

From *Arbacoochee* to *Yazoo*: Conjuring Up Consonants In Muskogean Place-Names Of The South

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Introduction

My study of some one thousand Muskogean place-names of the Lower South shows a reasonable resemblance between the pronunciations of the source words and their modern derivatives.

Where Muskogee-Creek has a *p*, for instance in *pace-tvlwv* ‘pigeon-town’ (Bright 2004:363), the English derivative persists with *p*, as in *Pachitla* (GA). And where Choctaw-Chickasaw has a *b*, that *b* remains in English, for instance Choctaw *nakshobi* ‘stinking, the smell of fish just caught’ continuing in *Noxube River* (AL, MS) (Foscue 1989:103, Read 1927:46, 92). Nevertheless there are place-names such as *Arbacoochee* (AL) from Muskogee-Creek town name *Apehkuce*, where *p* unexpectedly turns into *b* (and an *r* gets introduced into the pronunciation as well).

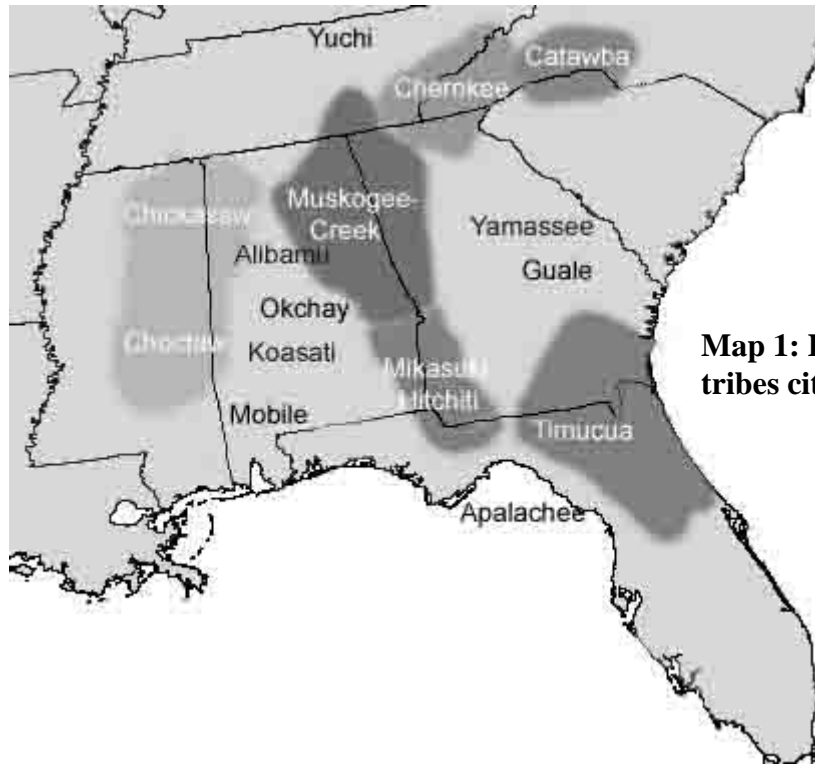
In this paper I examine such phonetic discontinuities, where consonants have changed in the transmission from one of the Muskogean languages to English — that is, where an original *p*, for example, ends up as a *b*. There are four scenarios to consider: (1) where the English derivative contains a sound that does not exist in its indigenous source, (2) where there is a sound in the original Muskogean name that does not exist in English, (3) where the same sound exists in both English and Muskogean, but for some reason is changed, and (4) where there are differences in the sounds among the Muskogean languages themselves.

For scenario (1), I examine the presence of English *r* in Muskogean place-names, where the original languages do not have that sound; none of these native languages proffer an *r* in their sound inventories. In scenario (2), all Muskogean languages examined here have a voiceless lateral [ɬ] that English lacks, so how that sound has been handled by English speakers over the years will interest us. Scenario (3) presents some conundrums for the treatment of certain Muskogean consonants, including *t*, *c*, *k*, *f*, and *s*. And finally, scenario (4) scrutinizes the skewed distribution of the sounds *b* and *sh* in Muskogean place-names.

Much of this work poses special challenges due to the difficulties in expressing Muskogean sounds in the Roman alphabet and representing the Muskogean languages in their traditional orthography and due to the problems of interpreting historical pronunciations based on English spelling conventions.² Consequently I restrict my focus in this study largely to the three aforementioned languages — the two Muskogean languages Muskogee-Creek and Chickasaw-Choctaw, along with English.

¹ Thanks go to Joanne M. Mooney and Leonard Ashley for their comments on this paper.

² I adopt Muskogee-Creek spelling as presented in Martin and Maudlin (2000), whereby *v* is the schwa vowel [ə] and *a* is long [a:], *e* is [i:] and *ē* is long [i:], *o* is long [o:] and *u* is short [o], *c* is like English *ch*, and *r* is voiceless [ɬ]. Chickasaw-Choctaw orthography is modified from Byington (1915), hence *a* is schwa [ə] and *l* is voiceless *l*, but I deviate from Byington’s representation of nasalized vowels, by using tilde ~ over the vowel instead of his small raised ⁿ. Most entries have been normalized to these spelling conventions.



Map 1: Languages and tribes cited in this study

Scenario 1: R

Few indigenous languages of the Lower South have phonetic [r]. To be specific, neither Muskogee-Creek nor Chickasaw-Choctaw has this sound. So, in my corpus there should be few or even no *r*'s. And in fact, apart from names with English *Creek*, *Brake*, *River*, *Branch*, and *Spring* and ignoring translations into English and French, there are just over two dozen names with a spelled *r* in the place-names attributed to a Muskogean language.

I begin with an odd case — a Muskogee-Creek borrowing from English: *New Yorka* (GA) is said to be from Muskogee *muyakv*, which got its name after the Muscogulge chiefs visited New York City in 1790 to negotiate a treaty with the United States government (Krakow 1999:159) or else was named for a delegation leader (Bright 2004:325). The *r* in this instance is restored from the English original and was never present in the intermediate Muskogee-Creek form.

Another interesting name is *Bayou Santa Barb* (LA), a distortion of Choctaw *sinti bok* 'snake stream', from *sinti* 'snake' with *bok* 'stream' (Foscue 1989:123, 128; Read 1927:56, 96). There is no *r* in the original Choctaw pronunciation; rather it was introduced through folk etymology in the minds and mouths of English speakers as proposed in Nevis (2005).

Of the remaining twenty-three Muskogean place-names, nineteen have an *r* following a vowel, usually [a]. I believe this may represent a long vowel rather than a true *r*. Some of the Southern U.S. dialects shared the loss of syllable-final *r* with the dialects of England and New England, where the loss of the [r] triggers the lengthening of the vowel. So *r* in these names would not represent a Muskogean sound but an attempt in English to represent a long vowel.

