximately eight miles above the confluence of the latter with Pearl river.

The spellings Bahala and Bihala on the maps of Mitchell and Bell, respectively, point to Choctaw bihi, "mulberry trees," hieli, "standing" -- "standing mulberry trees." (Both elements are plural; hiitia is the singular form of hieli.) The spelling Bahala indicates a solution in Choctaw baui hieli, "standing white oak trees." But the necessity for choosing blindly between the two interpretations is happily obviated by Ludlow's map of 1818, on which the upper branch, or Bahala creek proper, is designated as Mulberry creek.

BALA CHITTO

Bala Chitto creek rides in T2N, RSE, Pike county. It flows into Tangipahoa river just south of the Pike county line.

The name is probably Choctaw aboli, "cane brake," plus chito, "big." A second solution suggests itself, however, in bala chito, "big beans." Bala is defined by Byington as "one kind of bean which is large,"56 but I

56BAE, Bul. 46, 87.

have not been able to identify that bean particularly. Bala seems to have no more exact signification for the
present-day Choctaw than has the word bean for the American.

BALUCTA [be'1akta]

The present Balucta is a small settlement of some forty inhabitants, situated in northwest Scott county, near Beach. The name is Choctaw bolukta, "round." It may be the remnant of Kun'ahak bolukta, "round cane-brake," the name of a Choctaw village which stood in southwestern Kemper county, some two miles from the Neshoba county line and one and one-half miles from the Lauderdale line -- or approximately fifty miles from the site of the present Balucta.

A rather complete consideration of the early forms of the name Kun’ahak bolukta and of the site of the village which bore the name will be found in Swanton’s discussion of Choctaw towns, BAE, Bul. 103, 58 and 70.

BATAWPAN BOGUE

Byington mentions the stream to which this name is applied in defining Ibetap I’bok, "the head of a creek," in his Dictionary of the Choctaw Language. He says of it: "the name of a creek that runs into Yalobusha from the

57 Ibid., 176.
Halbert, discussing the same name, which he spells Abatomborue, observes that it was spelled Batup in bogue and Baytuppene bogue in government records. "Discarding these corruptions [he says], the name of the creek is Ibetáp bok, or, as was often the case, after inserting the pronoun, Ibetáp 1 bok, 'fountain head creek,' or with the pronoun inserted, 'fountain head its creek.' Ibetáp occurs in Pickett's Alabama, vol. I, p. 151, in the word Ebeetap oocoola which is Ibetáp okla, 'fountain head people,' that is, people who live at the fountain head, or the source of some water-course."58

58 PAHS, III, 71.

De l'Isle's map of 1718 shows this name, spelled Ibitoupa, as applied to a tribe. It is quite likely that De l'Isle had in mind the Ibetáp okla mentioned by Pickett.

The present Batawpan Bogue, the same as that to which Byington refers, consists of two branches which join at the Grenada-Montgomery county line. The east fork rises in northwest Webster county, and the west fork originates in northern Montgomery county. As Byington says, it joins the Yalobusha river from the south at a point near the city of Grenada.

At first inspection, Batawpan Bogue looked very
like a corruption of báti, "sumac," tápa, "broken off," bok, "creek" --thus, "broken off sumac creek." But Byington, who was familiar with the original Choctaw name, proves this erroneous, as he does Cushman's interpretation, "one bear creek."59

59Cushman, History, 596.

BAYOU COSTAPIA

The first element of Costapia is fairly clear. It is a badly corrupted form of Choctaw káshti, which signifies "fleas." The second element appears to be abeha, "to be (in a certain place)." (Cf. Oktibbeha, infra, from okti abeha.) Thus, if the original Choctaw were bok káshti abeha, the interpretation is "creek where there are fleas." It is quite likely, however, that the name was first applied to a village which became notorious for the abundance of fleas which infested the place, and later was transferred to the stream upon the banks of which the village was situated.

On the other hand, Costapia may be derived from the combination káshti ápiba (or ápeha, the plural of ápiba), which means "fleas are with that one (or those)." If such be the case, the stream has taken its name from the fact that some one, or some group, uncommonly infested
with fleas lived upon its banks.

The first of these solutions seems to be the more logical, and the frequency with which p and b are interchanged both in the Choctaw itself and in the transition from the Choctaw into English makes káshti abeha no less likely than káshti épeha as the original of Costapia.

Bayou Costapia designates to-day a small stream in T6S, R9W, southeast Jackson county.

BAYOU TALIAH [təˈlaɪə]

This is Choctaw bok,"creek," and talaie,"stagnant;" thus,"stagnant creek," or:"creek having stagnant waters."

The name designates a small bayou in Attala county. Although the channel of the stream has frequently been quite dry in recent years, I am informed from Kosciusko, the seat of Attala county, that the name is still commonly used.

EEASHA [biˈæʃə]

1764. Beyacha. English List.

This name applied in the eighteenth century to a Choctaw village which Swanton places on the west side of
Little Rock creek, in T8N, R12E, Newton county. To-day it designates a small stream lying in northern Newton and southern Neshoba counties, on whose banks the Choctaw village was probably situated.

Swanton observes that the spellings of the English list of 1764 and the Spanish list of 1784 point rather significantly to the interpretation recorded by du Roulet—that is, "mulberry place," from Choctaw bihi, "mulberry trees," asha, "to be there." Halbert concurs in this solution, but Swanton prefers to believe that the original was bissa asha, "blackberries are there," or "blackberry place." 61

61 BAE, Bul. 103, 60.

Of the seven spellings listed here only two, that of 1764 and that of 1784, do not have the a in the initial syllable. From this fact I conclude, with Swanton, that the name was bissa asha in the original, rather than bihi asha.

BESA CHITTO [bisa 'tʃita]

Bessa Chitto creek rises in T18N, R10E, Choctaw county. It flows southwestward into Attala county. The
earliest record of this name, so far as I have been able to ascertain, is La Tourrette's map of 1839, on which the spelling is the same as that of the present day.

In correct Choctaw orthography, the name is bissa chito, "big blackberries."

BIACHOUA [ˌbaiˈtʃuːə]

Biachoua bayou lies in eastern Harrison county, near the mouth of Pearl river. Because of the insignificant size of the stream, its name does not appear frequently on the maps of Mississippi, but Ludlow has it on his sectional survey of 1841.

The Choctaw original of Biachoua is perhaps bibi, "mulberries," shua, "rotten," "spoiled" --thus,"Rotten Mulberry" bayou.

BIBA WILA [ˈbibəˈwila] or [ˈbaibəˈwila]

Dr. W. A. Read suggests to me that Biba Wila may be a corruption of Choctaw bibi, "mulberries," baialli, or bailli, "to stand in rows" --hence, "mulberry trees standing in rows." However, it is quite possible, he says, that the name is not of Indian origin, for Ernst Förstemann records in his Altdéutsches Namenbuch, II (Bonn, 1911), p. 442, the forms Biberakawilare (719) and Biberavilla (847).

Biba Wila creek is a tributary of Long Branch creek,
in T19N, R13E, Oktibbeha county.

**FIGBEE**  [′bɪgbi]  
Bigbee is the name of a "flagstop" on the SLSF railroad, in Monroe county. It occurs also in Noxubee county, in Bigbee Valley, a town of some fifty inhabitants. The name in both instances is a shortened form of Tombigbee, g. v., infra.

**BIG BLACK**  
This name has been included as an example of what has taken place in a large number of the Choctaw geographic names for which the English equivalents, or what were thought to be the English equivalents, have been substituted. As Halbert pointed out a number of years ago, the Choctaw original for Big Black, which designates a river lying principally in Montgomery and Claiborne counties, is *luⁿsa chito*, not *lusa chito*. *Luⁿsa* signifies "swamp;" *lusa* means "black."\(^{62}\) Byington's *\(^{62}\)PAHS*, III, 72.

*Dictionary of the Choctaw Language* also calls attention to this translation of *luⁿsa*,\(^{63}\) or rather this mistrans-

\(^{63}\)BAE, Bul. 46, 218.
lation of *luna*. Thus, the correct interpretation of the Choctaw name from which *Big Black* is derived is "big swamp."

**Biloxi** [bi'lok'si]


The spellings which I have recorded here were employed to designate the Biloxi tribe, a group of the Siouan stock which once lived in southern Mississippi, from which the name of the present-day city of Biloxi is derived. The name *Biloxi* "is a Mobilian corruption of *Taneks äya* or *Taneks ayadi*, the name by which the Biloxi Indians called themselves. The whole name signifies 'First People'."64

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64 Read, "More Indian Place Names in Louisiana," *The Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XI (1923), 452.

All spellings recorded here are based upon the Biloxi's own name for the tribe, except those which have initial B.

"The Biloxi were supposed to belong to the Muskogeian stock until Gatschet visited the survivors of the
tribe in Louisiana in 1886 and found that many of the words bore strong resemblance to those in Siouan languages, a determination fully substantiated in 1892 by J. Owen Dorsey. To what particular group of the Siouan family the tribe is to be assigned has not been determined; but it is probable that the closest affinity is with Dorsey's Dhegina group, so called. 65

Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, I, 147.

The city of Biloxi is situated on a peninsular on the Gulf Coast in Harrison county, some eighty miles east of New Orleans. Both the city and the bay on which the city is located are named for the Biloxi Indians.

The first white settlement in what is now the State of Mississippi was made by the French under Iberville, in April, 1699, on the northeast shore of the Bay of Biloxi, about four or five miles east of the site of the present-day Biloxi.

BOGASHAY ['bagəse]  

Bogashay is probably derived from Choctaw bok, "creek," and uebi, "little," --"little creek."

The maps of Tanner (1839), McCaskilly (1846), and Hardee (1871) place Bogashay creek in Warren county. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there is no stream
in Warren county which is so called to-day. There is, however, according to M. L. Beall, postmaster at Lexington, Mississippi, a stream so named in Holmes county, near Lexington.

BOGHUMPHA


This is a puzzling name. It looks very much like a corruption of Choctaw bok, "creek," and humme, "red." The second element, however, is not at all clear, either from the present-day spelling or from that of Hardee (1871).

Boghumpha creek joins Fannagusha creek at a point some seven or eight miles to the northwest of Lexington, the seat of Holmes county.

BOGUE CHEELY ['bogətsiːli]

This is unquestionably Choctaw Bok chito, "big creek." The spelling Cheely results from the scribal error of some early cartographer who failed to cross the t in Cheety, from chito. The final y represents a tendency, common throughout the South, to level all final unstressed vowels in geographic names, particularly, to[i]. For example, one of the current pronunciations for Bogue Chitto is['bogətsiːti]. Cf. also[ˈnaridi] for Florida.

Bogue Cheely is a tributary of Bogue Nomo creek in
TOWN, R11E, Jones county.

BOGUE CHITTO ['bo-gi'tsita]

1732. Bouk tchitou, du Roullet.

The name Bogue Chitto appears to have been used by the Choctaws to designate streams even more frequently than Bogue Falaya, q. v., infra. Bogue Chitto occurs as the name of both a town and a creek in Lincoln county, and as that of a stream in Neshoba county. Romans (1772) applies it to the Chickasawhay river, and, according to Gatschet, it came to be applied to a group of the Cha’hita who lived on Bogue Chitto creek in Neshoba county.

Bogue Chitto is derived from Choctaw bok, "creek," and chito, "big" — "big creek."

BOGUE FALAYA ['bo-gi'fala]

1702. Bouc falaya, Iberville.
1733. Bouk falaya, De Crenay.
1818. Bogue Faliah, Ludlow.
1846. B. Phalas, La Tourrette.

Swanton includes Bogue Falaya in his list of Choctaw towns, compiled from maps and manuscripts of the eighteenth century. He places the town in the Southern, or Sixtown, division, which takes in parts of Newton, Clarke, Lauderdale, and Jasper counties. He notes that du Roullet
classifies Bokfalaia as one of the West towns, which classification would place it in Neshoba county or in western Newton county.  

BAE, Bul. 105, 61.

The stream which bears the name Bogue Falaya to-day rises in Attala county. It joins Big Black river just to the southwest of the town of Boyette. The name is Choctaw bok falaia, "long creek."

The same name, with varied spellings, occurs again and again in Mississippi. For example, there are Bogue Fala, about ten miles east of Tupelo, in Lee county; Bogue Falcon, in T6N, R9E, Scott county; and Bogue Fallah, in T17N, R10E, Choctaw county.

BOGUE FELEMA  ['boeqe fel'ma]  

Bogue Felema is in correct Choctaw bok, "creek," filema, "turned round," "turned back;" hence, "a stream which has been diverted from its normal course."

Bogue Felema originates in T5N, R11E, Newton county, and flows northeastward to join Potter Chitto creek.

BOGUE GABA  

The first element of this name is, of course, Choctaw bok, "creek." The second is kabak, "noisy." There are
two explanations for the development of *gaba* from *kabak*. First, the initial voiceless consonant *k* simply became English *g*, the voiced velar plosive, which is formed exactly as *k* except that the force of exhalation is weaker and the vocal cords are made to vibrate so that "voice" is heard. Second, after *bok* became *bogue*, the initial *k* of *kabak* became *g* by assimilation. In any case "Noisy creek" appears to have been a more or less common name for streams among the Choctaws. Simpson Tubby informs me that there was once a *Bok kabak* in Neshoba county.

The word *kabak* seems to have been used earlier only in the function of a noun. Its use as an adjective may be peculiar to the dialect of the Mississippi Choctaws. Simpson Tubby assures me that it has been employed in the latter capacity among his "people" at least since his earliest recollection.

Bogue Gaba creek lies in Lee county in that area just to the west of Tupelo.

**Bogue Hasty** \[ˈboʊɡˈhæsti\] or \[ˈboʊɡˈheːsti\]

Bogue Hasty is a tributary of Bogue Phalia, which it joins near Busey, in Bolivar county. The name is Choctaw *bok háslt appraisal* or *háshtip*, "fallen leaf creek." Halbert observes that there is no exact English equivalent for Choctaw *háshtip*. "Fallen leaf" or "dead leaf" does not
convey accurately the signification of the word.\footnote{See Estabutchie, infra.}

Hashtip appears to have occurred rather frequently in the names of streams in Choctaw territory, but, for the most part, those names have become to-day simply Leaf creek or Leaf river.

**BOGUE HEALY**

Bogue Healy rises in T17N, R12E, Oktibbeha county, and flows northward to join Sand creek. The name is derived from Choctaw bok, "creek," a, locative meaning "there," and hila, "to dance" --that is, "creek where there is dancing."

**BOGUE HOMO \[ˈbɔɡəˈhɒmə\]**

This is Choctaw Bok homma, or humma, "red creek." Romans (1772) records the name with application to a tributary of Buckatunna creek, Wayne county, which it joins from the east.

According to Halbert, Bogue Homo "has an historical significance in being, prior to the treaty of Mount Dexter, a part of the line of demarcation between the Choctaw nation and the United States."\footnote{PMHS, VI, 433.}
There is also a Bogue Homo creek in Clarke county. It lies in T2N, R8W, and flows into Shubuta creek.

BOGUE TALLA  ['bogətæla]

In correct Choctaw orthography, this is Bok tale, "palmetto creek." In the case of Talla and similar forms, such as Tala, Tally, Taly, etc., there is always the question whether the Choctaw original was tale, "palmetto," or tâli, "rock." Little distinction is made between the two forms in English, either orthographically or phonetically. Arriving at the correct solution becomes simply a matter of determining whether the streams which bear the name drain rocky regions or areas in which palmettoes abound.

The creek here considered is a tributary of Old Fort Bayou, in T7S, R8W, Jackson county, where palmettoes are known to have grown in abundance before the land was brought largely into cultivation.

BOLA JUNCTION  ['bɔliŋkʃən]

Bola Junction, a station on the PRV railroad, is situated near the point at which the two branches of the Hobolochito river join, in Pearl River county. The first element of the name is short for Hobolochito, q. v., infra.
BOLAPUSHA, or BOLLYBUSHA \[bal\'bas\]

The second spelling given here occurs upon the U. S. Geological Survey, Forrest Quadrangle, 1922. It is based upon the pronunciation of the name which is current among the natives of Newton county. The first spelling given is the one which appears most frequently upon maps of the county.

In the original Choctaw, the name is balup, "slippery elm (trees)," and asha, "to be there;" hence, "slippery elm trees are there."69

69 Halbert, PAHS, III, 72.

Bolapusha creek is a tributary of Tuscolameta creek, which it joins from the east at a point some five miles northwest of Conehatta.

Simpson Tubby, speaking of Bolapusha, recalls that a particularly large number of elm trees stood upon its banks. The Choctaws valued the bark and roots of the elm highly because of their medicinal properties.

BOLATUSHA \[ba\'tasa\] or \[bo\'te\'sa\]

The name Bolatusha designates a post-hamlet, situated in the northwest corner of Leake county. The source of the name is uncertain. Two possible solutions are suggested, however, in Choctaw Bolitusha -- a war name -- and
Abolitushi.

Bolitusha signifies "one who strikes and cuts to pieces," being derived from Choctaw boli, "to strike," t, "and," tusha, "to cut to pieces." Abolitushi, the less probable of the two sources, is composed of aboli, "thicket," plus an epenthetic t, plus ushi, "little" --"little thicket."

BOLINGCHESSA

Bolingchessa is a corruption of Choctaw baluhchi asha. Baluhchi signifies "hickory bark of the variety used by the Choctaws in rope-making," and asha (plural) means "to be in that place." Since asha is plural, baluhchi must be construed in the plural also. Hence, baluhchi asha is rendered "place where there are strips of hickory bark." 70

70 Cf. Oktibbeha, infra.

Bolingchessa creek originates in T1N, R6E, Clarke county, and flows eastward to join Moss creek.

BOLO CHITTO. See HOEOLOCHITTO, infra.

BUCKATUNNA [bakatunna]

1732. Bakatane, du Roullet.
1764. Bacatune, Bellin.
1772. Bogue-sithe-Tanne, Romans.
Cushman says that Buckatunna is corrupted from Choctaw bokko chaha, which he interprets as "a range of hills." But this is incorrect.

"Hamilton translates Buckatunna by 'creek on the other side,' apparently having in mind Choctaw tânnap, 'the opposite side,' or mishtânnap, 'the other side,' as the last element in the name."

Gideon Lincecum's solution, in which Halbert concurs, is preferable to that of either Hamilton or Cushman. Lincecum finds the Choctaw original in bok, "creek," a locative, "there," tâna, "to weave" -- that is, "creek at which there is weaving (of cane-splits into baskets)."

Both the east fork and the west fork of Buckatunna creek rise in Lauderdale county. After their confluence in western Clarke county, the main stream flows southward to empty into Chickasawhay river.
BUTTAHATCHIE [ˌbʌtəˈhætʃi]  
1839. Batahatchee. La Tourrette.  

Dr. W. A. Read discusses this name in his study of Alabama place-names of Indian origin.\(^{73}\) Its source is \(^{73}\)Read, Ala. Place-Names, 10.  

Choctaw báti, "sumac" (Rhus L.), hás, "river." The same solution is given by both Halbert\(^{74}\) and Cushman.\(^{75}\)  
\(^{74}\)PAHS, III, 67.  
\(^{75}\)Cushman, History, 596.  

Buttahatchie river enters Mississippi from Alabama near Gatman, in Monroe county, and flows into Tombigbee river at the Monroe-Lowndes county line.  

BYHALIA [ˈbaiheɪliə]  

The town of Byhalia is situated on the SLSF railroad in northwest Marshall county. The population in 1930 was 565. The creek on the banks of which the town stands has the same name.  

According to Halbert, Byhalia is Choctaw baiyi, "white oaks," plus hiel, "to stand;" thus, "standing white oaks." Both elements are plural; the singular form corre-
Bywish is a corruption from Choctaw baici, or baivi, "white oak," waiya, "leaning," "bent" --hence, "leaning, or bent, white oak." A creek bearing this name lies in Choctaw county. Its two divisions have the distinguishing names of Big Bywish and Little Bywish.

By-Wy ['bar\'war]


Hardee's spelling proves pretty conclusively that the Choctaw original of this name must be Baici waiya, "bent, or leaning, white oak." Cf. Bywish, supra.

By-Wy has two applications as a geographic name in Mississippi. In Oktibbeha county, it is applied to a small creek, and in Choctaw county, it designates a tributary of Big Black river.

C

Calabrilla. See Tallabunnela, infra.
CASTAFFEY

Castaffey creek, which rises near the Clarke-Jasper county line, in T2N, R9W, is a tributary of Shubuta creek. The name is probably from Choctaw káshtí, "fleas," and toffa, "summer" --unless the second element is ofi, "dog," in which case the composite would be rendered "dog fleas."

Frequently, in Choctaw, a noun employed in the capacity of an adjective precedes the substantive it modifies. Such is not always the case, however. Cf. Choctaw peni luak, "steamboat," from peni, "boat," and luak, "fire."  

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77Byington, DAE, Cul. 46, 314.

CATAHOULA [kætə'huːla]

Catashoula creek rises in T4S, R15W, Pearl River county, and flows southward across Hancock county into St. Louis Bay. A small settlement of the same name is situated upon its banks a few miles above its mouth.

Dr. W. A. Read, in his rather full discussion of the name Catashoula, as applied to a parish, a lake, and several smaller bodies of water in Louisiana, suggests that it is derived from Choctaw okháta bullo, "beloved lake."  

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78Read, La. Place-Names, 17.
It is probable that Catahoula creek in Mississippi received its name directly from the now extinct Catahoula tribe, which once occupied much of the area bordering on the Gulf of Mexico.  

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CATALPA [Kəˈtɔːlpə]


This name, applied to a creek which rises in Oktibbeha county and flows northeastward to join Tibbee creek in Lowndes county, is commonly, but erroneously, supposed to be connected with that of the catalpa tree, which probably has its name from Creek kutuhlpə, "winged head," referring to the shape of the catalpa tree blossom.  

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But Halbert has proved rather conclusively that the name of the stream is derived from Choctaw katapə, "dammed up," "obstructed." The creek was so called because its waters were once dammed up by driftwood at the mouth.  

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81 *ZAH*, III, 72.