Arbacoochee AL	Muskogee-Creek or Chickasaw-Choctaw	an Upper Creek Town <i>Abihkuchi</i> 'little Abihka' from Muskogee-Creek <i>Abihka</i> "ancient Muskogean tribe" (Foscue 1989:9, Read 1927:5); <i>Apehkuce</i> , a tribal town (Martin & Maudlin 2000:172)
Archusa Creek MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw <i>hacha</i> 'river' plus <i>usi</i> 'little', obsolete name of the Noxubee River (McMillan in Read 1927:90)
Aripeka FL	Muskogee-Creek	Named after Sam Jones, a famous 19th Century Miccosukee chief, named <i>Aripeka</i> (Morris 1995:12, Stewart 1977:21); despite a similarity to the Creek tribal town <i>Apehkv</i> , the hamlet is probably named for Sam Jones, whose Muskogee-Creek name was <i>Apvyakv</i> 'chicken snake or rat snake' (Martin 2002)
Arkabutla Lake MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	a creek named for a Chickasaw chief who lived on its banks (Harder 1976:20)
Arta Hatchee FL	Muskogee-Creek	<i>oto</i> 'chestnut' or <i>atv</i> 'downstream' plus <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' (Martin & Maudlin 2000)
Canchardee AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek (<i>e</i>) <i>kvn(v)</i> 'earth' plus <i>cate</i> 'red' i.e. 'red earth' (Stewart 1977:74, Read 1927:11) from <i>Kvn-Cate</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
Coloparchee Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek	<i>kvlvpe</i> 'a type of oak' (pin oak, white oak, or overcup oak) (Martin & Maudlin 2000:67)
Hoote Archee AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>huti</i> 'houses' <i>hvcce</i> 'stream', (Read 1927:25)
Ichabuckler Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek	pronounced by locals as <i>Itchee-buck-luh</i> , from Muskogee-Creek <i>hecepakwv</i> 'pipe' (Martin 2002, Krakow 1999:116); <i>hecepakwv</i> 'tobacco pipe' though the <i>l</i> remains unaccounted for (apart from derivation from <i>w</i>) — compare <i>hece</i> 'tobacco'
Kinterbish Creek AL MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw <i>kinta</i> 'beaver' <i>ibish</i> 'a rise, a nipple', together meaning 'beaver lodge' (Foscue 1989:80, Read 1927:39, Stewart 1977:241)
Narcoose FL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>nokose</i> 'bear (animal)' (Morris 1995:171, Stewart 1977:87, Martin 2002)
Noxapater Creek MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	said to be Choctaw 'bullets-little' (Stewart 1977:334) but Choctaw for 'bullet' is <i>naki lumbo</i> (round dart); <i>naksi</i> 'side' plus <i>pata</i> 'spread' or <i>pata</i> 'wide' works as well
Oakchyer AL	Chickasaw-Choctaw or Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee tribe <i>Okchai</i> , whose name may be from Choctaw <i>okchāya</i> 'alive, living', composed of Choctaw <i>oka</i> 'waters' with <i>chiya</i> 'are there' (Read 1927:46-47; Swanton 1953, Stewart 1977:336); Martin (2000) notes Muskogee-Creek <i>Okcaye</i> , a tribal town
Oaklimeter Creek MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw for 'young people', containing <i>oklah</i> 'people' plus <i>himmita</i> 'young' (Bright 2004:340)
Permita Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	may be from Creek <i>pumita</i> 'to give us' or Creek <i>opa</i> 'owl' <i>im</i> 'its' <i>ito</i> 'wood' i.e. owl wood (Read 1927:52)
Satartia MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw 'pumpkins-are-there' (Stewart 1977:427); possibly Choctaw <i>isito</i> 'pumpkin, squash' plus <i>āsha</i> 'there is'
Sharcolo MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw <i>shānkolo</i> 'cypress tree' (Read 1927:13)
Shirtee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>cate</i> 'red' or <i>cvto</i> 'rock' (Read 1927:58, Stewart 1977:441)
Toller Bogue Creek AL	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw <i>tala</i> 'palmetto' plus <i>bok</i> 'creek' (Stewart 1977:487; Read 1927:69)

Another five simply remain unexplained and/or doubtful. They certainly contradict my prediction that no Muskogean place-names should have an original or acquired phonetic [r]. Note, though, that *Istrouma* is traceable to Choctaw only problematically; Choctaw *iti homa* may somewhat resemble this place-name, but it is unlikely to be the source of the place-name itself. *Coatraw* is never given a proper Choctaw etymology and therefore doubtful altogether as a Muskogean place-name. *Taurulaboole* is suspect insofar as it does not resemble any of the Muskogee-Creek words for ‘screaming’ (*selakketv*), ‘panther’ (*kaccv*, *hvce-capko*) or ‘creek’ (*hvcce*, *hvccuce*). And *Weracoba* is equally problematic as a Muskogean name and is more likely derived from another language. I have no information for the source of the Poarch tribe of Alabama.

Coatraw AL	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw settlement (Swanton 1953)
Istrouma Bluff LA	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Although Stewart claims 'stick-red' as the Choctaw origin (also source for the French translation, <i>Baton Rouge</i>) (1977:224), Choctaw <i>iti</i> 'pole, tree' plus <i>humma</i> 'red' do not contain <i>s</i> or <i>r</i> .
Poarch AL	Muskogee-Creek	(Foscue 1989:113)
Taurulaboole Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek	This Creek Indian word means 'Screaming Panther Creek' (Krakow 1999:16, 222)
Weracoba Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek	speculated to be from <i>uewv</i> 'water and <i>rakketa</i> 'very large' (Krakow 1999:250), but the <i>r</i> and <i>b</i> remain unexplained

Finally I note one Muskogee-Creek place-name with an *r* introduced, *Ketchepedrakee*, for which I have no explanation:

Ketchepedrakee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Creek <i>keco</i> 'mortar' <i>pvtake</i> 'spread out', which is a block of wood used for pounding corn (Read 1927:38; Stewart 1977:238); from <i>Keco Pvtake</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
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There are some two dozen Muskogean place-names with *r*. Most of these appear to use a spelling convention for representing long vowels; a few simply lack Muskogean origins altogether; and one remains unexplained.

Scenario 2: THL

Sound systems of a language act as a filter, forcing unfamiliar sounds into existing sound categories. These are not random sound substitutions. Sounds are modified into existing but similar categories based on phonetic properties. The Muskogean languages offer one sound that is absent from English, namely voiceless lateral fricative [ɬ].³ English speakers usually recognize its lateral articulation and treat it as *l*, but they may instead attempt to approximate the Muskogean original by prepending an *h* or *th* or even *f* (*ph*) to account for the voiceless quality of [ɬ]. Other variants in the English pronunciations include *th* or *thr* (*Thronatteeska*), and while these sounds fit the English sound inventory, the *th* pronunciation may represent a pronunciation of [ɬ] by younger Muskogee-Creek speakers. Note also that this sound is not easily represented in

³ For typographical reasons I use barred-l, which is the phonetic symbol for a velar rather than a voiceless lateral.

the Roman alphabet, but because Muskogee-Creek lacks an *r* sound, that letter is available in their writing system to represent any other sound, and indeed it is used to represent this voiceless lateral [ɬ] in Muskogee-Creek (e.g. *perro* ‘boat’ [pi:ɬo]).

Achackweithle Bluff FL	corrupted from Muskogee-Creek <i>vheck-</i> 'view or prospect' and <i>huere</i> 'standing up' (Morris 1995:1); dictionary meanings are <i>vheck-</i> 'horizon' and <i>huere</i> 'situated'
Authlucco GA	<i>Authlucco</i> 'big potato (creek)' (Krakow 1999:134); <i>vhv</i> 'potato' plus <i>rakko</i> 'big'
Ceteahlustee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>svtv</i> 'persimmon' <i>lvste</i> 'black' i.e. 'black persimmon' (Read 1927:12; Martin 2002)
Emathla FL	Named for Seminole Chief Charley Emathla of the early Nineteenth Century, whose Muskogee-Creek name consisted of <i>calo</i> 'trout' plus <i>emarv</i> , a title of leadership (Morris 1995:80, Stewart 1977:153, Martin 2002)
Hatchee Thlako FL, GA	<i>hvcce</i> 'creek' plus <i>rakko</i> 'big' (Morris 1995:114); <i>Hatchethlucco Creek</i> is an old Indian name meaning 'big creek' (Krakow 1999:105)
Hoithlewalli AL	Cited by Bartram as <i>Cluale</i> , a Creek town (1928:366); <i>Thleawalla</i> 'rolling bullet' (Woodward 14–15, 20); possibly from <i>Rewahle</i> , a tribal town (from Martin 2002) — note <i>rē</i> 'arrow'
Hoolethlocco AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>horre</i> 'war' plus <i>rakko</i> 'big', i.e. 'big war (creek)' (Read 1927:13)
Lake Pithlachocco FL	Seminole 'boat-house' (Stewart 1977:375); Muskogee-Creek <i>perro-cuko</i> 'ship' (Martin 2002, Morris 1995:197)
Loblockee Creek AL	'big-cane' (Stewart 1977:261); corrupted from Muskogee-Creek <i>hlawa</i> 'cane' [sic] <i>rakko</i> 'big' with diminutive suffix <i>ki</i> , i.e. 'little big cane (creek)' (Read 1927:41); from <i>Raprakko</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
Oathlockhouchy FL	Muskogee-Creek <i>ue(wv)</i> 'water' plus <i>holwvkē</i> 'bad' plus <i>-uce</i> 'little'
Opilthlucco Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek <i>opel-rakko</i> 'big swamp' from <i>opelwv</i> 'swamp' plus <i>-rakko</i> 'big' (Martin 2002, Krakow 1999:27)
Pinththlocko Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>opilwv</i> 'swamp' <i>hlvko</i> 'big', now Swamp Creek (Foscue 1989:112, 134, Read 1927:61)
Pithlachascotee River FL	Seminole 'canoe-cut' (Stewart 1977:375); Muskogee-Creek <i>perro</i> 'canoe' plus <i>cvsketv</i> 'to chop', i.e. "Boat Building River" (Morris 1995:196); possibly from <i>perro</i> 'boat' plus <i>cvskvtē</i> 'chopped' (Martin 2002)
Thla-Pac-Hatchee Creek, Thlapachatchee Creek FL	Muskogean 'fallen-enemy-stream' (Stewart 1977:481, Morris 1995:237) see <i>vnravv</i> 'enemy' plus <i>etepvkohlē</i> 'folded' or <i>rakpvlketv</i> 'to turn over' plus <i>hvcce</i> 'stream'
Thlakalchka Cholockominne (historical) AL	GNIS History Note "Creek village"
Thlathloasa Creek GA	possibly <i>rvro</i> 'fish' plus <i>svsē</i> 'is there'; now Fishing Creek
Thlathlothaguphka FL, GA	Indian village <i>Thlathlothaguphta</i> [sic] and a former Spanish Mission <i>Santa Maria de Guadeloupe</i> , also the <i>Saint Mary's River</i> was known as <i>Thlalothlaguphka</i> or <i>Phlaphlagaphgaw</i> 'rotten fish' (Krakow 1999:196, 227); <i>rvro</i> 'fish' <i>okofkē</i> 'muddy', i.e. 'muddy fish'
Thonoto Creek GA	Seminole-Creek <i>thlonoto</i> 'flint'; Muskogee-Creek <i>ronoto</i> 'flint'
Thonotosassa FL	Seminole-Creek <i>thonoto</i> 'flint' plus <i>sasse</i> 'is there' (Stewart 1977:481; Morris 1995:237); <i>ronoto</i> 'flint' plus <i>sasv</i> 'some' (Martin 2002)

Thlonotisca River GA	Seminole-Creek <i>ronoto</i> 'flint'; <i>Hlonotiskahachi River</i> or <i>Thronattee-ska River</i> , an old Muskogee name for the Flint River, but it is not clear which Indian language is the source (Krakow 1999:110, 226)
Tlathlopopkahatchee FL	Crystal River is a translation of a Seminole name containing <i>apvpka</i> 'eating-place' (Stewart 1977:166); Seminole <i>lalo-papka-hachi</i> [sic] 'fish-eating place creek' from Seminole <i>Thlothlopopka-Hatchee</i> 'the creek where fish are eaten' (Morris 1995:88; Milanich 1998:187); Muskogee-Creek <i>rvro</i> 'fish'
We Thlacco FL	Muskogee-Creek <i>ue(wv)</i> 'water' plus <i>rakko</i> 'big' (Morris 1995:180)
Weracoba Creek GA	Speculated said to be from <i>uewv</i> 'water and' <i>rakketa</i> 'very large' (Krakow 1999:250)
Withla FL	Short for <i>Withlacoochee</i> , which is a variant of <i>Willachoochee</i> (Stewart 1977:539; Morris 1995:257)
Withlachoochee River GA, FL	'little river' or 'big river', two rivers with the same name, Muskogee-Creek <i>ue(wv)</i> 'water' plus <i>rakko</i> 'big' plus <i>-uce</i> 'little', i.e. 'little big water' (Morris 1995:257, Harder 1976:613); Muskogee-Creek <i>ue-rakkuce</i> 'small river', from <i>ue-rakko</i> 'river' plus <i>-uce</i> 'small' (Martin 2002, Krakow 1999:256)

This is not to say that every instance of *thl* is derived from Muskogee-Creek [ɬ]; *Pothlachitto Creek* (AL) is said to be from *Pohttachitto*, containing Choctaw *patha* 'broad' plus *chitto* 'big' (i.e. big broad (creek); Stewart 1977:385; Read 1927:54). Note that one variation on *thl* is *phl*: Krakow notes *Phlaphlagaphgaw* as an alternative to *Thlalthlagaphka* for the St. Mary's River. Here the voiceless fricative aspect of the lateral [ɬ] is represented by an *f* sound. And this has been noted sporadically in borrowings into English earlier as evidenced by the personal name *Floyd*, a variant of *Lloyd*, originally a Celtic name with a voiceless lateral.