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Tanner's spelling shows that the modern spelling, fashioned after that of the name of the tree, is a com-
paratively recent development.

The similar name Catawba "designates an important Siouan tribe, formerly residing on the Catawba River, in South Carolina. As late as 1726 this tribe occupied six villages on the river, scattered over a distance of twenty miles."\(^{82}\) The origin of Catawba is obscure.

\(^{82}\) Read, *Fla. Place-Names*, 56.

**CHATAWA** ['tsætawə]

*Chatawa* is the name of a little village and railroad station on the IC, in southern Pike county. Just to the east of the village is situated the St. Mary of the Pines convent.

This name has proved very difficult. Dr. W. A. Read suggests a possible source for it in Choctaw *shataicoa*, "to be swollen," used in the figurative sense to refer to the numerous springs which are found in the vicinity of the village.

A second possibility is that the name is corrupted from Choctaw *Chahta*, "Choctaw," and *aiowate*, "hunting ground."

**CHENOKABY** ['tʃəkəbɪ]

Chenokaby creek rises in T5N, R16E, Newton county,
and flows into Souinlovey creek in T5N, R13E, in the same county.

Mack Williams, an old Choctaw living to-day at Connehatta, Mississippi, refers to the stream as Bok chinakbi, "crooked creek." The first element bok appears to have been dropped, or rather translated to English "creek," at an early date. It does not appear as a part of the name on any of the maps and surveys of Newton county.

CHEFUNCTE [tʃɪˈfʌŋkta]

1732. Kefuncté, Danville.
1758. Quéfoncté, Du Pratz.
1776. Chefoncto, Romans.
1816. Chifuncté, Darby.
1818. Tehifonte, Ludlow.
1895. Tchefuncta, Hardee.

Chefuncté is Choctaw hachofakti, "chinquapin," or "dwarf chestnut." Du Pratz writes of the name as follows:

"On arrive à la Rivière de Quéfoncté, ou des Chataignes-Glands; elle est longue et belle, et vient des Chatkas."33

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The Chefuncte river rises in southeast Pike county and flows southward through western St. Tammany parish, Louisiana, into Lake Pontchartrain.

In Louisiana, the spelling which is most commonly used is that of Hardee, Tchefuncta.
CHEVA. See TECHEVA, infra.

CHEWALLA [ʦ'i'wɔ:lə]

1899, Chualley. Cushman.

This name is a corruption of Choctaw chuahla, "cedar." It designates a stream which rises in Marshall county, a few miles northeast of Holly Springs, and flows southward to join Tippah creek some ten miles above the confluence of the latter with Tallahatchie river.

CTICKAMA ['tʃikəmə]

Chickama is the name of a settlement in Kemper county. The settlement stands upon the site of the Indian village recorded on Ludlow's map of 1818 as Yakunnee Chickama. In correct Choctaw, the name is yakni, "land," achukma, "good" -- "good land."

The same name appears in Louisiana in Chickamaw Bend, on Pearl river, and as the name of a plantation near Lecompte, Rapides parish.

CHICKASAW [ˀtʃikəsɔ]

Chickasaw county was established February 9, 1836,
during the administration of Governor Charles Lynch. It was named in honor of the Chickasaw Indians, from whom the territory comprising Chickasaw and several adjoining counties was acquired by the Treaty of Pontotoc, October 20, 1832. A further application of the name is found in Chickasaw Station, on the M&O railroad, in the northeastern part of the county of the same name.

Concerning Chickasaw, Dr. W. A. Read writes as follows: "The meaning of this name has been lost. Perhaps Chickasaw signifies 'rebellion,' the term referring to the separation of the Chickasaws from the Creeks and the Choctaws." 86

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According to the Choctaw migration legend, the Choctaws and the Chickasaws were one people under the leadership of two brothers Chahta and Chickasa until they arrived at Nana Waia, near the Winston-Neshoba county line, from west of the Mississippi. Shortly after the establishment of what was intended to be a permanent settlement in the vicinity of the Nana Waia mounds, Chickasa, with his followers, rose in rebellion and withdrew to the northern portion of the Mississippi Territory.

In the eighteenth century, the villages of the Chickasaws lay chiefly in Pontotoc and Union counties.

86 Read, La. Place-Names, 22.
"Settlements of the tribe were also established on the Mississippi river, in West Tennessee, and in Kentucky."87

87Ibid., 23.

CHICKASAWHAY [’tʃikəsɔ:] 1732. Tchikachae. Danville.

The name Chickasawhay designates the upper part of one of the principal watercourses in southeastern Mississippi; the lower part of the same stream is called Pascagoula river.

The first element of the name is of course Chickasaw (Choctaw Chikasha and Creek Chikasa), which cannot be translated, and the second is Choctaw ahē, "potato."88

88Read, Ala. Place-Names, 16.

CHICOPA [’tʃiˈkoːpə]

This is Choctaw shikopa, "feather," a word which formed a part of many personal names; for example, Shikopa­homma, "red feather," and Shikopalekna, "yellow feather."

"Feathers were not merely ornaments [among the Choctaws] but often had special significance.... It is said that a doctor who could cure rheumatism would put a buzzard feather in his hair.... The peafowl feather stood
for prosperity and happy anticipations, because the pea-
fowl calls out before daybreak, and so most of the men
in the tribe wore such feathers. A hawk feather was worn
by an active, intelligent man. Crow feathers indicated
mourning and were the only ones that could be put on when
there had been a death in the family.\textsuperscript{89}

\textsuperscript{89}Swanton, \textit{BAE}, Bul. 103, 43-44.

Chicopee designates to-day a creek in Holmes county.
The name was probably transferred to the stream from a
chief or brave who dwelled upon its banks, but personal
names of which shikope is a part appear far too frequently
to attempt to narrow the case to an individual.

\textbf{CHICWILLASAW} \textit{[tʃɪkˈwɪləsə]}\textsuperscript{90}

Chicwillasaw creek is a tributary of Souinlovey
creek, lying in Jasper and Clarke counties. The source of
the name is Choctaw Chukulliasa, "deserted house," from
chuka, "house," and illisa, "to desert."

\textsuperscript{90}The development of Choctaw \textit{u} into English \textit{i} occurs also
in Chickama, \textit{3. v., supra}, from Choctaw achukma, "good."
The reverse development is shown in Tuckabum (see Tuckabum,
\textit{infra}), if the source of the name is Choctaw tikba, "first."

\textbf{CHINCA HOME} \textit{[ˈtsɪŋka ˈhόmə]}

Chinca Horna creek is a tributary of Talking Warrior creek, which it joins in T18N, R13E, Oktibbeha county. Concerning the name, Cushman writes as follows: It is "the name of an aged Choctaw, whom I personally knew in my youth, and for whom a little stream took its name."\textsuperscript{91}

\textsuperscript{91}Cushman, \textit{History}, 596.

In correct Choctaw, the name is \textit{Chishe homma}, which signifies "Postoak Red." In personal names "composed of two words the words are to be understood separately.... Thus the words humma, holahta, imastábi, imataha, hacho, and others, when in second position, really indicate certain classes of warriors, not perhaps classes that were very clearly defined, but still forming rough categories.... Thus Tiak humma is not really a Red Pine but a Pine Red, Red being the classifier. And so we have a Flute Red, a Postoak Red, a Choctaw Red, a House Holahta, a Corn Hacho, a White-man Imastábi, a Warrior Leader, a Warrior Imataha."\textsuperscript{92}

\textsuperscript{92}Swanton, \textit{BAE}, Bul. 103, 123-124.

\textbf{CHITTO} \ ([ti:]\textit{to})

Chitto creek is a tributary of Bobolochito creek, in Pearl River county. The name is Choctaw \textit{chito}, which signifies "big."
CHIWAPA, or CHOWAPPA  [tʃə'wə:pə]

Chiwapa creek rises a few miles to the south of Pontotoc, seat of Pontotoc county. It flows across Lee county to join the west fork of Tombigbee river.

Two probable solutions of the name are Choctaw shaui, "raccoons," ai, "there," āpə, "eat," "feed," and Choctaw shaui, "raccoons," ai, "there," ābi, "killed;" hence, "place where raccoons feed" or "place where raccoons are killed."

Mr. E. T. Winston, of Pontotoc, thinks the name means "a broad expense of waving grass or grain"—from the fact that the creek flows through the Great Chickasaw Prairie of Pontotoc county— but I have been unable to find any Choctaw form which suggests both the name and this solution.

CHOCKAHOMA  [tʃəkə'hoːmə]

Chockahoma is the name of a creek in Tallahatchie county. The name appears to be a corruption of the tribal name Chakchiuma, from Choctaw shakchi, "crawfish," and homma, "red," probably referring (as Hodge supposes93) to a clan totem.

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The spellings, Chacci Oumas (McKenneys and Hall, Ind. Tribes, III, 80, 1854), Chacehoumas (Jefferys, Am. Atlas, 7,
1776), Chacsihoomas (Romans, Fla., 90, 1775), all suggest the present-day orthography.

At an earlier time, the lower part of the Tallahatchie river bore the name of the Chakochiuma tribe.94

Therefore, it is quite logical to suppose that the name was transferred to the present Chockahoma creek, which is a tributary of Tallahatchie river.

It is also possible, however, that the source of the name may be Choctaw chuka, "house," plus homma, "red."

CHOCTAW ['tɔkaKto]

In the Choctaw itself, this name is spelled Chahta. The meaning of the name is unknown, though numerous attempts have been made at interpretation. Perhaps the most popular, but nonetheless erroneous, etymology of Choctaw is that which connects the tribal name with Spanish cható, "flat" or "flattened," alluding to the custom of flattening the heads of the infants, commonly practiced among the Choctaw Indians —and among many other tribes as well.

Such solutions as "charming voice"95 and "separa-

94Ibid.

95Deupree, PMHS, VII, 141
Choctaw county, Mississippi, was established December 25, 1833. It was carved from the territory ceded by the Choctaw nation under the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit, 1830.

The name is also perpetuated as that of a railway station, Choctaw Station, on the Y&MV, in Bolivar county.

CHOOKATONCHIE. See SOOKATONCHIE, infra.

CHUBBY [ˈtʃəbi]

Chubby creek originates in southeastern Tishomingo county and flows southward across Itawamba county into the east fork of the Tombigbee river.

Chubby, a derivative of Choctaw cha, "and," plus ábi, "to kill," signifies "killer."97

The form Chubby, like Tubby (Choctaw t, "and," plus ábi, "to kill"), is an analogous development. The connective cha is used only to connect two verbs which have the same substantive, but its frequent occurrence in combinations of which ábi was the second verb has given
rise to the form chábi, in which the connective is superfluous.

For a detailed discussion of the "analogous intrusion" of Choctaw connectives in compounds in which conjunctive particles are not required, see Dr. W. A. Read's Indian Place-Names in Alabama, under TALLA'AMPÁ, p. 64.

CHUCKY CHUBBY ['tsaKi 'tsábi]


Chucky Chubby creek lies in TSN, R13E, Newton county. Simpson Tubby suggests that the name is a corruption of Choctaw chukchú, "maple," and achába, "a footbridge lying across a stream, and made simply by placing logs side by side," or often "a single log thus employed" --hence, "a maple footbridge."

CHULAHOMA ['tsu:le'ho:mə]

Chulahoma is a village of twenty-five or thirty inhabitants, situated in Marshall county. The name is derived from Choctaw chula, "fox," homma, "red," which, according to Halbert, was the name of a warrior.98

98 PAHS, III, 72.
Chunky Station is situated on the Y&MV railroad, in Newton county. The stream near which the station stands is known as Chunky creek.

There is a difference of opinion as to the source of the name Chunky. Simpson Tubby, with a number of other Indians living to-day in Neshoba county, Mississippi, thinks that the creek and the station have their name from Choctaw chunki, "martin" (Progne subs subis L.), because of the abundance of martins which used to nest near Chunkey Town, the present-day Union, Newton county. Other Choctaws, with many white residents of Newton county, hold that the Choctaw Chunkey Town was so called because it possessed an especially fine "chunkey yard."

A "chunkey yard" is a court or field upon which the Indian game of chunky was played. Chunkey was played with a stone disk (təli chanaha, literally "rock wheel") and a stick with a crook at one end. "The disk was rolled ahead, and the object was to slide the pole after it in such a way that the disk would rest in the curve of the crook when both came to a stop." 99

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99 Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, I, 298.
The name Chunky as applied to the game is certainly not of Choctaw origin. The Choctaw called the game achápi, or ahchápi, and, as I have already pointed out, the stone used in the game, tálí chánahú. (For additional information concerning the chunky game, see Halbert, Journal of American Folklore, X (1897), 155; Swanton, BAE, Bul. 45, 188 et passim; Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 155 ff.; and Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, I, 298.)

COAHOMA [/,kóho:me]

Coahoma, according to Harry Warren, was originally the name of a Choctaw chief who was also known as William McGillivray. To-day the name designates a county in northwestern Mississippi and a town of some 300 inhabitants, situated in the northern portion of that county.

The source of Coahoma is Choctaw koi, "panther," homma, "red" —"red panther."

COFFETALAYA

1732. Caffé talaya. du Roullet.
1764. Kasatalaya. English List.
1772. Daffetalaya. Romans.
1884. Cofetatalaya. Gatschet.

Gatschet connects this name with Cofetacque, a
Yuchi town which "stood at Silver Bluff, on the left bank of the Savannah River, about twenty-five miles by water below Augusta." He derives Cofetagouis, also spelled

101 Migration Legend, I, 19.

cof1-chiqui, from Yuchi kowita, "Indian," or "Indian of our own tribe," plus chiqui, which is not found in Yuchi, but in "all the dialects of Maskoki in the function of house, dwelling, (tchúku, tchóko, and in all the eastern of Apalachian dialects, tchiki) and has been rendered here in the collective sense of houses, town."102

102 Ibid.

Halbert, stating his disagreement with Dr. Gatschet's Yuchi theory, properly derives the name from Choctaw káfi, "sassafras" (Sassafras variifolium Kuntze), and talaia, "grove," "thicket." The name was originally applied to a Choctaw town which, Halbert says, stood "in Neshoba County, on the south side of the Philadelphia and Somerville road, and about midway between the 10th and 11th mile posts. There is a tradition that this town was once captured by a Greek war party. The Coffedelia post office is several miles south of the old Indian town."103

103 PAHS, III, 72.
Coffedelia remains to-day as the name of a creek in Neshoba county.

**COFFEE BOCUE**

The first element of this name presents an interesting case of folk etymology. Its original is Choctaw kèfi, "sassafras," the English word coffee having been substituted for the Choctaw because of the similarity of the sounds. The second element is of course bok, "creek."

I suspected at first that the original might be kofl bok, "quail creek," but I am informed by several citizens of Forest, the seat of Scott county, in which county the stream bearing this name lies, that the roots of the sassafras are still found in abundance along the banks of Coffee Bogue.

**COHATTA** [ko'hæta]


This is Choctaw koi, "panther," háta, "white" --"white panther." Simpson Tubby informs me that koi háta is used in reference to the panther when he becomes old and his hair begins to turn grey. Whether this was originally a personal name I have not been able to ascertain.

The present-day application of the name is to a creek in Itawamba county.
COILA [ko:aiə]

Coila creek is one of the small tributaries of Abyatchie creek, in southern Carroll county. The name is also applied to a town of some 150 inhabitants, situated on the banks of the stream. "In the Government records of about 1830 it [the name of the creek] is spelled 'Quilla', and from the same source it appears that an Indian town located upon it was called 'Quilla Village'."104

104Halbert, PAHS, III, 72-73.

The present-day site of Coila, so far as I have been able to determine, is essentially the same as that of the Indian village.

Cushman does not interpret the name entirely correctly. He says the Choctaw original is wo:l, "panther," ili, "dead" --"dead panther."105 It is rather, according to Halbert, ko:l, "panther," al, locative particle meaning "there," əla, "to come" --"panther comes there."106

105Cushman, History, 596.

106PAHS, III, 73.

CONCOBONA, or CCCOBONA [ko:kə'boːə] or [ko:kə'boːə]

1871. Cocobona, Hardee.
The spelling Cocobone appears to have originated with Hardee. It is perhaps the basis for the second of the pronunciations which I have recorded. Both spellings and both pronunciations are in use to-day.

Dr. Read is of the opinion that Cocobone is derived from Choctaw kaŋkābi, "the hen hawk," plus [sɪ] one, "to come there" --sɪ, "there," is the locative particle prefixed to verbs beginning with a vowel; hence, "where the hen hawk comes."

Simpson Tubby offers an interesting, but less plausible, etymology for Cocobone in Choctaw kaŋkōhōbāk, which is a dialectal form, found among the Mississippi Choctaws, of haŋkōhōbāk, defined by Byington as "a large wild water duck called a mallard, resembling a wild goose."107

107BAE, Bul. 46, 131.

(This dialectal development is pretty clearly a case of consonantal assimilation.) Haŋkōhōbāk signifies literally "emasculated wild goose," being contracted from haŋkha, "wild goose," and hōbāk, "emasculated." The name came to be applied to the mallard because the Choctaws were not able to find its nest, eggs, or any evidence of breeding and bearing young.

Concobone creek rises in T7N, R11E, Newton county, just south of Beuna Vista school; it flows southward and empties into Turkey creek.
CONNEHATTA \[kon'het\]

1839. Coonahatta. La Tourette.

The town of Coonahatta is to-day the seat of one of the Indian schools in Mississippi provided by the United States government. It is situated in western Newton county. The creek near which the town stands bears the same name.

Coonahatta is in correct Choctaw orthography koni hâta; hâta signifies "white," and koni, "polecat."

COONAH, or COONWAR \[kon'wo\]

Coonah, or Cooner, creek rises in T38, P4E, Pontotoc county, and joins Chiwapa creek at the Lee-Monroe county line.

The source of the name is uncertain. A possible solution is Choctaw koni, "cane," "reeds," r, "there," wama, "to grow (in abundance)" --thus, "creek where cane abounds."

Dr. Reed thinks, however, that the name (probably the same as Koonah, a personal name which appears in the ASP, Public Lands, VII, 79) is derived from Choctaw akkana, "pedestrian," "walker," and he is supported in this interpretation by Cushman, who says, "Original, ne-no-wa, the walker. The name of an ancient Choctaw hunter."108

108 Cushman, History, 598.
COONSHARK  ['kuːnʃaːk]

Halbert discovers the Choctaw original for this name more accurately reproduced in the form Conchatikpi, recorded by Romans (1772). Concha is a corruption of kunshak, "reed brake," and tikpi, no trace of which remains in the present-day form Coonshark, signifies something like "a knob or swell, as a cypress knee" or "a bend in a stream." Halbert says of tikpi: It "has no exact equivalent in English. It means any bulge or enlargement, as the shoulder of a bottle, any round projecting object, as a round knot on a tree, or the round projection of a high bank or bluff, a protuberance, a knob, in short, the round or the bulging part of any material thing, whether large or small -- all these are embraced in the Choctaw word 'tikpi'." Hence, Conchatikpi, or kunshak tikpi, may be translated "reed brake bend" or "reed brake knob." Halbert prefers the latter rendering on the ground that at a certain place on the creek which bears the name there is a "high round knob-like bluff .... near a reed brake, a kind of diminutive promontory from which the creek received the name ...."109

109PMUS, VI, 450.

Coonshark creek is a tributary of Kentarky creek, in the southern part of Neshoba county.
GOOSA ['Kusə]

1772. Goosa. Romans.

Cushman says this is chu-sah, "tapering," "slender," a name originally applied to an ancient Choctaw family whose members were remarkable for their slenderness.110

110 Cushman, History, 597.

But this interpretation is incorrect. Goosa is derived from Choctaw kunšahk, "cane" or "canebrake."

The name Goosa, also spelled Gooshah, Kushe, and Gusha, belonged originally to a Choctaw village situated on Lost Horse creek in Lauderdale county. According to Halbert, the town "had a most delightful situation. It began near the confluence of the two prongs [of Lost Horse creek] and extended a mile or more up the prong on which it was situated."111 The village was called kunšahk because of

111 PMHS, VI, 417.

the reed-brake which stood on and near its site.

To-day Goosa designates a small stream in north-eastern Lauderdale county.
COPIAH  [ko-, kə'paɪə]


Cushman says that the source of this name is Choctaw horii, "war chief." But this is incorrect.

COPIAH is derived from Choctaw ko'I, "panther," and penye, "to cry out," "to scream"—hence, "screaming panther;" or, as Helbert prefers to believe, ko'i a (locative) penye, "panther there calls."

The New Purchase, acquired from the Choctaws October 18, 1820, had been created into the large county of Hinds. On January 21, 1823, the counties of Copish and Yazoo were carved out of the southern and northern ends, respectively, of the earlier formed Hinds.

The name Copish designates not only the county, but also a stream which flows across the county and into Pearl river.

CUFFAWA  [ˌkɑːfəˈwə]  

Cuffawa is the name of a creek in Marshall county. The correct Choctaw form is kəfəwə. Kəfəwə signifies "sassafras;" e, prefixed to verbs beginning with a consonant,
is adverbial and means "there," "in that place;" waye is "to grow," "to abound" --thus, káfi waye may be rendered "sassafras abounds there."

The frequency with which káfi occurs in place-names of Choctaw origin seems to indicate that sassafras roots were rather highly valued by the Choctaws. Simpson Tubby informs me that those Indians who remain in Mississippi still set great store by the bark of the káfi roots, which they use for flavoring and for making tea.

CULLEY BOGUE

This is Choctaw káli hok, "spring creek." The name designates a small spring branch in Chickasaw county and a creek in Clay county. The latter is a tributary of Houlka creek.

CUSHTUSA  [Kastaša]


"The old Choctaw town of Cushtusha was situated on the south side of Cushtusha creek, about three miles southwesterly of Yazoo town. Many years ago it was embraced in the form of Mr. Mark Barron."114

114 Helbert, PANS, III, 73.
This town played a rather significant part in the division of the Choctaws. It was here that Shulashummashtabe (from Choctaw shulush, "shoe," humma, "red," isht, "to take and," ábi, "to kill" --"Shoe-Red takes and kills") lived. And it was he who was in large manner responsible for the breach. He became decidedly pro-English as a result, it is said, of having discovered a Frenchman in adultery with his favorite wife.\textsuperscript{115} When he made an alliance with the English, division resulted.

In correct Choctaw orthography, Cushtusha is kásh'ti, "fleas," asha, "to be there;" hence, "fleas are there" or "flea place."\textsuperscript{116}

The name Cushtusha "was given because there were more rabbits there than anywhere else and all of them were full of fleas. For that reason there was a law against killing any more than they could help in summer, i. e., until after the first heavy frost."\textsuperscript{117}

The name remains to-day as that of the creek, in Neshoba county, upon the banks of which the old Choctaw
town Kashtasha was situated.

EASTABUTCHIE ['i:stəˌbʌtʃi]


The name Eastabutchie is derived from "the badly corrupted Choctaw name for Leaf River, which is almost a correct translation of the native term. Háshtáp, hashtip has no exact English equivalent. It signifies 'fallen leaves,' 'dry leaves after falling.' Hácha, 'river'."¹¹⁸

¹¹⁸Halbert, PAHS, III, 73.

Cushman is incorrect in his solution ie tabashi, "to go mourning" --applied to the stream which bears the name to-day "because it was famous for causing fatal sickness; therefore, whoever lived on its banks would have cause to mourn."¹¹⁹ The four spellings recorded here prove rather conclusively that the first element of the name is háshtáp.

¹¹⁹Cushman, History, 597.

Apparently, Ludlow has misplaced the name on his map of 1818, for he applies it to a tributary of Talahoma creek, which is itself a tributary of Leaf river; or perhaps the upper end of the watercourse retained its Choctaw
name, while the main body of the river was called by the English equivalent.

Eastabutchie designates to-day a town of 445 inhabitants, situated in Jones county just north of the Jones-Forrest county line.

ESCATAWPA  [:eskə'tə:pə]

1839. Escatawpa. La Tourrette.
1839. Escatappa or Cedar River. Tanner.

Escatawpa does not mean "cedar," as Tanner apparently supposed. The Choctaw word for "cedar" is chuala. Halbert, discussing Escatawpa in a paper on Alabama place-names of Choctaw origin, derives it properly from uski, "cane," "reeds," a, "there," tápa, "cut;" hence, "cane there cut off" or "(creek) where cane is cut." It is supposed that the name came to be applied to a stream because the very fine cane from which the Choctaws made blow-guns was found along its banks.120

120 PAHS, III, 67.

The Escatawpa river enters Mississippi from Alabama in eastern George county and flows southward to join Pascagoula river in Jackson county.

ETTAHOMA  [ɛtəˈhoːmə]

At first glance, Ettahoma appeared to be Choctaw
iti, "wood," "tree," homa, "red;" hence, "red wood," "red tree," or perhaps "red-wood tree." But Halbert establishes the solution iti homa, "sour wood," upon the information that the name is taken from the sour-wood tree, which has the same name in both English and Choctaw.\(^{121}\) If Halbert's

\(^{121}\) PAES, III, 73.

solution is correct, then iti homa, as designating the sour-wood, must be a Mississippi Choctaw colloquialism. Byington records iti kosoma\(^{122}\) as the general Choctaw name for the

\(^{122}\) BAE, Bul. 46, 213.

sour-wood.

Kettahoma is the name of a creek in northern Marion county.

EUCLAUTUBBA, or OUCLATUBBY [\(\text{jul}^\text{K}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{b}^\text{i}\) or [\(\text{c}^\text{k}^\text{l}^\text{a}^\text{b}^\text{i}\)]

Euclautubba is the name of a creek and a church in Lee county. The creek rises, according to the Tupelo quadrangle of the U. S. Geological survey, 1925, three or four miles to the northwest of Guntown and joins Mud creek at a point some six miles north of Tupelo.

The form Ouclatubby suggests an origin from Choctaw okla, "people," plus the connective \(\hat{\iota}\) (here superfluous), developed by analogy with other names of which the final
element is tubby,\textsuperscript{123} plus ábi, "to kill" — hence, "killer

\textsuperscript{123} Cf. Mantubby, "to go and kill;" Mintubby, "to come and kill;" Mashulatubby, "to persevere and kill." See Mantachie and Nashulaville, infra.

of people."

\textbf{EUCUTTA} \textipa{[juˈkʌta]}

Eucutta creek rises in southeast Jasper county and flows eastward into Chickasawhay river. The town of Eucutta, situated on the banks of the stream of the same name, is in northwest Wayne county.

The origin of the name Eucutta is clearly Choctaw yuka átta, "slaveborn."

\textbf{EUTACUTACHEE} \textipa{[juˈtəˈkʌtʃi]}

1839. Ticoocha. Tanner.

From its headwaters, a few miles south of the town of Rankin, in Rankin county, Eutacutachee creek flows northeastward to join Pelahatchie creek at a point near the town of Pelahatchie.

Though the source of the name is commonly thought to be Choctaw uti hácha, "chestnut creek," such solution is highly doubtful. It does not account for the medial k.

Dr. W. A. Read has suggested to me the probability of solution in Choctaw uti okhátushi, "chestnut pond," or
FANNEGUSHA  $[^{1}f\text{'}n\text{'}g\text{'}s\text{'}\text{'a}]$

Fannegusha creek rises in Scott county and flows across northeast Rankin county into Pearl river. The name, which was originally a personal name, or rather an official title, is derived from Choctaw fâni namukachi, "squirrel adviser."124

124 Cf. Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 93-94.

Namukachi is contracted from nana, "a matter," ka, relative pronoun meaning "the one who," and achi, "to speak" — hence, "the one who speaks about a matter,"

FUNNY CREEK

Funny creek is a tributary of Scoona creek, in Pontotoc county. The name is derived from Choctaw fâni, which means "squirrel." Funny is the English approximation of the Choctaw's pronunciation of fâni.

This name is especially interesting in that it is an excellent example of folk etymology. (See also Whiskey Creek, infra.)
FUNNY YOCKONY ['fəni 'jækəni]

1732. Fanny jakena, du Roullet.
1871. Fanny Yokana, Hardee.

**Funny Yockony** is the name of a creek in Neshoba county. The name is derived from Choctaw *fâni*, "squirrel," *yakni*, "country" --"squirrel country."

"Simpson Tubby says that the Choctaws were in a habit of living on squirrels and other small game animals in summer and on large game animals in winter. There was a favorite place for squirrels and turkeys called Tâshka himmitsa, 'Young Warrior.' About 9 miles east of Philadelphia, Miss., and extending some 20 miles, is another great squirrel section called Fâni yakni, 'Squirrel country.' Philadelphia itself is named Fâni yakni tamaha, 'Squirrel-country town'."

125 Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 54.

HALPINO

My first supposition concerning the origin of the name Halpino was that it had been corrupted from Choctaw *hâlbino*, "a present," but Mr. H. H. Mackey, of Vicksburg, Mississippi, informs me that the settlement which bears the name to-day was so called because the land which it now occupies was formerly owned by Mr. J. F. Halpin.
Halpino is situated in Warren county, near Eagle lake.

**HARSHUQUA** \[ ha:'ʃu:kwa \]

As early as 1786, the name Hashooqua designated a Choctaw village. At the Treaty of Hopewell, January 3, of that year, Mingo hopaill ("war chief" or "war prophet") of Hashooqua represented his village.\(^{126}\)

\(^{126}\) Mem. of Miss., I, 47.

The name, which is almost certainly a corruption of Choctaw hāshuk, "grass," and chuka, "houses,"\(^{127}\) survives to-day as that of a creek in Noxubee county.

**HASSANLOWAHA.** See SOOENLOVIE, infra.

**HATCHAPALOO** \[ 'hætʃæpəluː \]

1832. Hatchepaloo. Fritz (sectional survey).
1839. Hatchiepeloo. La Tourrette.

Hatchapaloo comes from Choctaw hācha, "creek," a, locative signifying "there," peli, "to gather fish" --thus, "creek where fish are gathered, or caught (as with nets, etc.)." The original signification of peli is simply "to
scoop up," but when the word is used in connection with bok or hâcha it carries the implication of catching fish in large quantities with seines and nets of various sorts. (Peli is used in this sense in the Choctaw Bible, Matt. 15: 47.)

Two other possible interpretations of Hatchapaloo are suggested in hâcha pâhle, "divided creek," "a creek consisting of two branches," and hâcha plus pâlli, a loan-word from the Chickasaw, which signifies "warm." But, so far as I have been able to ascertain, there were no warm springs in southern Mississippi. As a matter of fact, Hatchapaloo creek derives from cold-water springs.

Hatchapaloo creek rises in T2N, R17W, Smith county, and flows into Oakohay creek in T1N, R16W.

HATCHIE ['hætʃi:]

Hatchie is Choctaw hâcha, "river." Thus, Hatchie river is, literally, "River" river. This duplication of idea by attaching the equivalent in English to the foreign name simply indicates that the true signification of the foreign term has been lost. We have familiar examples of the practice in such common words as reindeer and greyhound, the second elements of which are the English equivalents for the Scandinavian first elements.

The main branch of Hatchie river begins at the
confluence of two small creeks near the junction of the Alcorn, Prentiss, and Tippah county lines and flows north-southward to join Tuscumbia river just across the Tennessee line.

**HICAHOLAHALA** ['hi:kəˌhelə]


Hicaholahala creek originates at the Marshall-Tate county line and flows westward and northward across Tate county into Coldwater river.

The spelling *Hicaholahala*, which appears on the 1934 Rand McNally map of Mississippi, is evidently an approximation of the original Choctaw name for the stream. The spellings shown by Tanner's map (1839) and the U. S. Geological survey (1935), from which the second element of the original name has been dropped, are based upon the pronunciation in common use among the natives of Marshall and Tate counties.

The source of the name is Choctaw *hika hullo hieli*, all elements being plural (in agreement with *hieli*, for which the singular equivalent is *hikia*). *Hika* is "sweet-gum trees," and *hieli* means "those which stand." The exact signification of *hullo* in geographic names is not altogether clear; in most instances, it may be rendered
"beloved." Hence, Micaholahala may be interpreted


"beloved, standing sweet-gum trees."

HIWANNEE [hi'wohni]

1771. Yoani. Romans.
1818. Hioowanne. Ludlow.

Ludlow's spelling is very close to the Choctaw original for this name, haiyowani, or haiowane, a word which has been variously interpreted. Gatschet first interpreted the name as "a worm very destructive to corn in the wet season," apparently basing his solution upon the information of Yowanee survivors, who remained in Louisiana until late in the nineteenth century. But in a letter to Peter J. Hamilton, he appears "to be skeptical on the point and calls attention to the fact that the whole name Heyowani is a refrain in many Indian songs."

Byington defines the word haiyowani as "a worm
called the cut worm, and Swanton thinks that it is

\[131\text{BAE, Bul. 46, 130.}\]

"June bug."\[132\text{BAE, Bul. 105, 68.}\]

Simpson Tubby has clarified the situation somewhat with the information that the Choctaw word haiyowan\(\) is commonly extended in meaning to include all types of fruit destroyers.

To-day Hiwannee designates a town in Wayne county. The site of the present-day town is somewhat to the north of that of the old Choctaw town of the same name.

**HOBOLOCHITTO** \[\text{[he} \, \text{bo} \, \text{lo} \, \text{chi} \, \text{to]}\]

- 1833. Bolo Chitto. La Tourrette.

The fact that it has been impossible to establish one of the three forms, Abolochoitito, Bolochoitito, and Hobolochoitito—all of which are in common use to-day—as that which most closely resembles the original name—presumably Choctaw—makes it difficult to interpret this name.

Cushman, suggesting Choctaw habo-li, "to subside," and chito, "big," as the source, interprets the name as
"greatly diminished," referring to the fact that the depth of the stream which bears the name has been greatly diminished, "owing to the washing from the hills."\footnote{Cushman, History, 508.}

Tubby declares, however, that this interpretation is not correct; the Choctaw would not indicate such a condition in this fashion. Simpson himself, taking the form Abolo-chitto as the most genuine of the three, prefers the solution aboli, "thicket," and chito, "big" -- hence, "big thicket."

Perhaps the most plausible interpretation of the name is that suggested to me by Mr. T. R. Pearson, postmaster at Picayune, Mississippi. Mr. Pearson thinks that the stream which bears the name Hobolo-chitto to-day was named for an old Choctaw chief, Hopola chito, "the big quiet (one)," who lived at the spot where Mr. Lamont Rowland now lives, within the corporation limits of the city of Picayune. Mr. Pearson adds that the form Holochitto is merely a shortened form of Hobolo-chitto.

The west branch of Hobolo-chitto creek rises in T13, R16, St. Stephens Meridian, Pearl river county, and flows southward to T63, R17, where it is joined by East Hobolo-chitto just a few miles above the confluence of the stream with Pearl river.
In correct Choctaw this is hobâk bok. Hobâk is "a word of peculiar reproach." Its original meaning is "emasculated one," and with this go the connotations of "coward," "poltroon," and "recreant." Translated into English, hobâk bok is then "the emasculated one's creek." (Perhaps it should be noted here that Choctaw nouns, both primitive and derivative, have no particular form for the genitive case. The idea of possession is expressed by means of word-position or by means of possessive pronouns; for example, bok hâshtêp, "fallen-leaf creek," is the order employed when the idea of possession is not implied, while hobâk bok, showing the reverse order of words, does imply possession. The use of pronouns in conjunction with nouns for the purpose of expressing possession is discussed in connection with Sucarnoochee, infra.)

Hobuck Bogue is the name of a tributary of Doaks creek, in Madison county. It is supposed that the name came to be applied to the stream because at one time an emasculated person lived upon its banks. An interesting application of the same word is to be found in the name Hobuck Intopa, which is the Choctaw designation for the bluff upon which old St. Stephens, in Alabama, was situated.
Halbert has successfully traced the tradition concerning the name, and he relates it thus: "An old Indian, whether Creek or Choctaw is not known, in some violent manner was deprived of his virility. He was so overwhelmed with the thoughts of his degraded condition, that in a fit of desperation he committed suicide by running and leaping off the bluff. Hence the bluff was called by the Choctaws hobak in topa, 'the emasculated one's bed stead'."

135PAHS, III, 68.

**HOMOCHITTO** (ho'mo-kit'o-

_Homochitto_ signifies "big red," being derived from Choctaw homma, "red," and chito, "big." The Choctaw's complete designation for the stream which bears the name was Bok homma chito, but bok, "river," was dropped early in favor of the English equivalent.

The Homochitto has its headwaters near the boundary between Copiah and Lincoln counties. It pursues a south-westerly course through Franklin county, serves as the county line between Adams and Wilkerson, and joins the Mississippi river some ten or fifteen miles above the Louisiana state boundary. The area drained by the stream is for the most part hilly, and the topsoil of the entire basin is red clay. The red clay gives its color to the water
—hence the name "big red."

HONTOKOLO  [untəkəlo] or [hontəkəlo]

1839. Utucklo. La Tourrette.

Hontokolo creek rises in T6N, R9E, Scott county, and flows northward to join Old Run, of Tuscolameta creek in T8N, R9E. The name is Choctaw ontuklo, or untuklo, "seven." For what reason the stream came to be called Un-tuklo is not altogether clear. I suspected at first that the Choctaw original was isht ontuklo, "seventh," and that this was simply another case in which a stream had been given a number instead of a name (cf. Tougaloo, infra), but Dr. W. A. Read has suggested to me the solution "seven [towns people]," which indicates a connection between that group of Choctaws known as Seven Towns People and the name of the stream.\footnote{Concerning the Seven Towns People, see Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 81.}

The first of the pronunciations recorded here, which Dr. W. A. Jones, Morton, Mississippi, says is the more commonly used, is apparently based directly upon the correct Choctaw form.

HORNOLUCKA  [ˈhɔrnəlʌkə]

This is a puzzling word. Dr. W. A. Read suggests a
possible solution for it in Choctaw honni, "food," "stew," plus haloka, "dear." (Cf. the personal name Hannochito, apparently a corruption of Choctaw honni and chito, "big," in ASP, Public Lands, VII, 928.)

If, however, the stream which bears the name to-day had at some earlier time six forks, the word may be corrupted from Choctaw hannall, "six," and haloka, "dear," with bok, "creek," understood as the initial element of the name.

Bornolucka creek rises a few miles west of Thrasher, Prentiss county, and flows northeastward into Pollys creek at a point about a mile above the confluence of the latter stream with the Tuscumbia.

HOULKA ['hu:ka]


Halbert says that this is Choctaw hulhki, "the calf of the leg." But the tradition concerning the application of the name to the stream, in Chickasaw county, which bears it to-day has been lost. As a matter of fact, few of the Choctaws living in Mississippi at the present time are familiar with the word hulhki at all. The word iyäpi, which signifies "the leg below the knee," has driven hulhki into almost complete disuse.

137PAHS, III, 73.
HUSHPUCKENA [hs'pakənə]


The town of Hushpuckenah is situated on the Y&MV railroad, some ten miles from the northern boundary of Bolivar county. The name is further applied to a tributary of Sunflower river, in Bolivar county, and to a bayou in Coahoma county. On Tanner's map (1820), the name is identified only with the first of these streams.

Two possible sources of Hushpuckenah in Choctaw are the following:

hushi, "birds," ai, "there," apakna, "abound,"

hush apa. 138 "black-gum," okhina, "creek."

138 Byington thinks the Choctaw called the black gum (Nyssa sylvatica Marsh and Nyssa biflora Walt.) hush apa, literally "birds eat [it]," because the birds ate the berries borne by the tree.

Issaquena [ˌɪsəˈkwɪnə]

Issaquena is derived from Choctaw isi okhina. Isi signifies "deer," and okhina means "stream," "creek." The name has two applications in Mississippi; it designates a county in the west central part of the state and a town in Sharkey county. The town is situated near Isi okhina, now called Deer creek, from which both the county and the town receive their name.
Issaquena county was established January 23, 1844, during the administration of Governor Albert G. Brown. The territory out of which the county was erected was formerly a part of Washington county.

ITA

Ita is the name of a hamlet in Itawamba county, situated six miles north of Fulton, the county seat. Until 1905, a United States post office was maintained at Ita, but since that time the community has been served by rural free delivery.

The name is simply a shortened form of Itawamba, q. v., infra.

ITAWAMBA [ˌɪteɪˈwɑːm-bə]

Itawamba county was established February 9, 1836, from a part of the territory ceded by the Chickasaws in the Treaty of Pontotoc, October 20, 1832. The county was named in honor of Levi Colbert, or Itawamba Minco, one of the most influential of the Chickasaw chiefs.¹³⁹

¹³⁹Warren, PMHS, VIII, 558-559.

In a letter to Mr. Newman Cayce, Fulton, Mississippi, which Mr. Cayce gave to Harry Warren, Mr. Stephen Daggett relates the circumstance which led to the conference of
the title Itawamba Mineo upon Colbert as follows:

"From Dr. Gideon Lincecum, of Monroe county, who spoke the Chickasaw language quite fluently, and who was well acquainted with the Colbert family, I learned that it was a custom with the Chickasaws and the Choctaws when any of their number performed a meritorious act, a council was called, the circumstances of the act were related, and if approved of, he was seated on the ground in a circle formed by chiefs and warriors, a wreath placed on his head and a new name given to him. Dr. Lincecum informed me that when Levi Colbert was a young man, some Indians of other tribes intended to take the country inhabited by the Chickasaws from them, for their own benefit. [The Creeks, says Colonel James Gordon, were the "other tribes."] The time fixed to subdue the Chickasaws was in the fall of the year, when the warriors were absent on their annual hunt.

"Young Colbert received the news of their intention and that they were even on the advance. He immediately gathered as many of the young men of the nation as he could -- of those that were at home, who armed themselves as well as they could, went forward to meet their enemies, surprised, routed, killed and wounded more than their little force numbered. For this brave and successful act of Levi Colbert, after the return of the warriors from their hunt, a council of the nation was called, the circumstances of the success
were related, a 'new name' and a crown or wreath were decided to be awarded him. Instead of setting him flat upon the ground (as had heretofore been their custom), young Colbert was furnished with a small stool or bench on which to sit. A wreath or crown was then placed upon his head, and the new name of 'Itte-wamba Mingo' or 'Bench Chief' was given him. 'Itte' in the Chickasaw is 'wood', and alluded to the bench on which he was sitting."

Dr. W. A. Read sees in Itawamba Choctaw itombi, "box," "chest." This interpretation does not materially alter Daggett's solution of Itawamba Minco. It simply suggests that Levi Colbert was provided with a box or a chest, rather than a bench (Choctaw aicbinili falaia, literally "long chair"), upon which to sit.

ITTA BENA [Ita'bina]

The town of Itta Bena, population 1370, is situated on the C&G railroad, in Leflore county.

Cushman, who spells the name Ittibano, says that it is derived from Choctaw it-ti-be-no-wah, "walking together." But this interpretation is certainly incorrect;

140Cushman, History, 598.

the first element of the name appears to be Choctaw iti, "forest," "wood." The second is abina (composed of a,
locative, plus bina, "a camping ground"). Hence, iti abina may be interpreted "forest camp" or "a camping place in the forest," such as would be used during a hunting expedition.

ITTO BECHI  [ˈɪtəˌbɪtʃi]

Itto Bechi is rather certainly a corruption of the Choctaw personal name Itibechi, which means "an instigator of fights and quarrels."

The stream which bears the name to-day rises in T19N, R15E, Oktibbeha county, and flows southeastward across the line into Lowndes county.

ITUMA  [ɪˈtʊma]

Ituma is the name of a small village in Holmes county. I supposed at first that the name is derived from Choctaw iti, "pole," and humma, "red," as is Istrouma, the name of a suburb on the northern limits of the city of Baton Rouge, Louisiana. (Baton Rouge is itself a translation of the Indian name. 141)

141 See Read, La. Place-Names, 32; and especially "Istrouma," Louisiana Historical Quarterly, XIV, 503-515.

Dr. W. A. Read is of the opinion, however, that the source of Ituma is Choctaw ituma, "near," "nigh."
IUKA

Cushman's interpretation of Iuka --from Choctaw ai-yu-pi (i.e., ai, "there," and yupi, "to bathe"), "place of bathing"-- is probably erroneous, though the Choctaws apparently did consider the springs at Iuka something of "fountains of youth." 142

142 Cushman, History, 595.

According to Goodspeed's Memoirs of Mississippi, I, 259, "the town of Iuka was named in memory of Iuka, a chief who died...while camping at the springs and was there buried.