Scenario 3: Voicing the Muskogean voiceless consonants

At first glance, the Muskogean languages lack consonants *d, j, g, v,* and *z* and we would therefore not expect to find any of these consonants in place-names derived from Muskogean languages. Most of the English pronunciations with *d, j* and *g* appear to continue an original Muskogean *t, c* and *k*. This is a bit of a surprise insofar as English also has *t, ch* and *k* and therefore lacks a motivation to change them into *d, j* and *g*, but there are some noteworthy phonetic differences between Muskogean *t, c* and *k* and English *t, ch* and *k*. The English versions are usually pronounced aspirated while the Muskogean versions are unaspirated. That is, Muskogean *t* and *k*, for instance, are more akin to the *t* and *k* in English *sty* and *ski* than English *tie* and *key*. For that reason, as Martin and Maudlin observe (2000:xxi), Muskogee-Creek unaspirated *t* sounds to English speakers as though it were halfway between *t* and *d*. (And this holds mutatis mutandis for Muskogean *c* vs English *ch* and *j*, as well as Muskogean *k* vs English *k* and *g*, with English speakers mishearing the unaspirated stops as their voiced counterparts.)

In most of the corpus these misheard voiced consonants are found only between vowels (an environment of likely voicing of voiceless consonants resulting in *t, c* and *k* changing into *d, j,* and *g*) and rarely at the beginning of the word (an environment of clearer contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants, where *t, c,* and *k* are likely to remain).

D

None of the Muskogean languages contain a *d* sound so none of the place-names in my corpus ought to have that sound. Nevertheless, after ruling out translations into English or Spanish (as well as *Kailaidshi*, *Okchayudshi*, and *Sidsha' Lidsha*, which are treated below under **Scenario 4: SH and B**), there are twenty place-names with the letter *d*. Four are from Chickasaw-Choctaw, one from Koasati, fourteen from Muskogee-Creek and one from either Muskogee-Creek or Alabama. All of these derive from a Muskogean *t*. In the absence of a contrast between *t* and *d* in these languages, English speakers may interpret an unaspirated Muskogean *t* as a *d*.

Bodka Creek AL	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Muskogean 'wide' [sic] (Stewart 1977:51); probably shortened from Choctaw <i>hopatka</i> 'wide' (plural form), perhaps from <i>bok hopatka</i> 'wide creeks' with a note that it is plural due to the numerous branches (Foscue 1989:21, Read 1927:7)
Canchardee AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>ēkvnv/kvn</i> 'earth' <i>chati</i> 'red' i.e. 'red earth' (Read 1927:11, Stewart 1977:74) ' <i>Kvn-Cate</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
Candutchkee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>ēkvnv/kvn</i> 'earth' plus <i>tvckv</i> 'line', i.e. 'boundary creek' (Read 1927:11, Foscue 1989:28); from <i>ēkvn-tvckv</i> 'division of land' (Martin 2002)
Chillisado AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>cule</i> 'pinetree' plus <i>svtahē</i> 'trimmed, square' (Read 1927:36), made to look more Spanish
Coffedelia Creek MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw <i>kāfi talaia</i> 'sassafras thicket' (http://www.natchezbelle.org/ahgp-ms/roman/roman1.htm ; Stewart 1977:105); Choctaw <i>kāfi</i> 'sassafras', <i>talaia</i> 'stand, grove'
Cohabadiah Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>kohv</i> 'cane' <i>vpvta-i</i> 'covering', referring to an extensive canebrake (Foscue 1989:37; Read 1927:23; Stewart 1977:105); the closest source in modern Muskogee-Creek appears to be <i>kohv-vpvtake</i> 'cane up against (a hill, etc.)', though the second word may have had other variants at one time (Martin 2002)
Coosada, Coosadas AL	Koasati	Koasati tribe (Stewart 1977:112); an Upper Creek branch of Alabama Indian tribe <i>Koasati</i> , whose name is from Choctaw <i>kūsha</i> 'cane' <i>hāta</i> 'white' (Foscue 1989:40); <i>Coosada(s)</i> is a variant of <i>Koasati</i>
Hachemedega Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>hvcce</i> 'creek' <i>em</i> 'its' <i>vtēkē</i> 'border' i.e. border creek (Read 1927:34; Stewart 1977:194); from <i>hvcce</i> ' <i>mvteke</i> 'stream's edge' (Martin 2002)
Hodchodkee Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee <i>hute</i> 'home' and <i>cutke</i> 'little' (Krakow 1999:110; Stewart 1977:207); possibly <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' plus <i>cutke</i> 'small' (Martin 2002)
Iddo AL	Muskogee-Creek	Possibly from Muskogee-Creek <i>eto</i> 'tree' (Bright 2004:177)
Kailaidshi AL	Muskogee-Creek	Bartram cites <i>Kiolege</i> as a Creek town on a branch of the Coosau River, speaking Muskogee (367); perhaps contains <i>likv</i> 'site' or more likely <i>lecv</i> 'lower', and the first part could be <i>kohv</i> 'cane' or <i>kē</i> 'mulberry'
Ketchepedrakee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	'mortar-spread-out' (for a block of wood use to grind corn) (Stewart 1977:238); Muskogee-Creek <i>keco</i> 'mortar' <i>pvtake</i> 'spread out', which is a block of wood used for pounding corn (Read 38); from <i>Keco Pvtake</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
Killycasidda AL	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Chickasaw <i>kāli</i> 'spring of water' <i>oka sita</i> 'water edge', i.e. the edge of a spring, or more likely Chickasaw <i>kāti</i> 'honey-locust' <i>kushkoa</i> 'bent and broken' (Read 1927:38-39)