"The Iuka Springs were looked upon by the Indians as the pools of new life and to them were carried when age overtook them to partake of their waters and to receive a renewal of youth, but to such new life could not be given. Thus the locality of Iuka became a burial place for the Indians, and when the town was established, the graves were visible all over the site."

The meaning of Iuka is not clear; perhaps it is "prisoner" or "slave," from Choctaw yuka.

K

KENTAWIHA  [Ken'təwahi]


Kentawha creek is a tributary of Pearl river, rising
near the town of Neshoba, Neshoba county, and flowing northwestward across the county.

Simpson Tubby says that the name is Choctaw kinta, "beavers," awayu, "to bring forth there;" that is to say, "place where beavers are brought forth in abundance." The creek, Simpson says, takes its name from the beaver dam near the present site of the town of Deemer.

KENTUCTAH [kɪn'taɪkə]

Kentuctah creek rises in T11N, R5E, Madison county, and flows southwestward to join Doeks creek.

Though I long suspected that the first element of Kentuctah to be kantak, "smilax," a plant from the roots of which the Choctaws made bread, I am now convinced (by the information that there was a beaver dam not very far above the confluence of Kentuctah creek with Doeks creek) that the source of the name is Choctaw kinta, "beaver," oktapa, "dam." The present-day spelling must have developed through analogy with such forms as Shucootah, g. y., infra, and others, which end in -tah.

KITTARUTTY [ˌkɪtəˈhəti]

Halbert says this is Choctaw kitti, "mortar," and hāta, "white" --that is, a white stone mortar used for
For a discussion of the Choctaw's method of grinding corn, see Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 38.

Kittahutty creek rises in T10S, R1E, Pontotoc county, and flows southward into Calhoun county.

KOLOLA SPRINGS  [Ke'lo:le]

Kolola Springs is a town of some one hundred inhabitants, situated in Lowndes county, on the SLSF railroad. The source of the name is uncertain; if it is Choctaw, it is probably derived from one of the following:

- kololi, "cut off," "severed."
- oka lali, "splashing water."
- oka laua, "sloshy."

KUSHUNA

Kushuna creek is a tributary of Tombigbee river, in Lowndes county. The source of the name is Choctaw koshuna, "humpbacked." Concerning the application of the name to the stream, William A. Love writes: "Kushuna in Choctaw signifies Humpback, from which we conclude that some humpbacked person must once have lived on this creek, from which it received its name."
Simpson Tubby says that kooshun, as applied to a watercourse, means simply "crooked."

KWATALAIA. See QUARTERLIAH, infra.

LAPPATUBBY [ˌlæpəˈtʌbɪ]

1839. Lappatuby. Tanner.
1871. Lapputabbe. Hardoe.

Lappatubby was originally a Choctaw personal name, belonging to some one who had distinguished himself at deer hunting. It is derived from lapitta, "buck," ábi, "to kill;" hence, "buck killer."145

145 Halbert, FANS, III, 73.

Today the name is applied to a creek which rises in Pontotoc county and flows northward into Union county, where it joins several other creeks to make up Tallahatchie river.

LITTLE ATCHAFALAYA BAYOU [ˌtʃəˈfləˌæ|ə]

This stream is laid down by the survey of the U.S. War Department, Corps of Engineers (Auter Quadrangle, 1929-30 edition), as a tributary of Yazoo river, which it joins in Humphrey county at a point about one mile south of the town of Hard Cash.
The name is derived from Choctaw hácha, "river," falais, "long." The word bayou, employed here in the

146 For a full discussion of the name Atchafalaya, as applied to a river in Louisiana, see Read, La. Place-Names, 5-6.

Louisiana French sense of the word, did not belong to the original Choctaw name. Choctaw hácha and bok, from which bayou is derived, are synonymous.

LOBUTCHA, or LOBUTCHY [lo'bat'a]

Halbert says Lobutcha is merely a shortened form of Yalobusha,147 a.y., infra. Cushman's interpretation

147 PAHS, III, 73.

lah-buch-ih, "to make warm,"148 is unquestionably incorrect.

148 Cushman, History, 599.

Lobutcha creek flows from its source in western Winston county across Attala and Leake counties into Pearl river.

LOCAPOMA [lo'ka'fo'ma]

Locafoma is a corruption of Choctaw lukfi, "clay," "dirt," homma, "red" --"red clay." The creek to which this name is applied lies among the red clay hills of Winston and Noxubee counties.
According to Simpson Tubby, the Choctaws were accustomed to camp on its banks at certain seasons of the year for the purpose of making from the very fine clay taken from the bed of the stream such pieces of pottery as were commonly required for household use.

LOOKPODDA [luk'foda]

Simpson Tubby informs me that there is a place near the head of Lookfodda creek, a tributary of Pearl river, in northern Neshoba county, where the Choctaws found a very fine grade of white clay which they used in pottery, and especially in making pipes. Ordinarily, red clay was preferred, but it appears that the white clay found here made particularly good pipes. This place was called lukfi hâta, or lukfâta, and later the stream came to be known by the same name. Lukfi is Choctaw for "clay," and hâta signifies "white."

LOOSA SCOONA ['lu:sə'sku:nə]

1839. Loosa Schoona. La Tourrette.

Loosa Scoona creek rises in western Calhoun county and flows westward to join Yalobusha river at a point a few miles to the east of Grenada, seat of Grenada county.

To-day, the stream is commonly called simply Scoona creek. There is also the variant spelling Skuna. (This
latter spelling is the one used in the Rand McNally map of Mississippi for 1934.)

Concerning the origin of the name, Halbert suggests that if loose is not Choctaw luⁿsa, "swamp," it may be halus, "leech." Scoona is Choctaw iskuna, "entrails;" hence, halus iskuna signifies "leech entrails." Perhaps

149 PAHS, III, 73-74.

the name Bear Guts Bayou (from Choctaw nite iskuna bok), which designates a stream in Leflore county, will lend some support to this interpretation.

If the first element of the name is luⁿsa, the Choctaw original may be luⁿsa, "swamp," plus ishi, "to harbor," plus koni, "polecats" — "swamp harboring polecats."

Cushman's interpretation lusa koni, "black polecat,"150 is erroneous. In Choctaw, the adjective never precedes the substantive it modifies.

150 Cushman, History, 599.

LOOXAHOMA  [lʊksaˈhaʊmə]

Looxahoma creek lies in southeast Tate county. A town of 50 inhabitants, situated near the junction of the stream with Ricaholahala creek, bears the same name. In
correct Choctaw orthography, Looxahoma is *luksi*, "turtle," homma, "red;" thus, "red turtle."

LUKE FLUFFER ['lu:ke] 

This is a corruption of Choctaw *lukfapa* (*lukfi, "clay," "dirt," plus *ápa, "to eat"), which Byington defines as "a lick or saline place; a place where cattle and beasts of the forest - deer and buffalo - eat the dirt and lick for salt."\(^{151}\) In the present-day form the development of *ff* from *p* is explained as a case of consonantal assimilation.

Luke Fluffer creek, which lies in T1N, R9W, Clarke county, is a tributary of Shubuta creek.

LUSSA LUKER ['lu:sə'lu:kə], ['lu:sə'lu:kə] or ['lu:sə'lu:sə]

1772. Lusapa. Romans.

Lussa Luker creek is a tributary of Kentarky creek, in Neshoba county. The name, according to Halbert, is derived from Choctaw *luNSa, "swamp," plus *alaka, "edge;" thus, "the edge of a swamp."\(^{152}\)

\(^{151}\)BAE, Bul. 46, 247.

\(^{152}\)PMHS, VI, 430.

Simpson Tubby disagrees with Halbert's solution, however. Pronouncing the name ['lu:NSə'lu:sə] and maintaining
that his pronunciation is based upon the actual Choctaw designation for the stream, he derives it from \textit{lu\textsuperscript{n}a\textsubscript{a} lusa}, "black swamp." He says the white man has corrupted the second element by substituting the $k$ for $g$. Unfortunately, the name does not appear upon any maps which have been available to me, except that of Romans --and the spelling here is too badly corrupted to lend any assistance. So it is impossible either to confirm or to disprove Simpson's interpretation.

Of the three pronunciations recorded here, the first two are current among the inhabitants of Philadelphia, and the third is that heard among the Indians residing on the Pearl River "reservation," situated a few miles from Philadelphia.

**LUXAPALLILA, or LOOXAPALLILA**

1891. Luxapallila or Floating Turtle Cr. Smith.

Luxapallila creek enters Mississippi from Alabama in western Lowndes county and flows into Tombigbee river several miles south of Columbus, the seat of Lowndes county.

Some popular interpretations of the name are "floating turtle" (Smith, map of 1891) and "swimming terrapin" (Cushman, History, 599). But these are not exact translations of the Indian name for the stream. "The name is derived from Choctaw lu\textit{ksi}, 'turtle,' \textit{ga}, 'there,' bal\textit{\textae}li, 'crawls,'
and [bok, 'creek'];"\textsuperscript{153} hence, "creek where the turtle crawls."

\textsuperscript{153}Read, Ala. Place-Names, 42. See also Halbert, PAHS, III, 68.

MAGOWA

"Uniting with Kushuna creek one mile from the Tombigbee river is Magowa creek, which rising from the backbone dividing the prairies of western Lowndes and eastern Oktibbeha counties, flows almost due east for fifteen miles. The low lands bordering this creek are from one to two miles in width and in their primitive state were covered with a dense and almost impassable cane brake. Magowa was supposed to be a Choctaw word meaning impassable, but such linguists as Halbert say not. The first mention of the stream was by La Tourrette in 1835 as Mc Gower, which suggests some prominent Irish or Scotch settler. The Choctaws, however, called it Ma-gow-a, accent on the last syllable."\textsuperscript{154}

\textsuperscript{154}Love, PMHS, VII, 354.

The fact that the Choctaws stressed the last syllable suggests that the word is foreign, for the general rule is that Choctaw words of three syllables stress the penult.
MAKALLI

Makalli is the name of a creek in Harrison county. It may be the same as Amakalli, which name Gatschet records as that of a "lower Creek town, planted by Chiaha Indians on a creek of that name, which is the main water-course of Kitchofuni creek, a northern affluent of Flint River, Georgia.... The name is not Creek; it seems to be identical with Amaescalola, the Cherokee name of a picturesque cascade on Amaescalola creek, a northern affluent of Etowa River, Dawson County, Georgia. The derivation given for it is: ama water, kalola sliding, tumbling."\textsuperscript{155}

\textsuperscript{155} A Migration Legend, I, 126.

Dr. W. A. Read is of the opinion, however, that the source of the name Makalli is very probably Hitchiti imakli, "their people," or "his people," from im, "his" or "their," and okli, "people."

It is possible of course that the name is derived from Choctaw -- from either amakali, "graceful," or makali, "base," "lowly."

MANTACHIE \texttt{[m\textasciitilde nt\textasciitilde t\textasciitilde s]}\textdagger

Originally, Mantachie was a Choctaw personal name. In correct Choctaw orthography it is ma\textasciitilde ny\textasciitilde, "to go," plus t, conjunctive particle meaning "and," plus achi, "to call,"
"to speak;" thus, "he who goes and calls," or "he who goes and speaks." The name was perhaps conferred upon the particular Choctaw who bore it because he went forth to speak for his tribe at the intertribal meetings, or because he was sent forth to summon members of his own or of other tribes (though anoli is apparently the word most frequently used in the latter sense).

This particular type of personal name occurs rather commonly among the Choctaws. Compare, for example, Mantabi, "he who goes and kills," and Mintabi, "he who comes and kills."

The town of Mantachie is situated in west central Itawamba county near a creek which has the same name. In 1934, the town had 188 inhabitants.

MASHULAVILLE [mo'suləvi]

Mashulaville is the name of a town of some 200 inhabitants, situated in Noxubee county. The town was named for the Choctaw chief, Mashulitubbe, probably Choctaw amoshuli, "to persevere," "to venture on," t, "and," abi, "to kill" --thus, "one who perseveres and kills"-- though it may be the same as Masholitabi, which Swanton interprets as "when it was fair weather, he killed." (BAE, Bul. 103, 121.)

For an historical discussion of Mashulaville, see Halbert, PMHS, VII, 389ff.
MATTUBBY [mo'tə'bî]

1836. Mantubby. Bell (sectional map).

According to Simpson Tubby, this was the name of a Choctaw warrior of whom he heard his father speak. In correct Choctaw, the name, he says, is Ma'ya tábi, "he who goes and kills."

Mantubby may be corrupted, however, from Choctaw minti plus ābi, "he who comes and kills," or from Montābi, which Claiborne interprets as mont, "all," ābi, "killer." 156

156 Claiborne, Mississippi, 526.

Cf. also the personal names Mintabbi, ASP, VII, 109, and Mantema, "to go and deliver something sacred," a woman's name, BAE, Bul. 103, 121.

MINGO

The word m1Rko, from which Mingo is derived, is found in both the Choctaw and the Chickasaw. It signifies "a chief," "a sachem." It served also, among the Choctaws, as the equivalent of English "his majesty," "his excellency."

The name Mingo occurs twice as a geographic name in Mississippi—for a creek in Clarke county and for a settlement in Tishomingo county. In the latter case, the name is rather certainly a shortened form of Tishomongo, q. v., infra.
MISSISSIPPI [ˌmɪsəsiˈpiː]

"Meechee Seepee, or something sounding like these words, was the name applied to the river by the Indians of the Northwest visited by La Salle and Marquette. The Meeche or Misse is the same in meaning as the Micco of the Creeks and other Muscogees, meaning great as an adjective and chief as a noun. The French orthography was Mississippi and the Spanish, Misisipi — both pronounced Meesesespeepee, which corresponds as near as possible to the general Indian pronunciation ....

"Pere Marquette was the first to introduce the name into the geography of America as Mitchisipi, in 1672; Father Hennepin, in 1698, spelled the name of the river Mechasipi or Mechacebe, and Charlevoix, in 1744, gave it as Misisipi or Misisippi."157

157 Rowland, Mississippi the Heart of the South, I, 29.

The ultimate source of the name is Algonquian misi, "big," sipi, "river." The popularity of this Algonquian designation "was largely due to its adoption by the Mobilian trade language."158

158 Read, Ala. Place-Names, 43.

The Lower Mississippi, and particularly New Orleans, came to be known to the Choctaws as Bélbancha or Mélbancha
—spelled Malabouchia—a which signifies "a place of foreign languages," from bálbasha, "to talk in a foreign language," and ansha, "to be in that place."  


foreign languages," from bálbasha, "to talk in a foreign language," and ansha, "to be in that place."  

Read, Ala. Place-Names, 43.  

Cushman's interpretation of Mississippi as "Beyond Age," from Choctaw mîsha sipokni, is evidently based upon the information contained in a letter addressed to the Columbus Whig, by Peter Pitchlynn, in which Pitchlynn "traced the derivation of the word to the Choctaw mîsha sipukni, which he translated 'beyond age'."  

Cushman, History, 64.  

Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi, II, 253.  

In addition to serving as the name of the state and the river, Mississippi designates a city in Harrison county, Mississippi City, and that part of the Gulf of Mexico lying off the coast of the state, Mississippi Sound.

N

NANACHEHAW

Nanachehaw signifies "high hill," being derived from Choctaw nánih, "hill," and chaha, "high." The name designates to-day a village and its post office in Warren county. The railway station, on the Y&MV railroad, near which the village stands, is known as Allen. According to the Rand McNally map of 1934, the population of Nanachehaw is seventy-five.

NANAWAIYA [ˌnaːwəˈwaɪə]

1839. Nanna Warrior. La Tourrette.

Nanawaïya is the name of a creek in Winston county. The creek joins Tallahaga and Bogue Chitto creeks, in Neshoba county, to make up Pearl river.

Concerning the origin of the name, Gideon Lincecum writes as follows: "Just above the uppermost camps, and overhanging the creek, was a steep little hill with a hole in one side. As it leaned towards the creek, the people called it the 'Leaning hill' (Nunih Waya)." 163 From the "leaning hill," which in correct Choctaw is Nánih, "hill," waiya, "leaning," slanting," the stream gets its name.

For a detailed account of Nanawaïya and of the Nanawaïya mounds, see Halbert, PMHS, II, 223 ff.; PMHS, IV, 267 ff.; PMHS, VI, 437; and Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 6-7.
NARKEETA [na'ki:ts]

Narkeeta is the name of a station, in Kemper county, on the M&O railroad. The origin of the name, according to Simpson Tubby, is Choctaw nakchito, a contraction from naki, "lead (bullets)," and chito, "big" --"big bullets." Concerning the particular signification of naki chito for the Choctaw, see Noxapater, infra.

NASHOBAWENYA

Nashobawenya bayou lies in Sunflower county, just west of the Leflore county line and two or three miles northeast of the town of Sunflower.

The name is said to be a corruption of Choctaw nashoba, "wolf," and wcha, "howling" --"howling wolf." As a matter of fact, the stream is designated on several recent maps of Mississippi as Howling Wolf bayou.

NATCHEZ [ˈnætʃez]

1700. Natchez, Penicaut.
1836. Natches, Gallatin.
1884. Naktche, Gatschet.

"The late Albert S. Gatschet, a noted authority on Indian dialects, wrote to Mr. H. L. Favrot, of New Orleans, on January 15, 1894, the following comment on the difficult name Natchez:
In my "Migration Legend of the Creek Indians," Vol. I, I gave an explanation of the name Natchez, which the Natchez themselves pronounce Na'htchi, as I myself ascertained in 1885. I gave up that etymology and think that possibly it is a Caddo word, for the west shore of Mississippi River, must have been in the hands of the Caddos in early times.

'Compare Na'htcha forest wood, da'htcha'hi timber in Caddo, and ada'ktcha forest in the cognate of Ta'tassi. Hence, "timber land," if correctly guessed.'

The name Natchez survives to-day as that of the seat of Adams county, situated on the Mississippi river about three miles from the site of the principal village of the Natchez tribe, on St. Catherine's creek.

The name is also perpetuated in the Natchez Trace, an old highway connecting Natchez, Mississippi, and Nashville, Tennessee. The Natchez Trace was known to the Choctaws as Nachi iRhina, "Natchez their route."

NESHOBÁ [nə'so'bə]

Neshoba signifies "wolf," the genuine Choctaw form being Nashoba. The name is to-day applied to one of the counties lying in that district known to the Choctaws as Okla falaya, "long people." There is also a town of Neshoba, situated in the southern part of the county of the same name.

At Philadelphia, the seat of Neshoba county, is located the Choctaw Agency for Mississippi, and some five or six miles distant from the Agency is the Pearl River Indian school, the principal one of those schools provided by the U. S. Department of Interior for the education of those Indians who have remained in Mississippi.

NITACHUCKY [nita'tšaki]

Nitachucky creek lies in T8S, R10E, Itawamba county. The name is Choctaw nita, "bear," chuka, "den," "house" -- "bear's den."

The prevalence of the bear in that part of the old Choctaw Territory which now comprises Tishomingo and Itawamba counties, Mississippi, and Franklin county, Alabama, is attested by the frequency with which bear appears as a geographic name. In addition to Nitachucky creek, there are Bear creek and Little Bear creek.

NITAKECHI, OR NITAKATCHIE [nita'katsi]
1871. Okanitakatchie, Hardee.
Nitakechi creek, a tributary of Lappatubby creek, rises in T8S, R4E, Union county, and flows westward along the Union-Pontotoc county line to the point of its confluence with Lappatubby.

The stream is often, but erroneously, called Cherry creek. Presumably, some one thought the name to be derived from Choctaw okhina, "stream," itálikchi, "cherry tree," being misled perhaps by such spellings as that of Hardee (1871).

The source of the name is Choctaw Nitak Echi, the name of a chief in Pushimataha district who died in the old nation. Nitak Echi signifies "the commencement of day." 166

166 Dwight, BAE, Bul. 46, 280.

Oka, the initial element in the spelling shown on Hardee's map, means "water," "stream." English creek has displaced it in the present-day forms.

NITTA YUMA [nita ju:ma]

Simpson Tubby says this is the Choctaw personal name Nita Humma, "red bear." The name Nita, Simpson adds, was commonly given to men who had extraordinarily strong teeth. Cushman takes nita yamma, "bear yonder," "bear thereat," as the original. 167

167 Cushman, History, 600.
**Hitta Yuma** is to-day the name of a station on the Y&MV railroad, in Sharkey county. The population of the village near the station was twenty-five in 1934.

**NONCONNAH**

The Mississippi branch of Nonconnah creek rises in T1S, R4W, Marshall county. It joins the Tennessee branch just to the north of the Mississippi-Tennessee line and flows into the Mississippi river a few miles south of the city of Memphis. The name is thought to be derived from Choctaw *nan ikhana*, "a seer," "a prophet." Supposedly, the stream took its name from the fact that a *nan ikhana* lived at one time upon its banks.

**NOXAPATER** \[ˌnaksəˈpetər\]

Halbert derives Noxapater from Choctaw *naki*, "lead (bullets)," *chipinta*, "little."\(^\text{168}\) Originally, the Choctaws used the fuller form *naki lumbo*, "lead ball," to signify "bullet," but as they came to know lead almost exclusively in the form of bullets, the particularizing noun was no longer required. According to Simpson Tubby, the rifle bullet was called *naki chipinta*, and the larger bullet, or the "ball" of the cannon, *naki chito.*

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\(^\text{168}\) PAHS, III, 74.
Noxapater is the name of a town and a creek in Winston county. The creek is one of the small streams which come together in Neshoba county to make up Pearl river. The town, which has a population of 526, is situated on the GN&H railroad, just a few miles north of the Winston-Neshoba county line.