Ladiga AL	Muskogee-Creek	named for a Creek chief, spelled <i>Ledagie</i> , which may be a corruption of Muskogee-Creek <i>lēt kv</i> 'runner' or <i>litaikitv</i> 'to have run' (Read 1927:40)
Okchayudshi AL	Muskogee-Creek	GNIS history notes "Creek village"; Martin (2002) notes <i>Okcaye</i> , a tribal town, so this could be "little Okcaye"
Paducah KY, TX	Chickasaw-Choctaw	A Chickasaw chief and a tribal name (Harder 1976:407)
Sidsha' Lidsha GA	Muskogee-Creek	the name signifies 'Under Blackjack trees (Krakow 1999:205); <i>seca</i> 'blackjack oak' plus <i>lecv</i> 'under, beneath'
Talladega AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>tv/wv</i> 'town' plus <i>vtēke</i> 'border', the place being on the border between the Creeks and the Natchez (Harder 1976:538, Stewart 1977:472; Foscue 1989:134; Read 1927:62, 96); from <i>Tv/vtēke</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
Tuskehadky Branch AL	Muskogee-Creek or Alabama	Swanton 1953; Muskogee-Creek/Alabama <i>tvške</i> 'warrior' plus <i>hadkē</i> 'white' (but Muskogee-Creek for warrior is <i>tvstvvnvke</i>)
Wakafudsky Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek	perhaps Muskogee-Creek 'heron-point' (Stewart 1977:518); Muskogee-Creek <i>wvko</i> 'blue heron' and <i>fvskē</i> 'sharp, pointed' (Krakow 1999:244)
Wedowee AL	Muskogee-Creek	Creek chief whose name is possibly translated as 'sumac water' or 'old water'; Muskogee-Creek <i>ue(wv)</i> 'water' plus <i>tvwv</i> 'sumac' or <i>towi</i> 'old' [sic] (Harder 1976:593, Foscue 1989:146, Read 1927:76, Stewart 1977:528) — but <i>tvle</i> 'withered' rather than 'old' unless it is clipped from <i>hoktvle</i> 'old'
Wehadkee AL, GA	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>ue-hvtkē</i> 'white water' (Martin 2002, Stewart 1977:528, Read 1927:77, Krakow 1999:249)

G

In a parallel vein, we would not expect to see hard *g* in the Muskogean place-names. But there are pronunciations with phonetic *g* (that is, not *j* pronunciations). The argument parallels that of *p* and *b* in Muskogee-Creek and that of *t* and *d* in Muskogean languages in general: without a contrast between *k* and hard *g*, the unaspirated *k* of the Muskogean languages can be interpreted in English as either sound. And indeed some 87 place-names with hard *g* derive from a Muskogean *k* (versus 147 that continue original *k*'s).

J

Similar arguments can be made for the contrast between *c* (or *ch*) and *j* (also considered a "soft" *g* in English). With the Muskogean languages not evincing a voiced *j*, we naturally expect to find no instances of this letter or sound (nor its spelling variants in *g* and *dg*) in the database. But in fact we find some fourteen place-names with the unexpected sound. Although some of these derive from Muskogean *c* as in the discussions of the other unaspirated stops, three of them come from *i* or act as a *y* transitioning from *i* to another vowel: *Jamony* FL, *Econijaga* AL, *Hobadijah* AL.

Eight do derive from Muskogee-Creek *c* or Chickasaw-Choctaw *ch*:

Koteskelejau Creek, GNIS variant of *Cochgaleechee* AL, GA < Muskogee-Creek *rē kackv uce* 'little broken arrow'

Ifconjo GA < Muskogee-Creek *ēfkvnco*

Kealedji, *Kealeegees*, *Keilijah*, *Ki-a-li-jee* are GNIS variants of Kailaidshi AL (Muskogee-Creek)
GNIS variants *Cojolegee*, *Kowalija Creek*, *Cojolegee Creek*, *Kialage Creek*, *Kialeju Creek*, *Kielijah Creek* < *Kowaligi* AL (Muskogee-Creek)

Lockchelooge Creek AL < Muskogee-Creek *lokcē* 'fruit, nut' plus *loka* 'one who eats everything up' (with the hard *g* switched to a soft *g* pronunciation due to spelling)

Oseligee Creek with variants *O-so-li-gee Creek*, *Ocelija Creek*, *Osligee Creek* < *Ocelichee Creek* AL, GA (possibly from Muskogee-Creek *vsse-lecv* 'lower (tea) leaf')

Sulenojuhnene Ford GA < Muskogee-Creek *sule* 'buzzard' plus *nucetv* 'to sleep' plus *nene* 'road, path'
Tangipahoa River LA, MS < Chickasaw-Choctaw *tanchapi* 'cornstalk' or 'cob' plus *ayua* 'gather'

Another place-name deriving from Chickasaw-Choctaw *ch* is found in *Oakachoy Creek* AL, with GNIS variant *Oakjoy Creek*. While this may be another instance of the interpretation of unaspirated Choctaw *ch*, it might instead be a folk etymology (see Nevis 2005). And a second possible folk etymology, this one coming from Muskogee-Creek, is *Okchayudshi* AL, with GNIS variant *Little Oakjoys*.

And that leaves *Ojus* FL, from Mikasuki-Hitchiti, for which I have no information.

Cochgaleechee AL, GA (variant Koteskelejau Creek)	Muskogee-Creek	probably from Muskogee-Creek <i>re kackv uce</i> 'little broken arrow' (i.e. <i>re</i> 'arrow' <i>kackv</i> 'broken' <i>uce</i> 'little'), so perhaps a re-sequencing of the syllables (Read 1927:22); possibly from <i>Re Kackv</i> , a tribal town, plus <i>lecv</i> 'lower' (Martin 2002)
Cohabadiah Creek AL (variant Hobadijah Creek)	Muskogee-Creek	'cane-stalks' or 'cane-covering' (Stewart 1977:105); Muskogee-Creek <i>koha</i> 'cane' <i>apata-i</i> 'covering', referring to a canebrake (Foscue 1989:37, Read 1927:23); may be Muskogee-Creek <i>kohv-vpvtake</i> 'cane up against (a hill, etc.)', though the second word may have had other variants at one time (Martin 2002)
Egoniaga Creek AL (variant Egonijaga Creek)	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>ēkvnv</i> 'earth' plus <i>hvokē</i> 'opening' i.e. a cave (Read 1927:29, Bright 2004:141; Stewart 1977:148)
Iamonia FL (variant Jamony)	Muskogee-Creek or Yamassee	Seminole-Creek town <i>Hiamonee</i> on the Ochlockonee River near the Georgia border perhaps derived from the tribal name <i>Yamassee</i> meaning 'mild, peaceable' (Morris)
Ifconjo GA	Muskogee-Creek	An 1823 map spelled it <i>If-conjo-Hatchee</i> , derived from Muskogee-Creek <i>ifkancho</i> 'tick' referring to the cattle tick (Krakow 1999:115); from <i>ēfkvnco</i> (Martin 2002)
Kailaidshi AL (variants include Caileedjee, Kailigi, Kealedji, Ki-a-li-jee, Keilijah, Kialeegees, Kialigee, Kiolege, Kowlija, etc.)	Muskogee-Creek	Bartram cites <i>Kiolege</i> as a Muskogee-Creek town on a branch of the Coosau River, speaking Muscogulge (367); perhaps contains <i>likv</i> 'site' or more likely <i>lecv</i> 'lower', and the first part could be <i>koha</i> 'cane' or <i>kē</i> 'mulberry'
Kowaligi AL (variants Cojolegee, Kowaligi, Kowalija, Cojolegee, Kialeju Creek, Kielijah)	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>ika</i> 'his head' <i>ilāidshas</i> 'I kill' (Read 1927:39); or Muskogee-Creek <i>koha</i> 'cane' plus <i>likv</i> 'site' or <i>lecv</i> 'lower'
Lockchelooge Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>lokcē</i> 'acorn' with possibly <i>lachi</i> 'branches' or <i>holochi</i> 'bright, glistening' or <i>hivko</i> 'big' (with the hard <i>g</i> switched to a soft <i>g</i> pronunciation due to spelling) (Read 1927:42, Stewart 1977:261); <i>lokcē</i>