NOXUBEE ['naksəbə]

1772. Oka Onoxubbe. Romans.
1816. Oak Noxabee. Darby.
1839. Okanoxubee. La Tourrette.

The name Noxubee designates to-day a county in west central Mississippi, a river which lies principally in that county, and a creek in T16N, R11E, in Clarke county. In correct Choctaw, the name is Oka, "creek," nakshobi, "having the smell of fish when first taken from water;" thus, "creek of which the water has the odor of freshly caught fish." But this is an only approximate translation. As Halbert observes, the word nakshobi has no exact equivalent in English. It is thought (Halbert says) that the name was applied to the river because of "the offensive odor that arises from an overflowed river or creek in the summer time."169

169 PMHS, VI, 436.

Halbert points out that the etymology of Noxubee given by Claiborne --from Choctaw oka, "water," naki, "bullet,"
shua, "stinking"170— is "altogether out of the question.

170 Claiborne, Mississippi, 485.

and the so-called legend171 is a bit of 'buncombe,' for

171 The Choctumans, on a hunting expedition, once entered the hunting grounds of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. These latter tribes attacked the intruders, killed many of them, and threw the dead bodies into the river. From this incident the stream derived its name.

throwing of bodies of the slain enemies into the river is something unheard of in Indian Warfare."172

172 PMES, VI, 435-436.

Romans interprets Noxubee as "strong smelling water."

It is interesting to note that on his map of 1772 he gives the river the additional name of Hatchee Oose, "little river," to distinguish it from Tombigbee river, which was commonly called simply Häché, "river."

NUCEFAPEA [ˌnuːsɪˈfæpə]

Nuçefappae is the name of a small stream in Jasper county. The present-day spelling appears to have been established by La Tourrette (1839).

The name is thought to be a corruption of Choctaw nusásápi (plural of nusápi), "oak trees." Nusápi is a contraction from nusi, "acorn," ápi, "tree," "stalk."
NUSICHIYA [nu:si'tji:]  


Nusichiya creek, with Tibbee creek, served as a boundary between the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. For this reason, it came to be known commonly as Line creek. Both appellations are in use to-day. The stream lies, for the most part, in what is now Clay county.

Claiborne thinks the name means "you sleep," being derived from Choctaw musi chia, and that it was given to the stream because at some point along its banks, "the Choctaws attacked them [the Chickasaws] when unprepared or 'asleep'." But this is not a very plausible inter-

173 Claiborne, Mississippi, 485.

pretation; Choctaw for "you sleep" or "you are asleep" is chi musi or chia musi. Chi appears as a verb suffix only when the causal form of the verb is employed.

Halbert's solution for Nusichiya is pretty certainly the correct one: Choctaw musi, "acorns," a, locative, "there," chiya, "to sit," "to lie"--hence, "acorns lie there." 174

174 PAHS, III, 75.

The only objection to this solution is that the verb chiya is dual. Simpson Tubby informs me, however, that during his lifetime he has known chiya to be applied as frequently to
more than two persons or things as to two only, and to the same conclusion Byington writes as follows: "Some say that chiya is strictly dual, but it is not always thus used."  

175 BAE, Bul. 46, 107.

OAKCHICKAMAU  [o:k'tsikamə]  

Oakchickamaú, from Choctaw oka, "water," and achukma, "good," is the name of the site of old Hendersonville, in Yalobusha county. In the 1830's, the greater part of the land around Oakchickamaú came into the possession of Franklin E. Plummer.

OAK CHUMBULA  [o:k'tsəmbula]  

1839. Oka Chumbula, La Tourrette.

Oak Chumbula is the name of a bayou in Harrison county. The stream extends from a point near the confluence of Mill creek with Biloxi river, in T6S, R11W, to the Bay of Biloxi.

The name, at first glance, suggests Choctaw oka chambuli, "sweet water." However, when one considers the spelling of La Tourrette (1839) and remembers that La Tourrette was French -- he would naturally write ch- for Choctaw sh-- Choctaw oka shambala, "cottonwood bayou," becomes the more plausible interpretation of the name.
COTTONWOOD is a popular designation for several trees of the willow family—in the South, especially of the Swamp or Downy poplar (Populus heterophylla L.).

OAKLEMETER [ˌɒkliˈmɛtər]


Oaklemeter means "young people," being derived from Choctaw okla, "people," and himita, "young." The name designates a stream in Benton county.

OAKOHAY [ˈoʊkəheɪ]


Oakohay creek rises at the Scott-Smith county line, flows southward across Smith county, and joins Tallahala creek in northeast Covington county. The name is derived from Choctaw oka ahe, "the mud potato." Oka ahe is, according to Simpson Tubby, a colloquialism now in general use among the Mississippi Choctaws. It has almost completely displaced the forms kunahak ahe and luchuk ahe, both of which signify "the bog, or wild, potato." In the same way, "the Irish potato," which is na hollo imahe in correct Choctaw, has come to be called hatak ahe. Hatak ahe is, literally, "man's potato;" that is to say, "the white man's potato."
OAKTARK  ['o:kta:k]

Bayou Oaktark flows out of Noxubee river in T17N, R14E, Oktibbeha county, and joins the same river again in T16N, R15E, Noxubee county, "making an island about eight miles long and from one to two miles wide, part of which is in Oktibbeha and part in Noxubee County."\(^{176}\)

\(^{176}\)Halbert, _PMHS_, VI, 435.

The genuine Choctaw orthography for Oaktark is hohtak, "a beaver pond."

Romans (Map of 1772) designates the island formed by Oaktark bayou and Noxubee river as "Great Beaver Dam."

OAK TUPPA, or OKATUPPA  ['o:kta'tapa]

1818. Oaktupa. Ludlow.

Oak Tuppa creek rises in T4N, R18E, Clarke county, and flows southeastward across Choctaw county, Alabama, into Tombigbee river. The smaller southern branch of the stream is called Little Oak Tuppa.

The name is derived from Choctaw oktäpi, "dam (of water)." "Oktäpi is a contraction of Choctaw oka, 'water,' and täpa, 'dammed up.'"\(^{177}\) The Choctaw used the term to designate streams which had been "dammed up" either by
beavers or by the collection of driftwood during the flood season.

The first pronunciation, obviously based upon the spelling Oak Tuppa, is the one more commonly used in Clarke county. The alternative spelling has developed out of analogy with such forms as Oke Lusa and Oke Hola, q. v., infra.

OCOBLA

1772. Oke Coopoly. Romans.

According to Halbert, Ocobla is derived from Choctaw oka, "water," a, "there," kobli, or kopli, "to bite" --that is to say, "water where biting is," or "a good fishing place."178

178PMHS, VI, 429.

Simpson Tubby disagrees with Halbert's solution. He says that the name is a corruption of the word akobéla, which signifies a bush somewhat like the "bird's-eye," presumably of the species Primula farinosa. The banks of the stream which bears the name to-day (Simpson says) were once lined with these bushes, which budded very early, putting forth beautiful blossoms, and began to die when most plants were only beginning to "flower."

To-day, Ocobla designates a stream and a settlement
in eastern Neshoba county.

OFAHOMA 

The town of Ofahoma, situated on Yokahockany creek, in western Leake county, is named for a well-known Choctaw warrior, Ofi homma, "red dog."

According to Simpson Tubby, Choctaw personal names of which ofi, "dog," constitutes a part belonged to warriors who were exceptionally good runners.

OKACHITO

Okachito is the term which was invariably applied by the Mississippi Choctaws to the Gulf of Mexico. The source of the name is Choctaw oka, "water," chito, "big" -- "big water."

OKAHATTA

U. S. Department of Agriculture soil surveys of Mississippi (1916) show two streams which bear the name Okahatta; one lies in Newton county, and the other is in Oktibbeha. The source of the name is Choctaw oka hâta, which, translated literally, means "white water." But apparently the Choctaw adjective has as many shades of meaning
as its English equivalent.

According to Byington, the Choctaw word okháta, which is contracted from oka háta, means simply "a lake," "a large pond," "a bay," "a gulf." Hence, it is quite possible that there were other meanings which might apply to an inland creek.

Simpson Tubby says that the combination oka háta as applied to a creek means "a stream which has milky water."

OKA HOLA  

1732. Oke Oullou. du Roullet.  
1772. Oka-hoolah. Romans.  

Halbert, discussing Romans' map of 1772, mentions a stream and a settlement which bore this name. The settlement was situated near the mouth of Sucarnochee creek, in Kemper county, and the stream was probably one of the tributaries of Buckatunna creek, in Clarke or Wayne county.

To-day Oka Hola designates a station on the NO&NE railroad, in Lamar county, and a creek in T3N, R14½, in the same county.
The source of the name is commonly thought to be Choctaw oka hullo, "beloved water," a solution which has some support in Dr. W. A. Read's suggestion concerning the origin of the name Catahoula, in Louisiana. However, du

From Choctaw okháta, "lake," hullo, "beloved" --Read, La. Place-Names, 18.

Roullet, who visited the old Choctaw village of Oke Oullou, interprets the name as "scarce water," suggesting the original in oka plus iklauo, "to be scarce," or indicating an unusual translation of hullo.

OKALONA [1:o·kə'lo·na]

Okalona, a town of some 2500 population, is situated on the OH&CC railroad, in eastern Chickasaw county.

Several solutions of the name have been suggested, but none of them has the merit of being based upon good authority. Cushman says Ok-la-lok-on-lith, "people gathered there;" Gannett records the interpretation "much bent," perhaps taking Choctaw aiaka poloma to be the original; and

Simpson Tubby suggests as the source Choctaw oka, "water,"
139

ilo, "we," *ona, "to come (to)" --"we come to water." Simpson's interpretation is purely a guess; he has no historical information (he says) concerning the name.

OKATIBBEH [ˌ,ɔkəˈtɪbə]  


Concerning this name, Claiborne writes as follows: "The Choctaws and the Chickasaws had occasional conflicts, particularly after the whites appeared in the country. The former were allies of the French. The latter were under English control, and the rivalry of these kept the two kindred tribes on bad terms. They had a great battle about two miles south of West Point. There may yet be seen two mounds, about one hundred feet apart. After the fight they came to terms, and erected these mounds over their dead, and to the neighboring stream they gave the name Oka-tibbe-ha, or Fighting Water."185

But, as Halbert points out, this is an erroneous interpretation. Okatibbee is simply a form of Oktibbeha (q. v., infra) which developed out of analogy with such names as Okahatta, Oka Lusa, and Oka Hola, of which Choctaw *oka, "water," is the first element.186

185 Claiborne, Mississippi, 484-485.

186 PMHS, III, 369.
Okatibbee creek is one of the small streams which come together near the Lauderdale-Clarke county line to make up the Chickasawhay river. There is also a station on the M&O railroad, situated a few miles south of Meridian, which is called Okatibbee.

OKATOMA [ˈoʊkətəmə]

Okatoma creek rises in Simpson county, flows across Covington county, and joins Leaf river at a point near the city of Hattiesburg.

The first element of the name is Choctaw oka, "water." The second, Dr. W. A. Read suggests, is the tribal name Tohome. Thus, the name would be interpreted "Tohome waters," meaning a stream lying in the territory of the Tohome Indian tribe.

The Tohome were "a former Muskogean tribe of the Gulf coast, speaking a dialect of Choctaw (Margry, Dec., IV, 427, 427, 514-31, 1880). Their cabins stood 8 leagues N. of the French settlement at Mobile, on the W. side of Mobile r. The number of warriors was estimated in 1702 at 350. They were allies of the French and had been baptized in the Roman Catholic faith."\(^{187}\)

\(^{187}\)Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, II, 771.

"The tribal name cannot be interpreted, a connection
with Choctaw *tomi*, 'radiant,' or 'sunshine,' being highly uncertain."

188 Read, Ala. Place-Names, 12.

OKEELALA, or OKOLALAH ["okə'la lə]

The first of the spellings given here is found on the U. S. Geological survey (Boonesville Quadrangle), 1922. The second, I am informed, is in general use in Prentiss and Lee counties. The name designates a stream which rises in the southwest corner of Prentiss county and flows eastward into Lee county.

The first element of Okeelala is clearly Choctaw *oka*, "water," but the second element is obscure. A very plausible interpretation suggests itself, however, in *oka’ali*, "splashing water." A second, but perhaps less plausible, solution is *oka’laua*, "sloshy."

OKNITAKATCHEE. See NITAKECHI, supra.

OKSHASH

A few miles south of the Lowndes-Clay county line, "running in a southeasterly direction and parallel to Oktibbeha creek [now called Tibbee creek] is Okshash creek which empties into Tombigbee river two miles
above Columbus....

"From the name of the creek, Okshash, acorn mush, near which the village [unidentified] was situated, it may be considered an almost demonstrated fact, that the acorns which grew so plentifully upon the tall oaks along the borders of the river and creek, must have added some variety to these ancient villagers' food supplies." 189

189 Love, PMHS, VII, 352-353.

Concerning the Choctaws' using acorns for food, Swanton writes as follows: "Very little use was made of acorns and no oil was extracted from them. Sometimes they cooked pin oak acorns with hominy [perhaps the 'acorn mush' referred to by Love] but these often caused cramps." 190

190 BAE, Bul. 103, 48.

Simpson Tubby thinks, however, that the source of the name of the stream is Choctaw akshish, "root," a word which he says frequently has the special signification of "medicinal root." The stream (Simpson says) was so called because such roots were found along its banks.


"There are] two well known large streams of this name in Mississippi, properly written 'Oktibbeha.' To the northern stream Romans has appended the erroneous translation, Noisy Water. Another erroneous translation is Fighting Water. The correct translation of 'Oktibbeha'

191 Claiborne, Mississippi, 485. See also Oktibblee, supra.

is Ice therein, the name being compounded of 'okti,' ice, and 'abeha,' therein. 'Abeha' is plural, and as the English word 'ice' has no plural, to make a plural expression, we translate 'Okti abeha,' Blocks of ice therein."192

192 Halbert, PMHS, VI, 436.

In addition to the two creeks mentioned by Halbert, there is a county, in western Mississippi, which bears the name Oktibbeha. The county was established December 25, 1855, from a part of the territory acquired from the Choctaws in the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit, 1830.

OSCAR BOGUE ['oksa 'bo:ɡ]

Oscar Bogue is a small creek in Newton county. The name is a corruption of Choctaw oski, or uski, "cane," "reed," and bok, "creek." The creek was so named because
in earlier times dense cane-brakes (of *Arundinaria macrospersa* Michx.) bordered it on both sides.

OSYKA  [ˈoːˌsɑːkə]

The name Osyka designates to-day a town in south-eastern Pike county, about a mile from the Louisiana state line. The town has its name from the Choctaw chief Osissa. Osissa signifies "eagle," and ka is the definite article; hence, Osyka means "the eagle."

The only significant change which has taken place in the transference of the name from Choctaw to English is the denasalization of the initial vowel.

OTAPASSO, or TOPISAW  [ˈtoʊˌpæsə]


The spelling Otapasso is employed on the 1934 Rand McNally map of Mississippi to designate a stream in Pike county. Though the form Topisaw appears to be the form more commonly used, Miss Nannie Gillis, superintendent of schools for Pike county, Magnolia, Mississippi, says that the genuine form is Otopisa --such is the spelling of the name on a chart of unknown date which is now in the superintendent's office. It becomes apparent that Rand McNally's spelling is based upon this last-mentioned form.

Otopisa is a corruption of Choctaw otápi, "chestnut
"tree," plus osi, "little;" hence, "little chestnut." Simpson Tubby informs me that otápi osi and otápi chinquapin were commonly employed among the Mississippi Choctaws instead of nachofakti, "chinquapin," "the dwarf chestnut."

Otopasso creek rises in southwestern Lawrence county, flows across the southeast corner of Lincoln, and joins Bogue Chitto creek in Pike county.

OTOUCALOFA [oˈtəkələfa]

1838. Otoolfufa. Bell (sectional map).

Otoollaffa creek lies in T10S, R3W, Lafayette county. According to Halbert, the name is worn down from Choctaw otápi akolofe. Otápi signifies "chestnut tree," and akolofa means "stump"—thus, "the stump of a chestnut tree." 193

193 PAHS, III, 74.

P

PACHUTA [paˈʃuːːə]

1839. Pachuta. La Tourrette.

Pachuta creek is a tributary of Hasenlowaba, or Scoenlovie, creek, which it joins in T2N, R14E, Clarke county. The town of Pachuta, population 338, is situated on the NO&NE railroad, in western Clarke county.
The name Faehuta is probably a corruption of Choctaw pachi, "pigeons," ai, "there," atta, "to live" -- that is to say, "pigeons roost there." The abundance of pigeons among the Choctaws is attested by the fact that several places were designated Pachi amusi, "pigeons sleep there;" also there is a creek in Marshall county which is called to-day Pigeon Roost creek.

PANOLA  [pə'nɔːla]

1839. Ponola. La Tourrette.

Ponola is Choctaw ponola, "cotton."

Panola county, in northwest Mississippi, is one of the counties formed February 9, 1836, from the Chickasaw territory acquired by the Treaty of Pontotoc, 1832.

PASCAGOULA  [ˈpæskəˌɡuːla]

1718. R. des Pascagould. De l'Isle.
1772. Pasca Oocoolo. Romans.

Concerning Pascagoula, Haibert writes as follows: "This name, correctly written, is Paska Okla river. At the present day it is written 'Pascagoula,' and the name is applied to the river below the confluence of the Chickasahay and Leaf rivers. 'Paska Okla,' 'Paskokla,' signifies Bread People, and was the name given by the Choctaws to the tribe that once lived on this stream and who, in 1764,
emigrated to Louisiana. 194


To-day the name *Pascagoula* designates a city, in Jackson county, and a bay on the Mississippi Gulf Coast, as well as one of the state's principal watercourses.

**PAWTICFAW**  [paw·tik·faw]


*Pawticfaw* signifies "place where wild animals have shed their hair," being derived from Choctaw *poa atikafa*. *Poa* means "wild beasts;" the initial *a* of *atikafa* is a locative particle prefixed to verbs and is rendered in English as "there," "in that place;" and *tikafa* signifies "to shed the hair," or, with regard to fowls, "to molt."

*Pawticfaw* creek is a tributary of *Sucarnoochee* creek, in Kemper county. It drains the hilly region to the south of *De Kalb*, the seat of Kemper county.

The name *Tickfaw*, q. v., infra, is now thought to be merely a shortened form of *Pawticfaw*. To this effect, I quote Dr. W. A. Read, authority on Indian place-names in the Gulf States: "There is little doubt that in *poa a tikafa* lies the solution of *Tickfaw*, a geographic name in Louisiana as well as in Mississippi."
PELAHATCHIE [ˈpɪəhəˌhætʃi]  

The general belief among the inhabitants of the town of Pelahatchie, Mississippi, that this name means "crooked creek" is erroneous. The original Choctaw form for it is *apeli hácha*, "hurricane creek."\(^{195}\) The exact significance of "hurricane creek" to the Choctaw is very probably "creek at the place where a hurricane has passed." Byington defines the word *apeli* as both "a hurricane" and "a place where a hurricane passed along and blew down the timber."\(^{196}\)

\(^{195}\) Halbert, *PAES*, III, 75.  
\(^{196}\) BAE, Bul. 46, 53.

That the name was more or less frequently employed by the Choctaws is shown by the numerous occurrences of the English equivalent for it in the Choctaw Territory. There is a Hurricane creek in Neshoba county, another in Caldwell parish, Louisiana, and a town called Hurricane Creek is situated in Lauderdale county.

The town of Pelahatchie, population 1600, is situated at the junction of the C&GA railroad with the Y&MV, in eastern Rankin county. Pelahatchie is also the name of a creek which lies in Scott and Rankin counties and near the banks of which the town stands.
PELUQIA, or PALUSHA  [pə'luː الشمال]

1839. Palushi. La Tourrette.

Simpson Tubby thinks this is Choctaw páli ushi, "little flying squirrel," a common personal name given to young boys who were particularly fleet of foot. It is possible, however, that the Choctaw original was páli asha (both elements plural), "flying squirrels are there."

Pelucia creek rises in Carroll county and flows into Yazoo river just north of Roebuck, Leflore county.

PENANTLA

1832. Pintlalla. ASP.

Penantla is the name of a creek in Jasper county. It signifies, according to Halbert, "boat landing place," being worn down from Choctaw peni, "boat," ai, locative particle, "there," "in that place," ontalaia, "to rest on." The first element of the name is fairly clear, even in the present-day spelling, and the earlier spelling of the American State Papers partly confirms ontalaia as the final element. As has been pointed out previously, the locative a, or ai, is frequently obscured by absorption and elision of vowels. Witness such forms as Concobona, q. v., supra, from akaŋk abi ai ona.197

197 Halbert's interpretation appears in PAHS, III, 75.
Petticoocowah  [ˌpɛtɪkoʊkoʊə] or [ˌpɛtɪkoʊkoʊə]

1871. Petticoocowah, Hardee.

Petticoocowah creek lies in T21N, R2E, Grenada county. The name means "broken sumac trees," being derived from Choctaw báti kakoa. Báti signifies "the high sumac," and kakoa is "broken." Both elements of the name are plural; the singular form of kakoa is koa. The stream most probably received its name from the fact that a number of sumac trees standing upon its banks were at some earlier time broken down by a storm or hurricane which swept through southwestern Grenada county.

The name Petticoocowah illustrates again that most common of all consonantal shifts which occurred in the transference of Choctaw names into English — namely, the change of b to its voiceless equivalent p.

A popular alternative spelling of Petticoocowah is Puttacocowa, upon which the second pronunciation, shown above, is apparently based.

Phalia  [fəˈlaɪə]

1839. Atchafalia. Tanner.

The spelling of Tanner (1839) proves this name to have been earlier identical with that of one of Louisiana's principal rivers.\(^{198}\) The Choctaw original for Phalia is

\(^{198}\) Read, La. Place-Names, 5.
Hácha falaila, "long river," all trace of the first element having disappeared from the present-day form.

Phalia creek rises in northeastern Washington county and flows southward and eastward to join Sunflower river in T16N, R5W, in the same county.