		'fruit, nut' plus <i>loka</i> 'one who eats everything up' (Martin & Maudlin 2000)
Okachoy AL (variant Oakjoy)	Chickasaw-Choctaw	GNIS <i>Okachoy Creek</i> AL with variants <i>Oakchoy Creek</i> , <i>Oakjoy Creek</i> , <i>Okachoy Creek</i> , <i>Okchayi Creek</i> , <i>Okchayi Creek</i>
Ocelichee Creek AL, GA (variants Oseligee O-so-li-gee, Ocelichee, Ocelickee, Ocelija, Osligee)	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek vsse 'yaupon, <i>Ilex vomitoria</i> (or <i>I. casine</i>), yaupon leaves' <i>lecv</i> 'place' (Read 1927:48); a possible origin as <i>vsse-lecv</i> 'lower (tea) leaf', note also <i>Vsse-Lanvpe</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002);
Ojus FL	<i>Hitchiti-Miccosukee</i>	Miccosukee-Seminole 'plenty' (Morris 1995:179); probably Seminole 'plentiful' (Stewart 1977:340)
Okchayudshi AL (variant Little Oakjoys)	Muskogee-Creek	GNIS history notes "Creek village"; Martin (2002) notes Okcaye, a tribal town, so this could be "little Okcaye"
Sulenojuhnene Ford GA	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek for 'Buzzard Roost trail' although it designated a ford on the Flint River (Krakow 1999:215); <i>sule</i> 'buzzard' plus <i>nucetv</i> 'to sleep' plus <i>nene</i> 'road, path'
Tangipahoa River LA, MS (variants Tandgepao River and Tandgi-pao River)	Chickasaw-Choctaw	tribal name, probably Chickasaw-Choctaw <i>tanchapi</i> 'cornstalk' or 'cob' plus <i>ayua</i> 'gather', i.e. 'corn gatherers' (Harder 1976:539); Bartram has <i>Taensapaoa River</i> (338)

In summary, Muskogean *t*, *c*, *k* remain *t*, *ch*, *k* two-thirds of the time in my corpus but evolve into English *d*, *j*, *g* one-third. I believe this is due to the phonetic properties of the Muskogean unaspirated sounds that make them sound in between English aspirated *t*, *ch*, *k* and voiced *d*, *j*, *g*.

Further investigation suggests that Creek, at least, has voiced sounds as variants of *t*, *c* and *k*. Martin and Maudlin (2001) report that voicing applies at the beginning of a syllable and between voiced sounds. Because vowels are voiced, this rule will always yield *d*, *j*, and *g* between vowels.

V and Z

The explanation for *v* and *z* will have to differ from that for *d*, *j* and *g* because these are not aspirated sounds in English. Nevertheless neither sound is found in the Muskogean languages so there must be a reason that a handful of instances are found: Six examples with *v* and five with spelled *z*. Two of the words with *v* have a possible source with *b* (*Souinlovev* may be from Choctaw *lasunlabi*, and Apalachee *Ivitachuco* is contaminated by Spanish *Ibitachuco*) and one is from *f* (*Alcovy* < *orkofv*), another from *w* (*Wekiva* < *Uekiwv*), and all four are between vowels. One place-name may be from a non-Muskogean language (*Mauvilla*) and may represent an original *b*. A sixth has no clear etymology (*Voola Hanatcha*), although a Choctaw source has been proposed.

Alcovy GA	Muskogee-Creek	'pawpaw-among' (Stewart 7); from Muskogean <i>ulcofauhatchie</i> [sic] 'river in the pawpaw trees' (Harder 8); <i>orko</i> 'pawpaw' plus <i>-ofv</i> 'location' plus <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' (Martin 2002)
San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco FL with variant Ivitachuco	Apalachee	<i>San Lorenzo de Ybithachuco</i> was a Spanish mission in the Apalachee village of <i>Ivitachuco</i> (Milanich 1995:95, 133, 187)
Mauvilla AL	Chickasaw-	an Indian village, whose name resembles the early

	Choctaw or Mauvila tribe	Spanish forms for Mobile (Read 42)
Souinlovey Creek MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw 'opossums-there-killed' sometimes called Possum Creek (Stewart 454); corrupted from <i>Hassunlawi</i> , which is said to be a corruption of <i>lasunlabi</i> 'leech-killer' (http://www.natchezbelle.org/ahgp-ms/roman/roman1.htm)
Voola Hanatcha AL	Chickasaw-Choctaw	obsolete name of the <i>Sucarnochee River</i> MS, AL (McMillan in Read 98); probably ending in Choctaw <i>in</i> 'its' plus <i>hacha</i> 'river'
Wekiva FL	Muskogee-Creek	Seminole 'spring (of water)' (Stewart 528); Muskogee-Creek <i>uekiwv</i> 'spring' (Martin 2002, Morris 250-251)

In place-names with *z*, the source sounds are varied: *Yazoo MS* is from Chocaw *yashu*, *Oaktazaza AL* is from Muskogee-Creek *oktahv-sasi*, and *Chassahowitzka FL* from Muskogee-Creek *cvse-hvwēckv*, and the other two names are either an English translation (*Buzzard Roost Island GA*) or a Spanish name (*San Lorenzo de Ibitachuco*). Thus there are really just two words with voiced *z* pronunciations and these are from voiceless *s* or *sh*, and both are found between vowels.

Chassahowitzka River FL	Muskogee-Creek	'pumpkins-hanging' due to pumpkin vines growing up trees (Stewart 88); Creek <i>chasi</i> 'pumpkin' plus <i>houwitchka</i> 'to open', i.e. "pumpkin opening (place)" (Morris 47); <i>cvse</i> 'pumpkin' plus <i>hvwēckv</i> 'opening' (Martin 2002)
East Yazo Skatane MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	GNIS description "Choctaw Indian village"; <i>Yashu Iskitini</i> , which means 'Little Yazoo' (Stewart 545)
Oaktazaza Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Creek <i>oktahv</i> 'sand' <i>sasi</i> 'is there'; from Creek <i>oktahv-sasv</i> 'where there is some sand' (Martin 2002)
Yazoo MS	Chickasaw-Choctaw	Choctaw <i>Yashu</i> (Stewart 545)

The motivation for the voicing of *f* to *v* and *s/sh* to *z* is not clear from so few instances. These sounds are located in that same voiced intervocalic position between vowels favoring voicing as discussed above, and Martin and Maudlin (2000:xxi) state that Muskogee-Creek *f* and *s* are pronounced as *v* and *z*, respectively, in precisely this position. Although it appears that *v* and *z* are not actually missing from the Muskogee-Creek sound inventory, these sounds do not function as contrastive units as they do in English: *z* is merely a variant of *s* in Muskogee-Creek in a way that it is not in English. Likewise *v* is a variant of *f* in Muskogee-Creek, but the two are contrastive sounds in English.

To sum up at this point, the sounds *d*, *g*, *j*, *v*, and *z* (along with *b*, discussed below) are all voiced sounds. That the Muskogean languages lack these sounds (apart from *b* in some languages) does not mean that they do not appear in their English derivatives; on the contrary, they are plentiful enough that some investigation is required. In the case of *b*, *d*, *g*, and *j* I appealed to the lack of a voiced-voiceless contrast combined with the lack of aspiration of *p*, *t*, *j*, and *c*. For *v* and *z* the number of instances is so few is that I hesitate to make generalizations about why original *s/sh* and *f/b/w* would have been changed into the aberrant consonants, but in Muskogee-Creek, at least, there may be a phonetic motivation from within the language.

Scenario 4: SH and B

Muskogee-Creek has many of the same contrastive consonants that Chickasaw-Choctaw has, but not *b* or *sh*, so it would be unexpected to find Muskogee-Creek place-names with either of these sounds. Looking first at *sh*, we do see that most from my corpus do originate in Choctaw-Chickasaw (over forty), but nine place-names nevertheless derive from Muskogee-Creek. These are worth considering in detail. Two are easily dismissed as containing English words: *Broken Arrow Shoals* (AL) and *Talasee Shoals* (GA). Three names come from the English personal names of Creeks or Seminoles: *Chief McIntosh Lake* (GA), *McIntosh County* (GA), and *Spanish Creek* (GA).

The other four are indeed derivable from Muskogee-Creek names. Three contain the sequence *dsh* and may be an alternative spelling of Muskogee-Creek *c* (*Kailaidshi*, *Okchayudshi*, and *Sidsha' Lidsha*, pronounced with something in between English *ch* and *j*). And in the final place-name, *Shirtee Creek*, *sh* is probably a modification of Muskogee-Creek *c* as in *cate* 'red' or *cvto* 'rock', which I would not have expected.

Kailaidshi AL	Muskogee-Creek	Bartram cites <i>Kiolege</i> as a Creek town on a branch of the Coosau River, speaking Muscogulge (367); perhaps contains <i>likv</i> 'site' or more likely <i>lecv</i> 'lower'
Okchayudshi AL	Muskogee-Creek	GNIS history notes "Creek village"; Martin (2002) notes <i>Okcaye</i> , a tribal town, so this could be "little Okcaye" with diminutive suffix <i>-uce</i>
Sidsha' Lidsha GA	Muskogee-Creek	the name of a branch town of the Cusseta Indians; the name signifies 'Under Blackjack trees' (Krakow 1999:205); <i>seca</i> 'blackjack oak' plus <i>lecv</i> 'under, beneath'
Shirtee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek	Muskogee-Creek <i>cate</i> 'red' or possibly Muskogee-Creek <i>cvto</i> 'rock' (Read 1927:58, Stewart 1977:441)

One name in my corpus that is not traceable to any particular language is the *Ashepoo River* (SC), and I address it here because although we do know not which language ultimately contributed this place-name, we might rule out a Muskogee-Creek origin on the grounds that it contains a sound, *sh*, that is not found in that language. Nevertheless Martin and Maudlin propose *vcvpy* 'eel' as a possible origin for *Ashepoo* (2000:232). This is dubious on two phonetic grounds: one is that English does have *ch* and rarely changes an original *ch* to *sh*; also the final vowel does not match well insofar as a final schwa or *a* would not likely change to [u] (*oo* in spelling).

Ashepoo River SC	'river home' ('eel' has been suggested) (Harder 1976:22); Muskogee-Creek <i>vcvpy</i> , <i>vcvpa</i> 'eel' (Martin & Maudlin 2000:232)
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Similarly we can rule out a Muskogee-Creek origin for other untraceable names in the peripheral areas to Muskogean, notably Louisiana and South Carolina: *Bayou Wauksha* (LA), *Shem* (SC), *Booshoo Creek* (SC), and *Washo Reserve* (SC). Oddly enough, Martin and Maudlin (2000:xxi) report that Muskogee-Creek *s* is sometimes pronounced like English *sh*, but my database reveals no modern place-names showing *sh* where the Muskogee-Creek original was *s*, so it is possible that *sh* is a recent development in Muskogee-Creek that developed after the forced removals from the Southeast in the early 1800's.

B

Apart from place-names containing *Bayou*, *Brake*, and *Bay* (which are essentially English or American English names, though *Bayou* may have an ultimately Chickasaw-Choctaw origin) and again ignoring eight translations into English, my database contains 176 names with *b*. For 27 names I have too little or just no information about the source language. Another 43 can be attributed to Muskogee-Creek sources. And 91 are Chickasaw-Choctaw names. Some two dozen derive from neighboring languages (Cherokee, Hitchiti-Miccosukee, Apalachee, Biloxi, Yuchi, Guale, or Timucuan). Comparing then the Chickasaw-Choctaw and Muskogee-Creek names, note that the Chickasaw-Choctaw language does contain phonetic *b* but Muskogee-Creek is claimed not to (Haas 1966:233). Thus the 43 Muskogee-Creek names are of interest insofar as they are unexpected; I would predict on phonetic grounds that there should be no instances of any Muskogee-Creek names with *b*. Let us consider them in further detail.

Most of these 43 *b* instances appear to continue an original Muskogee-Creek *p*. Since English also has *p*, it therefore lacks a motivation to change *p* into *b*, but if we consider the phonetic properties of Muskogee-Creek *p*, we see that it is unaspirated just as the other stops (*t*, *c*, *k*), so the same argument will obtain: the actual pronunciation of Muskogee-Creek *p* is closer to the unaspirated *p* in English *spy* than the aspirated *p* in English *pie*. In my corpus, two-thirds of the place-names with an original Muskogee-Creek *p* continue that *p* in the modern English pronunciation, but one-third changes it to *b* in English. Several of these place-names end in *vpe* 'tree, trunk, stalk'.