PINNYSHOOK ['pinisuk']

Pinnyshook is a corruption of Choctaw panáshuk, "linden or basswood tree." The name, spelled Pinashshuk until recently, was originally applied to a Choctaw village which was situated, according to Halbert, a mile and a half east of the present site of Plattsburg, in Winston county.199

199 PAHS, III, 74.

The name Pinnyshook designates to-day a creek which rises in Tl3N, R11E, Winston county, and flows southeastward into Neshoba county, where it joins Pearl River in T11N, R11E.

FITCAHALA ['pitsahale']


This name suggested to Simpson Tubby the Choctaw word pichali, which he defined as "a large rat, but not the common field rat." But this is probably erroneous,
because the final element of Pitchahala points to Choctaw hieli, the plural form of the verb hikia, "to stand."

Perhaps a more plausible interpretation of Pitchahala is Choctaw pichi, "sorrel (weeds)," a, locative, "there," and hieli, "to stand" -- hence, "sorrel weeds are standing there."

Pitchahala creek, a tributary of Big Black river, drains the hilly section in southeast Carroll county.

POCOLECHETTO  [pokollčaltʃi]  

In correct Choctaw orthography, Pocolechetto is pokoli, "ten," chito, "big." The name is applied to a creek which rises in T4N, R16E, Clarke county, and flows southeastward into Alabama. It is suspected that pokoli chito, as applied to the stream, means "big tenth" creek, although the Choctaw generally distinguishes the cardinal numerals from the ordinals by means of the word isht.  

200 The ordinal equivalents for numbers above four are formed by placing the word isht before the cardinal numerals; for example, untuklo is "seven," and isht untuklo is "seventh."

Simpson Tubby, interpreting Pocolechetto as "Big Tenth" creek, says that the Choctaw has never been careful about making a distinction between the cardinal and the ordinal forms for numerals. The cardinal forms are made to
serve as both. As a similar example, Simpson cites Hontokolo, *q. v.*, supra.

It appears that the Choctaws in Mississippi quite commonly gave to streams numbers instead of names, frequently, of course, adding the adjective chito. The plan must have been to number the streams in regular order from a given point of origination to a given destination, or perhaps merely in a particular direction. There were, pretty certainly, several different systems of numbered streams, for those which have retained their numbers to-day do not appear to fit into a single general pattern.201

201Tuckabum, thought by some of the Mississippi Choctaws to be "First" creek, from Choctaw tikba, lies in Lauderdale county, Mississippi, and Choctaw county, Alabama; Bok atukla chito, "Big Second" creek, was, according to Halbert, in Kemper county (PMHS, VI, 424); Hontokolo, from Choctaw untuklo, "Seventh" creek, is in Scott county. It is possible that these streams lie along what was once a regular "trail" from east to west.

POLLOCOHA [pə:ιə'ko:ne]

Pollocona creek lies in Lafayette county, some fourteen miles east of Oxford. Dr. W. A. Read suggests probable sources of the name in Choctaw *apuli*, "corn suckers," *lakna*, "yellow" --"yellow corn suckers"-- and *pāli yakni*, "flying squirrel country" or *pāli okhina*, "flying squirrel creek."
PONTA ['pontə]

1732. Panté, du Roullet.
1772. Paanta, or Panthe. Romans.
1839. Pont. Tanner.

Ponta, according to du Roullet, is derived from Choctaw pinti, "white rats found in the prairies." 202

202 Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 86.

This is very probably correct; however, the spellings of Romans (1772) and Tanner (1839) point to Choctaw panti, "cattails" (*Typha latifolia* L. and *T. angustifolia* L.). 203

203 See Read, American Speech, XIII, 79.

While he cannot recall the particular stream which bears the name Ponta to-day, Simpson Tubby agrees with du Roullet's solution. He says that pinti does not, however, confine its meaning to "white rats." It signifies "a mouse of any sort." The particular word for "prairie rats" is pintukfi.

Swanton places Pante town at the head of Ponta creek, in Lauderdale county. Romans, according to Halbert, has misplaced the town on his map of 1772. He has transposed it to the site of Coosa town, between the two prongs of Lost Horse creek, a tributary of Ponta creek. 204

204 Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 86, and Halbert PMHS, VI, 416.
The town of Lauderdale occupies to-day a part of the site of old Pante town.\textsuperscript{205}

\textsuperscript{205}MPA, I, 153.

Ponta creek rises in south central Kemper county, flows southeastward into Lauderdale, and then turns northeastward to join Sucarnoochee creek at a point just across the Alabama line.

\textbf{PONTOTOC} \textsuperscript{["pontətək"]}

Mr. E. T. Winston, of Pontotoc, Mississippi, suggests as the source of this name Choctaw \textit{panti}, "cattails," and \textit{tokali}, "fired off." The name (he says) came to be applied soon after the battle of d'Artagouette against the Chickasaws, May 20, 1736, to the general locality of the town of Pontotoc (and later to the county), because the tops of the cattails, which grew in abundance on the battle ground, were "fired off" by the discharges from the muskets.

Halbert prefers, however, the interpretation \textit{panti}, "cattail," \textit{oktak}, "prairie."\textsuperscript{206}

\textsuperscript{206}PMHS, VIII, 553.

It is interesting to observe here that Pontotoc creek was once called \textit{Punktuckahly}, which signifies
"hanging grapes" (from Choctaw panki, "grapes," and takali, "hanging").

Cushman, obviously assuming that Pontotoc is a corruption of Punkatuckahly, gives the solution "hanging grapes."

Pontotoc county was formed February 9, 1836, as one of the twelve carved out of the territory ceded by the Chickasaws in the Treaty of Pontotoc, October 20, 1832. The town of Pontotoc, population 2000, is the seat of the county of the same name.

Potter Chitto [pəta'tsito]

1772. Patao Chito. Romans.
1839. Pottok Chito. La Tourrette.

Potter Chitto creek rises in T6N, R10E, Newton county, and joins Chunky creek in T6N, R13E. According to Romans' map, there were two branches, or rather two distinct creeks, which bore the name Patao Chito. The southern branch, or creek, shown by Romans is the stream which bears the name to-day; the northern one has not been identified with any present-day watercourse.
At first inspection, I thought the name to be (Bok) pátha chito, "big broad creek," but, according to Captain A. J. Brown, "the best informed Choctaws state that 'Pottok Chito' (the usual modern spelling) is worn down from 'Patafa Chito' which means Big Cleft, evidently referring to some deep valley-like gorge through which the creek flows." 209

209. *HIS, VI, 447.

PUSKUS ['puskas]

Puskus creek lies in Lafayette county, rising in T8S, R2W and flowing northward to join Tallahatchie river in T7S, R1W. The name is Choctaw puskus, "child," the spelling having remained unaltered. Though this appears to be the single instance in which the word, as a place-name, survives, evidence of two earlier applications of it to streams is preserved. A sectional survey of Mississippi made in 1832 by Gideon Fritz shows a stream called Pusqua Cohay, 210 which is probably Choctaw puskus koì, "child panther," or "panther child," and Romans map of 1772 has a Pooscoo Pasha, Choctaw puskus pa'nya, "crying child." The latter appears to have been in southern Clarke county.

210. The condition of the Gideon Fritz map makes it impossible to determine even approximately the location of the stream.
QUARTERLIAH [ˌkwɔːtərˈlaɪə]

The name Quarterlah is, according to Simpson Tubby, a bad corruption of Choctaw *hatomálah*, "beech tree," the initial consonant having been misunderstood by some early cartographer and the nasal having subsequently fallen away. Simpson informs me that during his youth beech trees were very abundant in Newton county along the banks of Bok *hatomálah*.

Halbert says Quarterlah, which he spells *kwatalaia*, is derived from Choctaw *oka talaia*, "spreading water." 211

211 PANS, III, 67.

Quarterlah creek rises in T5N, R10E, Newton county, and flows southward into Jasper county, where it joins the west branch of Tallahala creek.

SABA CHIBO [ˌsæbəˈtʃɪbo]

1772. Sapa Chibo. Romans.

The name Saba Chibo is applied to the community served by the Dixon post office, Neshoba county. It is a corruption of Choctaw *osapa chito*, "big cornfield" or "big plantation."
The Choctaws who remain to-day in Neshoba county still refer to the Dixon post office as Sapa Chito, dropping the initial vowel of the first element probably through the influence of the "white man's" pronunciation.

SABOUGLA

Sabouгла is the name of a town of some 150 inhabitants, situated in southwest Calhoun county. The town receives its name from the creek on the bank of which it stands. The present spelling is a comparatively recent development from Sobola, by which name the stream is still known. For the origin of the name, see Sobola, infra.

SANOOSE

Sanoose creek rises just south of DeKalb, the seat of Kemper county, and flows southeastward some fifteen or twenty miles into Pawticoaw creek.

The name Sanoose is a corruption of Choctaw issi anusí. Issi means "deer," and anusí (composed of the locative particle a plus the verb nusi) signifies "to sleep there;" hence, "deer sleep there." 212

212Halbert, PAHS, III, 75.
SAPA  ['sapə]

Sapa designates a station on the G&G railroad, in Webster county. The name is from Choctaw osapa, "cornfield."

SARTARTIA  ['saːtərTAː]

Sartartia, a village of some 140 inhabitants, is situated in southwestern Yazoo county. The source of the name is Choctaw issito asha, "pumpkins are there."213

213Halbert, PAHS, III, 75.

SCOBEEY  ['skɔːbi]

The source of this name is Choctaw oskoba, "small cane." Oskoba is a contraction from oski holba, "cane-like."214

214If. Scooba, infra.

Scobey is the name of a small village and a railway station on the IC railroad, in Yalobusha county.

SCOoba  ['skuːba]

Scooba, according to Halbert, who spells it E scooba, is derived from Choctaw oskoba.215 Oskoba is

215PMHS, VI, 424.
worn down (in the Choctaw itself) from oaksi, or uski, "cane," "reed," plus holba, "resembling," "like;" hence, "cane-like." The word oskoba "is often used as a synonym of kunshak, "a reed," 'reed-brake'."216

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The Choctaw town of this name was situated, according to Halbert, "a few miles east or northeast of Yannubbee Town, perhaps on or near Petickfa, but certainly, as evidenced by its name, near some reed brake."217

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217 PMHS, VI, 424.

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Scooba designates to-day both a town and a creek. The creek rises at the Kemper-Noxubee county line and flows across the northeast corner of Kemper county into Alabama, where it joins the Noxubee river. The town is situated on the M&O railroad, some ten or fifteen miles south of the Noxubee county line. Its population in 1930 was 933.

If Halbert's calculation as to the location of old Scooba town be correct, then the present town of Scooba is approximately twenty-five miles removed from the old site.

It will be interesting to observe that Bernard Romans' map of 1772, as copied by Dr. A. S. Gatschel, shows a stream in northeast Kemper County with the
designation "probably runs into Noxubee creek". Halbert thinks that Dr. Gatschet has confused the upper part of Sucarnoochee with Bodka creek. It may be, however, that he had Scooba creek in mind, and simply misdirected its course, for Scooba, joined by two other streams at the Alabama line, flows into Noxubee river.

Simpson Tubby offers a very interesting interpretation of the name, but it is perhaps a bit too much on the legendary side to be relied upon. He says that Scooba is a corruption of Choctaw isikopa, "gluttonous." According to the tale he has from his forefathers, the Indians were camped on the banks of the stream, when they were visited by soldiers who quartered themselves among the tribe. In a very "gluttonous" fashion the soldiers set about "cleaning out" the Indians' rations; hence, the name isikopa.

SENATOBIA [ˌsɛnəˈtɔbiə]

1835. Sennatohobe. Bell (sectional map).
1839. Sennatohobi. La Tourrette.

The town of Senatobia, seat of Tate county, is situated on the IC railroad, some fifty miles south of Memphis. A stream of the same name flows northward past the town and joins Hicaholahala creek in T5S, R7W, Tate county.

The name Senatobia comes from Choctaw sini tohbi.
Sini signifies "sycamore," and tobbi means "white;" hence, "white sycamore (trees)." The adjective is probably here employed to refer to the white appearance of the trunk of the sycamore as the bark begins to peel.

SENEATCHA dummy

Seneatcha creek is a tributary of Big Black river in T12N, R4E, Attala county. The name is derived from Choctaw sini, "sycamore," hàčha, "creek."

There is probably no connection between this name and that of the Choctaw village of Chenniecha (Choctaw sini, "sycamores," plus asha, "are there"), shown by De Lusser (1730) and placed by Swanton (who is uncertain as to the location) in the Sixtowns division of Choctaw territory.218

218BAE, Bul. 103, 59.

SENTER BOGUE dummy

Senter Bogue creek lies principally in Washington county, Alabama, where according to the 1934 Rand McNally map, the name is spelled Santa Bogue. The upper end of the west branch of Senter Bogue lies, however, in Wayne county, Mississippi. Romans' map of 1772 shows a stream of the same name in what is now southern Jones or northern Perry county. It is possible that Romans simply placed the stream
too far to the west.

Senter Bogue is a corruption of Choctaw sinti, "snake," bok, "creek."

SHOCKALOO, or SHONGALOO ['ʃəkəlu:] or ['ʃɔŋəlu:]

1772. Swangolo. Romans.

Shockaloo, or Shongaloo, creek rises in central Scott county and flows northeastward into Leake county, where it joins Young Warrior creek. The source of the name is Choctaw shəŋkolo, "cypress trees." The second spelling given here, it will be observed, retains the nasal quality of the vowel of the initial syllable.

A stream of the same name (though it is there spelled Shackaloa) occurs in Amite county, and a town called Shongaloo is found in Webster parish, Louisiana. 219

219 Read, La. Place-Names, 58.

SHUBUTA, or SHUBOTA ['ʃuːˈbuːtə]

1839. Shoeboatee. La Tourrette.

Professor W. L. Weber erroneously interprets Shubuta as "sour meal." 220 Concerning Weber's solution, Halbert

220 PMHS, I, 21.
writes as follows: "He probably made this statement on the authority of others. The inventor of this erroneous etymology doubtless supposed that it was a compound, made by uniting shua, bad smelling, and bota, meal. But the adjective in the Choctaw invariably follows its noun, never precedes it as in English. To speak of 'bad smelling meal' a Choctaw would say bota shua." 221

221PAHS, III, 75.

Shubuta is Choctaw shoboti, "smoky," and the name designates to-day a town in southern Clarke county. The town is situated on the M&O railroad. There is also a creek of the same name in Clarke county.

SHUCOOTAH  [ʃuˈkʌtə]

Shucootah is the name of a creek in Itawamba county. The present-day spelling seems to have been established by La Tourrette, on his map of 1839, for the surveys prepared since that time on which the name appears give the same spelling -- the one here used. The source of the name is Choctaw shukäta, "opossum."

The maps of Hardee (1871) and La Tourrette (1839) show a further application of the name Shucootah to a stream in southern Quitman county. However, the latter stream is called Opossum, or Possum, creek to-day.
SHUQUALAK, or SHUQULAK ['jugalak]

The first of the spellings given here is the one which has been adopted by the U. S. Post Office department; the second is the name of the railway station; still a third, Sugarlock, is more commonly used among the natives of Noxubee county than either of the first two. The name designates a town in southern Noxubee county, which in 1930 had a population of 810.

The name Shuqualak signifies "beads," being a corruption of Choctaw shikálla. But historians are not in agreement as to how the name came to be applied to the town. Halbert says that "a tradition exists that once in ancient times during a war between the Choctaw and the Creeks some of the former went over to the Creeks and bore arms against their own people. Afterwards when peace prevailed and these Choctaw were returning to their old homes, their people put them all to death near the present Shuqualak. The victims wore on their persons a profusion of beads, of which they were not despoiled by their executioners. Long afterwards the number of beads found scattered on the place of execution attracted attention, and the locality, with the neighboring creek, from this circumstance, is said to have received the name shikálla, since corrupted into Shuqualak."222

222PAHS, III, 76.
Dr. Swanton, however, offers a less legendary account, based upon the Choctaw claim "that they first obtained beads from the whites at Sugarlock, which received its name sk'illälla, 'beads,' from the circumstance. This, of course refers to trade beads, the introduction of which enabled the Indians to make a more lavish use of beads in belts, moccasins, and other articles of use or adornment than had before been possible...."\(^{223}\)

\(^{223}\)BAE, Bul. 103, 43.

Shuqualak creek, which lies to the south and east of the town, is a tributary of Noxubee river, which it joins in T13N, R18E, Noxubee county.

**SHUTISPEAR** [ˈʃuːtɪspər]

The first element of Shutispear is clearly Choctaw shuti, "an earthen pot, or kettle, used for boiling water and cooking over an open fire." The second element is very probably an adaptation of Choctaw isht piha, "scoop," "large ladle," the whole word signifying "kettle scoop," "kettle ladle."

Shutispear creek is a tributary of Yalobusha river, which it joins from the south in southern Calhoun county.

**SIPSEY** [ˈsɪpsə]

According to the U. S. Department of Agriculture
soil survey of Newton county (1916), Little Sipsey creek begins at the boundary between Neshoba and Newton counties and flows southward into T8N, R10E, Newton county, where it is joined by Simmons creek to make up Big Sipsey, which flows over into Scott county. The name Sipsey is derived from Choctaw sipsi, "poplar trees."

There are several streams of the same name in western Alabama.224

224 Read, Ala. Place-Names, 59.

SIWASHEE, or SOWASHEE [sə'wəsi]

Both the spellings given here are in common use today. The name designates a creek, a tributary of Oktibbee creek lying in the vicinage of Meridian, the seat of Lauderdale county. Balbert, taking the spelling Sowashee to be the more genuine, derives the name from Choctaw shau, "raccoons," plus asha, "to be there" (both elements plural); thus, "raccoons are there."225

225 PAHS, III, 75.

SKILLIKALIA [ˈskɪlɪkəlɪə]

The Vicksburg Quadrangle of the U. S. War department surveys (1932-33) lays down Skillikalia creek as a tributary
of Yazoo river, in Warren county.

Though the name is generally conceded to be Choctaw, it has proved a difficult one to solve, for no early maps to which I have had access show the stream at all; hence, there are no spellings which point to the Choctaw original.

Two possible interpretations are the following:

shilaklak ai ála, "geese come there." (Cf. Coila, supra.)
shikalilli, "small white beads (used on belts, moccasins, etc.)."

SKUNA. See LOOSA SCOONA, supra.

SOBOLA [ˈsəəˈboːla]

Sobile, which Halbert spells Seboglie, signifies "smoky," being derived from Choctaw shobohli. The name applies to-day to a creek which rises in northwest Webster county and flows northward to join Yalobusha river a few miles north of the town of Sabougla, Calhoun county.

SOCTAHOMA [ˈsɔktaˈhoːmə]

1718. Sachhoumas. De l'Isle,

From its head in T12S, R3E, Chickasaw county,
Sootahoma creek flows southward to join Houkka creek at a point near Houston, the seat of Chickasaw county. The origin of the name is Choctaw sakti, "bluff," "steep bank of a stream," and homma, "red." The stream takes its name from the red clay bluffs which border it.

Sootahoma [sun'la vi]

1732. Son-La-Houe. Danville.
1839. Hassan lowah. La Tourrette.

The spelling adopted here and that of the U. S. Department of Agriculture soil map of 1916 are the ones most commonly used in Mississippi to-day. The Rand McNally spelling, though rather infrequently used, is pretty close to the Choctaw original, which, according to Dr. Swanton, is halunlawi asha, "bullfrogs are there," or "bullfrog place."227

227 BAE, Bul. 103, 64.

Halbert, discussing Romans' map of 1772, offers the same interpretation,228 but a few years earlier he appears to have accepted Hasunlawi, upon the information of several
Sixtowns Indians, to be a corruption of *yasunla* (a Sixtowns dialectal form of *valus* or *halun*a, "leech") plus *abi*, "to kill". —"leech killer." 229

**229 PMHS, III, 370.**

Halunlawasha was originally the name of a Choctaw village which stood upon the site of the present Philadelphia, Neshoba county. To-day the name designates a large tributary of Chickasawhay river, which rises in T5N, R12E, Newton county, and flows across the northeast corner of Jasper county into Clarke, where it joins the Chickasawhay.

**Sookatonchie**

1839. *Chook a tonk che*. La Tourrette.

Sookatonchie river begins in T12S, R6E, Chickasaw county, at the confluence of Sharkey and Owl creeks. It flows southward across Clay county to the Clay-Okfuskeeha county line, where it joins Tibbee creek to make up an important tributary of Tombigbee river.

The source of the name is Choctaw *shukha*, "hog," *tanchi*, "corn." According to Halbert, "hog corn" meant to the Choctaw beech masts, which were much prized as food for hogs. 230

**230 PAHS, III, 75.**
SUCARNOOCHEE [sukə'nətsi] or [sukə'nətsi]

1839. Shukanatchie. Tanner.

Sucarnoochee creek, which rises in northwestern Kemper county, Mississippi, and flows into Tombigbee river in Sumter county, Alabama, is often called Hog river. But, as Halbert points out, this is not an exact translation of the original Choctaw name for the stream, Shukha iňhâcha, which, literally rendered, is shukha, "hog," iň, "its," hâcha, "river." 231

231PAHS, III, 70.

The town of Sucarnoochee, which has its name from the stream, is situated in eastern Kemper county at the junction of the De Kalb & Western railroad with the M&O.

In connection with the name Hobuck Bogue, supra, it has been mentioned that to supplement the noun with the possessive pronoun is one of the methods employed by the Choctaw to form the genitive case of the noun. Peculiarly, however, the possessive pronoun is not attached to the noun for which it forms the genitive case, but to the succeeding noun, which signifies the object possessed.

In the case of the third person possessive pronoun iň (which is both singular and plural), the system becomes somewhat complex. The form iň is used only when the noun signifying the object possessed does not begin with a vowel.
or with p, t, l, or oh. The form in is employed before a noun with initial t, l, or oh, and im occurs before a noun beginning with a vowel or with p. Examples, besides shukha
in'hâcha, are miko in'holliso, "the king's book;" miko
inchuka, "the king's house;" hatsak imisuba, "the man's
horse."

Finally, it should be remarked that this method of
forming the genitive case of nouns is used only when the
noun which names the object possessed is in the nominative
or the accusative case. 232

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232 Byington, BAE, Bul. 46, 171.

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SUCATOLBA [sukatolba]

Sucatolba creek, which rises just to the north of
the town of Toomsuba, Lauderdale county, joins Toomsuba
creek near the Mississippi-Alabama line. The stream is com-
monly referred to to-day by the natives of Lauderdale county
as Possum creek, but Halbert, who discovers the Choctaw
original for the name in Shukâta Âlbî Bok, points out that
this is an erroneous translation of its Indian designation.
Shukâta Âlbî Bok signifies "creek where opossums are
killed." 233

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233 PAHS, III, 76.
SUGAR BOGUE

The name Sugar Bogue is derived from Choctaw shukha bok, "hag creek." It is possible, of course, that the possessive pronoun stood before bok (see Sucarnoochee, supra) in the original form, in which case the genuine Choctaw name would be Shukha in bok, "hag its creek." The present-day form, which is an example of folk etymology, shows, however, no trace of the possessive pronoun.

Sugar Bogue creek, according to the Morton Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological surveys (1924), lies in Scott county.

SUGARLOCK. See SHUQUALAK, supra.

SUKALENA, or SUQUALENA ['sukə'liːnə]


The second of the spellings given here appears on the 1934 Rand McNally map, but it is not the one in common use in Mississippi to-day.

Halbert says that the source of the name Sukalena is Choctaw sakti abina, "camp on the bluffs." 234 The sim-

234 PAHS, III, 76.

ilarity of the first element of Sukalena to that of Sucarnoochee makes the name look suspiciously like a combination of Choctaw shukha plus a noun or an adjective, but it is
possible, of course, that forms as that given by Hardee (1871) grew out of analogy with such names as Sookatonchie andSucernoochee, q. v., supra.

The town of Sukalena is situated on the GM&N railroad, in Lauderdale county, some fifteen miles northwest of Meridian.

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TALLABINNELA [,tallebrnje]

1772. Talla Baneela. Romans.

Tallabinnela is the name of a creek which lies in southern Webster and northern Choctaw counties. The name appears on several recent maps (Rand McNally's among them) as Calabrella. The latter spelling is not in common use, however, among natives of Choctaw and Webster counties.

Tallabinnela signifies "rocks are there," the

235In the case of this name and of each of the following names of which Talla-, or Tal-, constitutes the first element, the difficulty of choosing between the Choctaw words tala, "palmetto," and táli, "rock," as the source has arisen. Wherever possible, documentary evidence is given in support of my interpretation; in all other cases, local information has served as the deciding factor.

source of the name being Choctaw táli, "rocks," binnili, "to be there." Binnili carries the connotation of permanency of position or of long continuance of existence.
TALLA BOUGE  ['tælə'boʊɡ]

1772. Tallaw Bogue. Romans.

The name Talla Bogue is applied to two separate watercourses in Mississippi. The Forest Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological surveys (1922) shows one of these in northern Scott county, and the other is a tributary of Buckatunna creek in T2N, R17E, Clarke county.

Upon the basis of Simpson Tubby's statement, supported by local information, that palmettoes were earlier abundant in both counties, the solution tala bok, "palmetto creek," is here suggested.

TALLA HAGA  ['tælə'heɡə]

Talla Haga creek rises in T16N, R11E, Winston county, and flows southward into Neshoba county, where it joins Nanawaiya and Noxapater creeks to make up Pearl river.

The source of the name is Choctaw talî hikia (both elements singular), "standing rock." This solution is supported by both La Tourrette's designation of the stream, on his map of 1839, as Talla Haga or Standing Stone Cr. and Halbert's statement 236 that "once a large upright rock stood upon its [the creek's] right bank, a few hundred

236 PAHS, III, 76.
yards above the Lake road, from which the creek derived its name."

**TALLA HALA, or TALLA HALLA** ['tæle'haele]

The name Talla Hala signifies "standing rocks," being derived from Choctaw tāli hielî (of which both elements are plural; the singular of hielî, "to stand," is hikia). There are four applications of the name in Mississippi.

Talla Hala creek in Smith county has two branches, which unite in the southern part of the county to form an important tributary of Leaf river. The two branches have the distinguishing names of East Talla Hala and West Talla Hala. At the upper end of West Talla Hala, in T5N, R10E, Newton county, stands Talla Hala school.

The town of Tallahassee is situated in Forrest county on the MC railroad, just west of Hattiesburg.

Finally, Talla Halle creek, which rises in T4N, R2W, Hinds county, joins Bayou Pierre in northwest Copiah county.

**TALLAHATCHIE** [,tæle'hætsi]

1775. Tahrehache. Adair.

Tallahatchie signifies "rock river," being derived from Choctaw tāli, "rock," and hēche, "river." The name is
applied to-day to one of the principal rivers in northern Mississippi, to a county, and to a town in Panola county.

TALLAHATTA [tæləˈhætə]

Tallahatta creek rises in southeastern Neshoba county and follows the Newton-Lauderdale county line southward to T6N, R14E, Lauderdale county, where it joins Chunky creek.

The name Tallahatta is Choctaw tali háta, which Byington defines as "silver," "white metal."\(^{237}\) With regard to the particular application of the name to the stream, Halbert prefers, however, the more literal interpretation, "white rock," presuming that the stream takes its name from the white rocks which were found by the Indians in its bed and along its banks.\(^{238}\)

\(^{237}\) BAE, Bul. 46, 344.

\(^{238}\) PAHS, III, 70.

In connection with the name Tali háta, it is interesting to speculate that perhaps many of the large number of streams called Silver creek lying in what was once Choctaw territory have their name from the same source.
TALLAHOMA [ˌtæləˈhɑːmə]


*Tallahoma* is the name of a large creek lying principally in Jasper and Jones counties. In correct Choctaw, the name is *tâli,* "rock," *homma,* "red" -- "red rock."

The same name, spelled *Tulahoma,* at an earlier time designated one of the rival towns out of which grew the present-day Grenada, Grenada county.239

239 *PMHS,* III, 314ff.

TALLASHUA


From its head, in TN, R13E, Neshoba county, Tallasshua creek flows southward across the eastern part of Newton county and joins Chunky creek near the town of Chunky.

*Tallashua* is from Choctaw *tala,* "palmettoes" (*Sabel adansonii* Guerns.), *asha,* "to be there;" thus, "palmettoes are there." The stream is so called because of "the abundance of palmettoes that once grew in its bottoms in the upper part of Newton county."240

240 *Palbert,* *PAHS,* III, 76.
Imoklasha ("their people are there")\textsuperscript{241}, the most

\textsuperscript{241}Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 62.

"notable Choctaw town in Neshoba county, was situated upon
the headwaters of Talasha creek."\textsuperscript{242}

\textsuperscript{242}Salbert, PMHS, VI, 431.

\textbf{TALLALOOSA} \textit{[təˈləluːsə]}

Tallaloosa creek rises to the southwest of Holly
Springs, seat of Marshall county. One of its principal
sources is the spring from which Holly Springs takes its
name. It joins Tallahatchie river at the Marshall-Lafayette
county line.

The name Tallaloosa signifies "black rocks," being
derived from Choctaw tăli lusa. According to local tradition,
black rocks were formerly found in abundance at the upper
end of the creek, and from this fact the stream has its
name.

\textbf{TALLATULUCK}

Talletuluck creek is a tributary of Sucarnoochee
creek in western Kemper county. The stream takes its name
from an Indian village which was situated on its banks near
the point of its confluence with Sucarnoochee. In correct
Choctaw, the name is Táli chiluk; táli means "rock," and chiluk, "hollow," "having a hole in it."

According to Simpson Tubby, the village was so called because there was a large hollow rock which stood within the village limits.

The modern spelling is simply the result of consonantal assimilation.

TALLULA  [təˈluːə]

Tallula signifies "bell," being derived from Choctaw talula, which is contracted from táli, "metal," plus ula, "to sound" --"sounding metal." The name designates today a post office, and the village which the office serves, in Issaquena county. The same name (more frequently spelled Tallulah, however) occurs in Madison parish, Louisiana, but its source is Cherokee talulu, for which the meaning has been lost. 243

243 Read, La. Place-Names, 59.

TALOWAH

Talowah, the name of a station on the Southern railway, in southeastern Lamar county, may be derived from Choctaw táli, "rocks," and laua, "to be many" --"rocks are plentiful." (The combination táli laua may also be employed
as an adjective; as such, it signifies "stony." )

244 Byington, BAE, Bul. 46, 346.

Cushman suggests a second rather plausible solution of the name of the town by connecting it with Choctaw talowa, which, as a verb, signifies "to sing," and, as a substantive, either "a singer" or "a song."

245 Cushman, History, 604.

Simpson Tubby offers some support to Cushman's interpretation with the information that talowa was commonly used among the Choctaws as a personal name.

TAMOLA  [te'mo:la]

Tamola station is situated on the M&O railway, in Kemper county. The source of the name is probably Choctaw tamoli, but the exact signification of the term as a geographic name is not clear. In general, tamoli means "to scatter," but in the Choctaw Bible, the Red sea is designated as oka tamoli, "water spread out" (Exodus 10: 19).

Cushman's choice of Choctaw tamoa, "lost," as the original of Tamola is probably incorrect, for this interpretation does not account for the of the present-day form.

246 Cushman, History, 604.
TANGIPAHOA \[\text{tænd\text{\itipəhə)}\]

1718. Tangipaou. De l'Isle.
1846. Tangipaou. La Tourrette.

The exact origin of Tangipahoa is uncertain. The name belonged originally to an Indian tribe which "lived near another tribe called the Acolapiissa, in the region east of New Orleans, and particularly on the Tangipahoa river. Whether the Tangipahoa tribe formed a seventh village of the Acolapiissa, and like the Acolapiissa, spoke Choctaw has not been ascertained. The village of the Tangipahoeas is said to have been destroyed by the Oumas."^247

^247 Read, La. Place-Names, 61.

The earliest attempts to analyze the name Tangipahoa are those of Pénicaout and Du Pratz. Pénicaout says the name means "white corn," and Du Pratz gives the interpretation "bled grêlé = "perched corn."^248 But both of these solutions are erroneous.

^248 Ibid. 60.

Gatschet, with whose translation both Halbert and Wright are in accord, derives the name from Choctaw tanchäpi, "corncob," "cornstalk," and a10a, "to pick up" = "cornstalk gatherers."
Finally, there is the solution of Bushnell, who finds the original for **Tangipahoe** in Choctaw **tanchi**, "corn," **pahoha**, "inside," or "cob." (By way of supporting his interpretation, Bushnell states that the Choctaws themselves translated the name "corncob.")\(^{249}\)

\(^{249}\)Bushnell, BAE, Bul. 48, 2.

The name **Tangipahoe** survives to-day in that of a river which rises in Pike county and flows southward into Louisiana at a point near the town of Osyka.

**TARLECHIA** [ta:'li:ti:]  

The name **Tarlechia** signifies "place where palmettoes are" —literally, "palmettoes sit there," from Choctaw **tala**, "palmettoes," a. locative meaning "there," **chiya**, "to sit." (The use of the verb **chiya** with regard to both persons and things has been discussed in connection with **Nusichiya**, a. v., supra.)

**Tarlechia** creek lies in Prentiss county, according to the Booneville Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological surveys (1922).

**TARLOW** ['tæ.lo:]  

**Tarlow** is a corruption of Choctaw **tala**, "palmetto" (**Sabal adansonii** Guerns.). The creek which bears the name
to-day is in Newton county.

Until about the middle of the nineteenth century, the area between Tarlow creek and Bogue Felema, both tributaries of Potter Chitto, was known as Tala Town. "Tala Town was a thickly settled community and nearly all its people emigrated in the second and third emigrations of 1832 and 1833." 250

250 Halbert, PMHS, VI, 445.

TASKA ['təskə]

Taska is the name of a small village in northern Marshall county. The source of the name is Choctaw təška, "warrior." The development of Choctaw ā into the a of Taska is rather an anomaly. Though the same sound shift appears to be common enough in such forms as Talla Haga and Talla Hala (the first element of both names being Choctaw təli), this is the only instance which has come to my notice that does not show the development of the ā in təška to English u. Of. Tuscahoma, Tuscanola, and Tuscolameta, infra.

TCHOUTACABOUFFA ['tshu:təkə'bu:fa]

1839. Tchuta Cabawfa. La Tourrette.
Tchoutacabouffa creek unites with the Biloxi river to form Big Lake, an arm of Back Bay of Biloxi, in southern Harrison county. The name signifies "broken pottery," being corrupted from Choctaw *shuti*, "earthen pots," and *kobafa*, "broken."

The spelling Tchoutacabouffa, which appears on the 1926 U. S. Department of Agriculture soil survey of Harrison county, is the one generally used today.

**TCHULA [ˈtʃuːla]**

Tchula is Choctaw *chula*, "fox." The name has three applications in Mississippi: to a lake which forms a part of the boundary between Humphreys and Holmes counties; to a town situated on the Y&MV railroad, in Holmes county; and to a river flowing southward along the eastern boundary of Harrison county.

**TECHEVA [ˈtʃeːva]**

Old Techeva creek joins Yazoo river at a point a few miles to the southwest of Zelleria, Yazoo county. Techeva creek, proper, rising in southern Holmes county, pursues a westerly course along the Yazoo-Holmes county line to Yazoo river.

Though the name is rather certainly of Choctaw origin, its exact source is unknown. Simpson Tubby suggests a
possible solution in the personal name Is t ahefe; Is is "one who goes;" t is the conjunctive particle, "and;" and ahefe signifies "to wash" --"one who goes and washes."

A second probable source is Choctaw isht ahefe, "soap."

Techeva creek is also known to-day as Cheva creek.

**TEOC ["tia:k"]**

In correct Choctaw orthography, this is tia:k, "pine."
The name is applied to a small settlement near Carrollton, in Carroll county.

**TEOCIALIA ["tiak-taia"]**

Teoctalia is the name of a creek in Carroll county.
The name signifies "pine grove," "pine thicket," being derived from Choctaw tiak talaia, which combination means literally "pines, those which stand."251

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251 Byington, BAE, Bul. 46, 339.

**TIBBEE ["tiibri"]**

Tibbee creek rises in central Clay county and pursues a southeasterly course to the point of its confluence with Tombigbee river a few miles east of the town of Tibbee, a station on the M&O railroad.
Both Halbert\textsuperscript{252} and Gannett\textsuperscript{253} agree that the name is a shortened form of Oktibbeha, \textit{q. v.}, supra.

\textsuperscript{252} \textit{PMHS}, XI, 325.
\textsuperscript{253} \textit{PMHS}, VI, 348.

\textbf{TIBBY} \ ([\textit{tibi}])

\textbf{Tibby}, the name of a creek which, with several other small streams, makes up Yokahockany River, in northern Attala county, is, like \textbf{Tibbee}, supra, simply a form reduced from Oktibbeha, supra.

The name \textbf{Tibby} presents a very interesting case of Choctaw folk etymology. The current belief among the Mississippi Choctaws is that the source of the name is \textit{itibi}, "to fight." The foundation of the belief lies in a tale which Simpson Tubby relates as follows:

When a group of white people arrived at Tibby creek, they discovered an Indian camp situated upon the opposite bank of the stream. The whites gave the Indians a cask of whisky upon the condition that the latter would return to their own camp to drink. The Indians rolled the cask across on the bottom of the stream, each brave taking a turn at diving and rolling it a few feet. Upon reaching their own side of the creek, the Indians imbibed freely and presently, becoming intoxicated, engaged in free-for-all fighting --hence the name of the stream.
TICKABUM, or TUCKABUM

1844. Tuckabunne. La Tourrette.

Tickabum creek rises in southeast Lauderdale county, Mississippi, and flows over into Choctaw county, Alabama.

Several of the Mississippi Choctaws residing on the Pearl River "reservation," near Philadelphia, Mississippi, are of the opinion that the genuine Choctaw name is Bok tikba, "first creek."

"Brannon, in Arrow Points, July, 1925, p. 12, suggests that the variant Tuckabum is connected with Choctaw tukafa, 'to fire,' which may also signify 'fired,' or 'an explosion.'"254

254 Read, Ala. Place-Names, 67.

Dr. W. A. Read suggests other possible solutions of Tickabum in Choctaw iti hakbora, "mouldy wood;" tikpi buna, "double bend in a stream," or "double knob;" and hatsakabi, "murderer," "man killer."255

255 Ibid.

TICKFAW [t'ikfɔː]

1816. Tiefah. Darby.
1846. Tickfaw. La Tourrette.

Tickfaw river rises in T2N, R6E, Amite county, and
flows southward through St. Helena and Livingston parishes, Louisiana, into Lake Maurepas.

The name is now thought to be simply a shortened form of Pawtiscaw, q. v., supra, reduced to its present condition by the falling away of the initial syllable through lack of stress. 256

256 See Dr. W. A. Read's statement concerning the origin of Tickfaw under Pawtiscaw, supra.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TILLATOBA  [tɪlˈlətəbə]</th>
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<td>1839. Ittillitoba. La Tourrette.</td>
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The town of Tillatoba, "which was located about a mile northwest of Charleston, was at one time the county seat of Tallahatchie county.... As the land on which this town was located had a defective title, the county seat was removed about 1837 across Tillatoba creek to Charleston. The name Tillatoba still survives in a small station on the Illinois Central (formerly Mississippi and Tennessee) railroad, though there is not a vestige of the old town left." 257


The present-day Tillatoba is in Yalobusha county.

Cushman's interpretation of the name Tillatoba (from Choctaw tálí, "rock," and tohbi, "white") as "gray rock" is
pretty certainly erroneous, for La Tourrette's spelling (1839) indicates clearly that the first element must be Choctaw iti, "tree." On the basis of this spelling, I suggest a solution in either Choctaw iti illi, "dead tree," plus tohbi, "white" --"white dead tree"-- or Choctaw iti illi plus lobbi, "to turn up by the roots" --hence, "dead tree turned up by the roots." The t of the final element of the present-day spelling of the name may be accounted for as a case of consonantal assimilation.

Other possible sources of Tillatoba in Choctaw are the following:

iti têli toba, "petrified tree."
iti hieli tohbi (all elements plural), "standing white trees," or, with the locative e, iti aheli tohbi, "white trees standing there."
iti litilli tohbi, "white tree-gum."

TIPPAH ['tipə]

Tippah county was established February 9, 1836, and, according to Gannett, was named for the wife of Pontotoc, a Chickasaw Indian chief. The name, Gannett says, signifies "cut off," perhaps meaning "separated," "divorced" --though

258 Cushman, History, 604.

259 PMHS, VI, 348.
Simpson Tubby says that the corresponding Ch'octaw word, tapa, is not used in the sense of "divorce."

It seems rather more likely that the name for the county was taken from that of a stream, the upper end of which lies in Tippah county. Near the head of the creek there are four distinct branches, and from this fact it seems plausible to believe that the original name of the stream was Bok tippah, or, in Choctaw, Bok tapa, "separated creek."

TIPPO

Tippo is the name of a town and a station on the Y&MV railroad, in Tallahatchie county. The town is named for Tippo Bayou, on the banks of which it is situated. The ultimate source of the name is Choctaw tapa, "cut off," "separated," or the Chickasaw cognate tippah (see Tippah, supra).

TISHOMINGO [ˌtɪʃəˈmɪŋgoː]

Tishomingo county is one of the twelve formed from the Chickasaw Indian cession of 1832 by an act of the State Legislature, February 9, 1836. The county was named for a Chickasaw Indian, Tishu Minco (Choctaw Tishu MiPko), which name, according to a letter to Harry Warren from Cyrus Harris, grandson of Molly Gunn, a Chickasaw woman who was at
one time the governor of the Chickasaws in the Indian Territory, should be interpreted "Warrior Chief." Swanton, however, interprets the name as "Waiter Chief," evidently basing his solution of the first element upon Byington's definition of the word tishu, "waiter," "a servant who attends a chief to light his pipe, make his fire, etc." And Cushman says that Tishomingo signifies "chief officer, or guard, of the king."

The name Tishomingo designates, in addition to the county, a town and railway station on the IC, in central Tishomingo county.

Goodspeed's Memoirs of Mississippi, I, 259, reports that Chief Tishomingo "died about 1836 at Iuka Springs and was buried on the site of Iuka."

Tobitubbee [təˈbəˌtəbə] is an aphetic form of the Choctaw personal
name Atobbitábi, "the one who pays and kills," which is composed of atobbi, "to pay," t, connective particle, "and," ábì, "to kill." 264

Tobitubbee creek originates just west of Oxford, the seat of Lafayette county, and flows northwestward into Tallahatchie river.


The name Toccopola designates to-day a town and a creek in Pontotoc county. The town is situated upon the banks of the stream, a tributary of Yocona river, near the Pontotoc-Lafayette county line.

Mr. E. T. Winston, of Pontotoc, Mississippi, suggests that the name is derived from Choctaw tok (sign of the remote past tense) plus a, "there," and topoli, "to push (through)," which he interprets as "an old ford, or crossing." But this is hardly plausible. It is my understanding that the Choctaw did not use tok in the sense in which Mr. Winston here employs the word, but rather in the same fashion in which English did and was are used to indicate a preterite action or circumstance. For example, consider tukashkia, "the one (to whom there has been previous reference) did go," and
potoli tukokat, "he who did touch."

Cushman's interpretation, tosh-bo-ko-li, "mouse colored," is without foundation. The Choctaw stem tosh-

Cushman, History, 604.

signifies "rotten," "perishable."

The following are some possible sources of Toc-
copola in Choctaw:

itakopuli, "to close together."

itakhapuli, "to be troublesome."

iti ai okpulo, "trees there destroyed."

Toco\:a

Tocowa is the name of a village of some fifty in-
habitants, situated in Panola county near the Old Choctaw-
Chickasaw boundary. The source of the name is probably
Choctaw iti, "trees," and akawa, "bent down and broken (but
not broken off completely from the stump)," or Choctaw
itakowa, "fire wood."

Tokeba

The Bayland Quadrangle of the U. S. War Department
survey (1929-30) lays down Tokeba bayou between the southern
end of Wolf lake and Yazoo river, Yazoo county.

The name is probably a corruption of Choctaw iti,
"tree," and kiba, "frog;" hence, "tree frog."
TOKSHISH

Tokshish is the name of a settlement situated some ten miles to the south of Pontotoc, seat of Pontotoc county. Some years ago there was an Indian missionary station upon the site of the settlement.

The name, according to Halbert, is derived from Choctaw itakshish, "tree roots," a contraction from iti akshish. 266

266 Halbert, PAHS, III, 76.

TOMBIGBEE [tam'bíگbi]

1732. Tombeche. Danville.
1772. Tombeckbay. Romans.
1818. Tombigby. Ludlow.

Tombigbee river rises in northeastern Mississippi and joins the Alabama some forty miles to the north of the city of Mobile. The river was commonly called Hàcha, "river," by the Choctaws. The Noxubee, the largest tributary of the Tombigbee, was, by way of distinction, known as Hàcha osi, "little river." 267

267 Halbert, PAHS, III, 68.

The name Tombigbee is derived from Choctaw itombi, "coffin," 1kbi, "makers."

"Among the Choctaw there was a class of old men who cleaned the bones of the dead and placed them in boxes.
Evidently some members of this class must have lived along the Tombigbee.

"To the Choctaw they were known as na foni aiowa, from na foni, 'bones,' and aiowa, 'those who pick up the bones' for burial.

"A bone picker of the clan was also called ikse-namboola, according to Claiborne. This term is from ikse, 'clan,' and nam boli, 'which stores or lays up' (bones)." 268

268 Read, Ala. Place-Names, 69.

TONACANNA, or TONY CANY [ˈtoni kənɪ]

Halbert says that, according to some of the Mississippi Choctaws, Tonacanna is a corruption of Choctaw tonik, "posts," hieli, "standing" — "standing posts." 269

269 PAHS, III, 76.

The name is applied to a stream which rises in T6N, R13E, Newton county, and flows southward to join Chunky creek.

TOOMSUBA [ˈtʊmsubə]

1839. Tonsobah. La Tourrette.

Gushman derives Toomsuba from Choctaw tonullichi, "to roll away," isuba, "horse," which he interprets as "rolling
horse. But this etymology is incorrect; in the Choctaw

the adjective always follows the noun. The source of the
name is Choctaw tuśsubi, "fish hawk" (Pandion haliaëtus
carolinensis Gmel.).

The name Toomsuba designates a town of some 350 in-
habitants, situated in eastern Lauderdale county on the AGS
railway, and a creek which forms one of the branches of
Alamuchee creek in Sumter county, Alabama.

TOPASHAW ['tapəʃ:]

The name Topashaw may be simply a variant form of
Otapasso, s. v., supra, but it is highly probable that there
is a connection between Topashaw and Taposa, the latter
being the name of a tribe which formerly lived on the Yazoo
river. "Iberville heard of them [the Taposa] in 1699, when
they were said to be between the Ofagoula [Choctaw ofi, 'dog,'
okla, 'people'] and the Chakchiuma [Choctaw shakchi, 'craw-
fish,' and humma, 'red'], on Yazoo r. Baudry des Lozieres
mentioned them in 1802, under the name Tapouches, as settled
in a village with Chakchiuma and Ibitoupa [Choctaw ibetáp,
'fountain head,' okla, 'people'] on upper Yazoo r., and in
fact they were really the most northerly Yazoo tribe. They appear to be one of the tribes confederated with the Chickasaw, and according to Le Page du Pratz spoke the same language. They occupied 25 cabins in 1730."  

\[\text{272} \text{Hodge, BAF, Bul. 30, II, 691-692.}\]

The meaning of the name Taposa is unknown. Topashaw creek is a tributary of Yalobusha river, in Calhoun county.

**TOUGALOO [ˈtəɡəlu]**

1819. **Bogue Toogooloo**, Ludlow.  
1820. **Bogue Toogolo**, Tanner.

Tougaloo probably signifies "second," being corrupted from Choctaw *stukla*. It is clear that the name was pretty certainly first applied to a stream, Bok *stukla*, "second creek," which Tanner (1820) places in Kemper county, between Noxubee river and Okatibbee creek, unless, of course, it is to be associated with **Tougoulas**, the name of one of the nine villages of the Natchez listed by Iberville in 1699.

Gatschet, on the authority of Allen Wright, a Choctaw chief, interprets the latter name as "forest people," discovering its source in Choctaw *iti*, "wood," "forest," *okla*, "people."  

\[\text{273} \text{And Halbert, assuming that Tougaloo, which}\]

\[\text{273Gatschet, A Migration Legend, I, 37.}\]
designates a station on the IC railroad, in Hinds county, and a college operated under the auspices of the American Missionary Association, situated near the station, is the same name, concurs with Gatschut in this interpretation.274

274PAHS, III, 76.

President Judson L. Cross, of Tougaloo College, informs me that everyone around Tougaloo thinks the name means "second creek" or "two creeks."

As I have pointed out in connection with the name Pocolechetto, supra, the Choctaws frequently referred to streams by numbers instead of by names.

The Choctaw town of Bouktoukoulou chito ("big two creeks"), according to Halbert, was situated at the confluence of Running Tiger creek and Sucarnoochee creek, almost four miles northwest of the present site of De Kalb, Kemper county.275

275MPA, I, 41.

TUBBALUBBY [t̪abalab̪i]

Tubbalubby creek originates in T11S, R5E, Lee county, and flows southeastward into Monroe county to join Town creek, sometimes called West Fork of Tombigbee river.

The name is Choctaw tubi, "beans," a, "there," and lubbi, "to root up" -- "[creek] where beans have been rootéd up."
The town of Tula is situated on Pollacona creek, about fourteen miles east of Oxford, seat of Lafayette county. There is also a lake in Coahoma county which bears the name.

*Tula* is a popular geographic name in Mexico, but in the case of its application to the town and the lake in Mississippi, it is said to be a corruption of Creek *tola*, "the sweet bay (tree)" (*Persea borbonia* Spreng).

**TUMBALOO**

Tumbaloo creek is a tributary of Richland creek in Rankin county. Though a possible solution is suggested in *itî ombâla*, "an opening in the wood where there are but few large trees," Simpson Tubby says that the source of the name is Choctaw *hatombâla*, "beech tree."

**TUNICA**

"The name *Tunica* perpetuates that of an Indian tribe, living at the close of the seventeenth century on the southern side of the Yazoo river, not very far from its mouth." 

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"The name of the tribe signifies simply 'men' or 'people' [*te, 'the,' unî, 'people,' and the nominal suffix -ka*] in their language, but they prefer to call themselves as
a nation by another term, Yoron.\textsuperscript{277}

\textsuperscript{277}Swanton, BAE, Bul. 43, 306.

Tunica is the name of a county in the northwest corner of the state and of the seat of that county. Tunica county was established in 1836, being one of the counties carved out of the territory acquired from the Chickasaws in the Treaty of Pontotoc, 1832.

TUPELO [\textit{tju:palo}]

The town of Tupelo, seat of Lee county, was so named by officials of the M&O railroad in 1854, when a station was established at that point on the railway. This name was chosen because of the abundance of the tupelo gum trees (\textit{Nyssa multiflora} L.) which grew in the vicinity of the station.

Tupelo signifies "swamp tree," being derived from Creek \textit{ito}, "tree," and \textit{opilwá}, "swamp."

TUSCAHOMA [\textit{taskahoma}]

The name Tuscahoma applies to-day in Mississippi to a small settlement in T22N, R3E, Grenada county, known as Tuscahoma Church. The name, which signifies "Red Warrior," from Choctaw \textit{tákshka}, "warrior," and \textit{homma}, "red," is the same as that of an Indian village situated of the Tombigbee river, in Choctaw county, Alabama.
"Captain Bernard Roman[s], in his account of his journey down the Tombigbee, states that on the 13th of January, 1778, he came to Batchachooka, the present

278 Choctaw Bâcheca Chuka, "Ridge Houses" --Read, Ala. Place-Names, 71.

Tuscaloosa...

Tuscaloosa, PAHS, III, 367.

TUSCANOLA [ˌtas'kəna]  
According to Halbert, Tuscanola is a corruption of Choctaw šashka, "warrior," and nan anoli, "herald," "messenger." 280

280 PAHS, III, 76-77.

The name applies to-day to a settlement in Jones county.

TUSCOLA [tas'kəla]  
Tuscola is the name of a small town situated on the GN&N railroad, near the banks of Tuscolameta, or Young Warrior creek, in southern Leake county.

At first inspection, I supposed the name to have been imported into Mississippi from Illinois, Michigan, or Virginia.
(According to the Century Atlas, the name occurs in the three states mentioned, as well as in Mississippi.)

I am informed, however, by Mr. W. A. Ellis, Carthage, Mississippi, that the name of the town is merely a shortened form of Tuscolameta, q. v., infra.

TUSCOLAMETA \[tæskə'lemitə\]

Tuscolamets creek begins at the confluence of Hensley and Conehatta creeks, in western Newton county, and flows northwestward into Scott county. In correct Choctaw orthography, the name is tâshka, "warrior," himmita, "young" -- "young warrior."\[28\]

\[28\] Halbert, PAHS, III, 76.

The stream is known to-day by both the Indian name and its English equivalent. The U. S. Geological survey (Forest Quadrangle, 1922) and a soil survey of Newton county made in 1916 by the U. S. Department of Agriculture use the Indian designation; Rand McNally's map of Mississippi (1934) has Young Warrior creek.

TUSCUMBIA \[tis'kʌmbiə\]

Tuscumbia river originates at the Alcorn-Prentiss county line, flows northwestward across Alcorn county, and joins Hatchie river just north of the Mississippi-Tennessee
boundary.

Dr. W. A. Read, considering the name as applied to a city in Colbert county, Alabama, mentions the common translation "Warrior Killer," from Choctaw or Chickasaw tâshka, "warrior," and âbi or ambi, "killer," but suggests a more plausible etymology in Choctaw tâshka umbāchi, "warrior rainmaker," or Choctaw tâshka umba ikbi, "warrior rainmaker." 282

282 Read, Ala. Place-Names, 72.

The place-name Tuscumbia perpetuates the name of a famous Cherokee chief. 283

283 Ibid.

TUXACHANIE [taks'âtje:n]  

Tuxachanie is a corruption of Takshochiye, the name of a place in the Old Nation, mentioned by Byington. 284

284 BAE, Bul. 46, 339.

Takshochiye is composed of Choctaw takšo, "fragments of tanfule ('Indian hominy') boilers," a, "there," and chiya, "to lie" --"boiler fragments are lying there." The n in the present-day form Tuxachanie may be accounted for by the fact that there existed in Choctaw also the nasal form chiânya of
of *chiya* (cf. Choctaw Bible, Josh. 3: 2; 7: 21).285

Concerning the use of *chiya* (said by many to be strictly dual), see *Nusichiya*, supra.

It is of some interest to observe both the linguistic and the geographical proximity of the names Tuxachanie and Tchoutacabouffa, *q. v.*, supra.

Tuxachanie creek, which lies in eastern Harrison county, enters Tchoutacabouffa in section 28, T6S, R9W, St. Stephens Meridian.

WAHALAK

1839. *Wah bar lock*, La Tourrette.

The town of Wahalak is situated in northeastern Kemper county, on the M&O railroad. The source of the name is Choctaw *wahhaloha*, "to branch out," "pronged," which, applied to a stream, signifies "having two, or more, branches."286 The name of the town was evidently transferred from a tributary of Tombigbee river, near which the town stands.

WAMBA ['wamba']

*Wamba* is perhaps simply a shortened form of *Itawamba*,
q. v., supra. The village of Wamba is situated in Attala county, near Kosciusko, the county seat.

WAUTUBBEE [wo'təbi]

Simpson Tubby says that Wautubbee is a Choctaw personal name, corrupted from owáttá, "to hunt," t, "and," ábi, "to kill" --that is, "the one who hunts and kills."

The name designates to-day a station on the NO&NE railroad, in Clarke county.

WHISKEY

1818. Whiskey. Ludlow.

Whiskey creek is a tributary of Pascagoula river, in George county. The name is a folk-etymological development from Choctaw uski, "cane," "reeds" --hence, Cane creek.

YALOBUSA [i ələbəsə]

1839. Yellow Butche. La Tourrette.

The Yalobusha river is one of the principal watercourses in north central Mississippi. The name is derived from Choctaw yaloba, "tadpoles," and asha, "to be there" --thus, "tadpoles are there," or "tadpole place."

When several counties were formed in December, 1833, from the territory obtained from the Choctaws by the Treaty
of Dancing Rabbit, 1830, one of them was named Yalobusha.

There is also a third application of the name Yalobusha in Mississippi -- a "flag stop" on the Y&LV railroad, in Leflore county.

YANUBBEE [ja'nhabi]

1839. Yauanbee. La Tourrette.

Yanubbee creek rises just to the south of De Kalb, in Kemper county, and flows eastward to join Pawticfaw creek. Old Yanubbee town was situated about eight miles to the south of the present site of De Kalb and near the point of confluence of Yanubbee creek with Pawticfaw.

The present spelling of the name is comparatively new. The genuine Choctaw orthography is Iyanabi, "ironwood," "witch-hazel." Byington mentions the application of this name to the stream in his dictionary.287

287BAE, Bul. 46, 217.

The spelling of Iberville, it will be noticed, is very close to the Choctaw. He has simply appended augoula, which is Choctaw okla, "people."

"Yannubbee Town was a place of some celebrity in Choctaw history. According to tradition, at some period in
the eighteenth century, a bloody war occurred between the Creek Indians and the Kooncheto Choctaws. Both parties finally becoming weary of war, at the suggestion of the Creeks, Yannubbee Town, which, it seems was a neutral town, was selected as a place of rendezvous for the two tribes to meet and arrange terms of peace. The Choctaw chief with his warriors on the appointed day arrived in Yannubbee. But the Creeks, perhaps fearing treachery, failed to make their appearance. The Choctaw chief then ordered his warriors to fire their guns upward in the open air, thereby intimating his perfect willingness that the war should close. This action, which no doubt became known to the Creeks, practically made peace between the two tribes. 288

288 Kooncheto is a corruption of Ku'nshak chito, "big cane (town)." Ku'nshak chito was situated in Neshoba county near the headwaters of Oktibbeha creek -- Swanton, BAE, Bul. 103, 62.

Yanubbee town as an Indian village continued to exist until as late as 1842.

YAZO0 [ˈjaːzu]  
At the present time, Yazoo has no less than five applications, as a geographic name, in the state of Mississippi. It designates one of the state's principal water-courses, the Yazoo river; a county lying in the east central part of the state; the seat of that county, Yazoo City; a railway station on the Y&MV, near Yazoo City --Yazoo Junction; and a settlement in Coahoma county, Yazoo Pass.

If the etymology which finds the source of the name in Uchee yashu, "leaf," may be trusted, the name apparently belonged in the first instance to the stream. Subsequently, it was perhaps transferred to the Indian tribe which resided on the lower Yazoo river. From the tribe or from the river, the Choctaws --the Oklafalaya ("long people") group-- borrowed the name for one of their important towns, situated in what is now Neshoba county, near the headwaters of Oktibbeha creek, and for the less important Yashu Iskitini ("little Yazoo") town, situated in what is now Kemper county.

The frequency with which the Choctaws used the name Leaf river to designate streams and the Uchee claim that

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290 Cf. Bogue Hasty and Eastabutchie, supra.

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they were the most ancient inhabitants of the Gulf Coast --a claim substantiated by some evidence that the tribe lived in Mississippi in prehistoric times and gave names to several
The etymology which finds the source of Yazoo in Choctaw ya, or ia, "to go," and esha, "to sit," is, according to Dr. W. A. Read, without foundation. Likewise, the interpretations, "River of Death" and "to blow on an instrument," must be discredited upon the ground of lack of evidence.

The Yazoo people belonged to the Tunica group, being always closely associated with the Koroe, whom they resembled in employing an r in speaking, unlike most of the neighboring tribes. The French in 1718 erected a fort 4 leagues from the mouth of the Yazoo r. to guard that stream, which formed the waterway to the Chickasaw country. In 1729, in imitation of the Natchez, the Yazoo and Koroe rose against the French and destroyed the fort, but both tribes were finally expelled and probably united with the Chickasaw and Choctaw. Whether the tribe had any connection with the West Yazoo and East Yazoo.
towns among the Choctaw is unknown."\(^{294}\)

\(^{294}\) Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, II, 995.

YOCANNOGANA \([\text{i} j\text{a} k\text{e} h\text{a}k\text{k}\text{e}n]\)

Yocannocana is a freight station on the C&G railroad, in Leake county. The name is a variant form of Yokahockany, q. v., infra, showing the result of consonantal assimilation.

YOCONA

1837. Yoknapatawpha. Bell (sectional map).
1839. Yoknapatawpha. Tanner.
1839. Yochnapatafa. La Tourrette.

Yocona river has its headwaters in Lafayette and Pontotoc counties. It flows westward into Tallahatchie river, in Quitman county.

In correct Choctaw, the name is yakni, "land," patsa, "plowed," "tilled." The second element of the original name has been dropped entirely in the present-day spelling. This shortening must have taken place in comparatively recent times, for the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series I, reporting the battle between the Union and Confederate forces, of December 1, 1862, on the Yocona river, has the spelling Yocknapatalfa.
YOCONY

Yocony is the name of a small settlement in Itawamba county, near the Alabama state line. Presumably, the name is a corruption of Choctaw yakni, "land," "country."

YOKABOCKANY ['jake'ha'ke'ni]

Concerning the name Yokabockany, which designates a creek in Leeke county, Halbert writes as follows: "All that can be said about this word is the statement of an old Indian countryman that it is a corruption of Choctaw yakni saikli, 'Beautiful land'."295

295PAHS, III, 77.

The name is actually corrupted from Choctaw yakni, "land," and okhina, "creek."296

296See Swanton, BLK, Bul. 103, 81.

YOKENA ['jə:kəni]

The village of Yokena is situated on the V&MV railroad, in Warren county. The pronunciation [jə:kəni], which, Mr. H. H. Mackey, Vicksburg, Mississippi, informs me is the only one in use in Warren county, indicates an etymology in Choctaw yakni, "land." The present-day spelling is apparently a rather recent development.
YONABA

According to the Tupelo Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological survey, 1923, Yonaba creek is a tributary of Oldtown creek, which it joins just to the northwest of the town of Tupelo, Lee county.

The source of the name is uncertain. The final element aba suggests Choctaw abí, "to kill." Perhaps the original is the Choctaw personal name ya, or ia, "one who goes," plus na, conjunctive particle, "and," "so that," plus ábi, "to kill" -- thus, Yanábi, "one who goes and kills."

A second possible interpretation is indicated in Choctaw yánoba, "feverish."

YONKAPIN [jɔŋkəpin]

The Crowder Quadrangle of the U. S. Geological survey, 1935, places Yonkapin lake in Tallahatchie county, about four miles south of the Quitman county line.

At first, I supposed the name to be corrupted from Choctaw yokopa, "placid," "quiet," but Dr. W. A. Read has called my attention to the similarity of Yonkapin and Yankapin, the latter form being a corruption of Ojibwa wānkipin, which signifies "crooked root" and is the name for "the long nodose rootstock of the water chinquapin" (Nelumbo lutea Willd. Pers.). The root of the water chinquapin
was commonly used as food among the Indians; it was always necessary, however, to boil the root in order to destroy its acidity.

Wanipple was called "tarawa and taluwa, 'hollow root,' by the Oto and Quapaw."^297

^297Hodge, BAE, Bul. 30, II, 904.
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P. 18. Read *Amer. Anthrop.*, N. S. IX (1907), 527.


P. 43. **Ibetap in bok** should be Ibetap in bok.

P. 44. After "sumac," line 1, insert *(Rhus glabra L.)*.

P. 47. The pronunciation, however, points almost certainly to Choctaw bail, "white oak" (*Quercus alba L.*), as the first element of the name Blachoua. The second element may be shua or perhaps chaha, "high," "tall."

P. 50. Change a to ã in [bågesè].

P. 51. **Boghumpa** may be from Choctaw bok, "creek," and umbi, "pawpaw" (*Asimina triloba* Dunal.). Or perhaps the
second element may be Choctaw umpa, "rain."

P. 56. Add BOQUETULUKSI. A southwestern tributary of Chicasawhay river. The name signifies "Little Two-streams," the Choctaw source being Bok, "stream," tuklo, "two," and -usi, "little" (BAE, Bul. 103, 68).

P. 64. In line 2, read an for a.

P. 71. Change a to a in the transcription of Chockahoma.

P. 89. After "sourwood," line 3, add (Oxydendrum arboreum L., DC.).


P. 109. The second element in Kentuotah is in all probability Choctaw hohtak, "pond," or oktak, "prairie." The final k in Choctaw is weak and often disappears in pronunciation.

P. 124. Narkeeta may be from Choctaw naki, "arrow," and iti, "wood."

P. 138. Delete "or indicating an unusual translation of hullo."

P. 163. Read "There is probably no connection other than linguistic," etc.

P. 171. Change masts to mast, and "were much prized" to "was much prized."

P. 191. Delete the words "or Choctaw iti illi plus lobbi," etc.
BIOGRAPHY

Lee Leslie Seale was born at Roxie, Mississippi, September 18, 1909. At the death of his father, in 1914, he moved with his mother to Jackson, Louisiana, where his formal education was begun the following year in the W. R. Mc Kowen High School. Graduating from that school, in 1926, he proceeded to Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana. From that institution, he received the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1930. In 1932, after two years of teaching in the Louisiana public school system, he entered the Graduate School of the Louisiana State University, by which, in 1933, he was granted the degree of Master of Arts. During the session 1933-34, he taught again in the Louisiana public schools. From 1934 to 1936, he held a Teaching Fellowship in the Department of English, Louisiana State University, and pursued his studies toward the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. In 1936, he obtained a German-American Exchange Fellowship, which enabled him to continue his study in the universities at Heidelberg and Marburg. As this dissertation is submitted, he is employed as Assistant Professor of English at Southwestern Louisiana Institute, Lafayette, Louisiana.

Lafayette, La.
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