Abacoochee AL	perhaps Muskogee-Creek <i>Apehkuce</i> 'little Arbeka (tribal town)' (Martin & Maudlin 2000:167)
Abbie Creek AL	possibly Hitchiti <i>yatipi</i> 'panther' or Muskogee-Creek <i>vtvphvlke</i> 'dogwood grove' (<i>vtvphv</i> 'dogwood' plus the <i>vlke</i> collective suffix), nearby is <i>Abbeville</i> , named for the creek (Foscue 1989:5, Read 1927:3); it is simpler to derive it directly from Muskogee-Creek <i>vpe</i> 'tree' with folk etymology toward English name <i>Abbie</i> (Nevis 2005)
Abihka AL	<i>Abeika</i> is Choctaw <i>aiabika</i> 'unhealthy place' (http://www.natchezbelle.org/ahgp-ms/roman/roman1.htm); Muskogee-Creek <i>Abihka</i> "ancient Muskogean tribe" with proposed translation "pile [of scalps] at the base [of a war-pole]" (Foscue 1989:9, Read 1927:5); Creek tribal town <i>Arbeka</i> (Martin & Maudlin 2000:167)
Arbacoochee AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>Apehkuce</i> , a tribal town (Martin & Maudlin 2000:172; Foscue 1989:9, Read 1927:5)
Bachele AL	Choctaw <i>bāhcha illi</i> 'dead ridge' (Read 1927:33); if it is Muskogee-Creek then it may be <i>pvce</i> 'pigeon' or <i>pahcē</i> 'coarse grass' plus <i>ele</i> 'dead'
Buxihatchee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>pvkacha</i> 'commander' <i>hvchi</i> 'creek' (Foscue 1989:27, Read 1927:10)
Cahaba River AL	Choctaw <i>oka</i> 'water' plus <i>āba</i> 'up, high' i.e. 'water-upper' (Stewart 1977:70, Harder 1976:74, Foscue 1989:27, Read 1927:10); perhaps from Choctaw <i>kaha</i> 'to lie down (PLURAL)' with the rest uncertain, or a re-naming from Cahaba NC (Bright 2004:75); possibly Muskogee-Creek 'cane-stalks' from <i>koha</i> 'cane' <i>vpe</i> 'stalks'
Calabee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>kvlvpe</i> 'overcup oak, type of oak' (Foscue 1989:27, Read 1927:11, Stewart 1977:71, Martin 2002)

Chinneby AL	named for Chief Chinnibee (whose name is from Muskogee-Creek <i>vcenv</i> 'cedar' plus <i>vpe</i> 'tree') (Foscue 1989:33, Read 1927:17)
Cholocco Litbixee AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>'co-rakko 'le-tvpekse</i> 'horse foot' (Martin 2002; Read 1927:19)
Chubbehatchee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' plus <i>cvpv</i> 'edge' (Foscue 1989:67, Read 1927:34, Stewart 1977:199, Martin 2002)
Chubby Creek MS	probably Muskogee-Creek 'halfway' (Stewart 1977:97); from Muskogee-Creek <i>cvpv</i> 'edge'
Cohabadiah Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>kohv</i> 'cane' <i>vpvta-i</i> 'covering', referring to a cane-brake (Foscue 1989:37, Read 1927:23, Stewart 1977:105); Muskogee-Creek <i>kohv-vpvtake</i> 'cane up against (a hill, etc.)' (Martin 2002)
Cohabie AL	Muskogee-Creek from <i>kohv</i> 'cane' plus <i>vpe</i> 'stalk, trunk' (Martin 2002; Read 1927:22; Stewart 1977:105)
Cubahatchee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>kvpe</i> 'lye' plus <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' or <i>ki-vpe</i> 'mulberry tree' <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' (Foscue 1989:43, Read 1927:27, Martin 2002)
Estaboga AL	From Muskogee-Creek <i>este</i> 'person' plus <i>ak-</i> 'in water or a low place' plus <i>pokv</i> 'being gone, dying', said to be named for a group of people swallowed by swirling water (Martin 2002)
Hatchechubbee AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' plus <i>cvpv</i> 'edge' (Stewart 1977:97, Foscue 1989:34, Read 1927:19, Martin 2002)
Hillabee Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>hilvpki/hilikbi</i> 'quick' (Foscue 1989:72, Read 1927:36); <i>Helvpe</i> , a tribal town plus <i>hvcce</i> 'stream' (Martin 2002)
Ichabuckler Creek GA	pronounced by locals as <i>Itchee-buck-luh</i> , the Muskogean name means 'tobacco pipe creek' (Krakow 1999:116); from <i>hecepakwv</i> 'pipe' (Martin 2002); <i>hecepakwv</i> 'tobacco pipe' though the <i>l</i> remains unaccounted for, apart from <i>w</i>
Loblockee Creek AL	'big-cane' (Stewart 1977:261); corrupted from Muskogee-Creek <i>hlawa</i> 'cane' [sic] <i>rakkē</i> 'big' with diminutive suffix <i>ki</i> [sic], i.e. little big cane (creek) (Read 1927:41); from <i>Raprakko</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002)
Ossabaw Island GA	From Guale Indian, probably 'place of holly bushes' (Harder 1976:400); Ossabaw (GA) is a Guale for 'Yaupon holly bushes place' from <i>asiape</i> (Krakow 1999:168); if this meaning is correct, then it looks suspiciously like Muskogee-Creek <i>vse</i> 'leaf' <i>vpe</i> 'tree, stem' (which may be <i>Ilex cassine</i>)
Tuckabatchie AL	most likely from Muskogee-Creek <i>totkv</i> 'fire' due to the role this town had in the distribution of the busk fire (Read 1927:70, McMillan in Read 1927:98); from <i>Tokepahce</i> , a tribal town (Martin 2002); <i>Tookabatchie</i> is thought to have been an old Creek capital meaning 'crossed sticks' (Krakow 1999:228)
Tattilaba Creek AL	perhaps Choctaw 'white-wood-dead-above' (Stewart 1977:473); Choctaw <i>iti hāta</i> 'whitewood-tree' <i>illi</i> 'dead' <i>āba</i> 'above' i.e. 'dead tree on high point' (Foscue 1989:136, Read 1927:65) or Muskogee-Creek <i>eto</i> 'tree' <i>tvlē</i> 'withered' <i>vpe</i> 'trunk' i.e. withered tree trunks (Read 1927:65)
Taurulaboole Creek GA	Muskogee-Creek for 'screaming panther creek' (Krakow 1999:16, 222); see above under Scenario 1: R .
Tobannee Creek GA	Muskogean name for 'tree-crooked' (for a landmark tree), from Muskogee-Creek <i>eto</i> 'tree' <i>vpe</i> 'trunk' <i>yanahi</i> 'crooked' [sic, meaning not confirmed] (Krakow 1999:227)

Tobesofkee Creek, Tobofuskee Creek, Tabosachte Creek, Sobesofkee Creek GA	perhaps 'sofky stirrer' from Muskogee-Creek <i>vtapv</i> 'stirrer, paddle' and (<i>o</i>) <i>safke</i> 'corn gruel' or else more fancifully from <i>sofskee</i> [sic] 'a dish prepared from meal or corn' plus <i>tobe</i> 'I have lost', and a third interpretation has <i>sofkē</i> meaning 'deep' but with no insight into the first part (Krakow 1999:227, Stewart 1977:485)
Wehamba Creek FL	Seminole 'water-bad' (Stewart 1977:528);
Weracoba Creek GA	Said to be from <i>ue(wv)</i> 'water and <i>rakketa</i> 'very large' (Krakow 1999:250); see above under Scenario 1: R
Wesobulga Creek AL	Muskogee-Creek <i>wēs-vp-vlke</i> 'sassafras tree grove' from <i>wēsō</i> 'sassafras' plus <i>vpe</i> 'stem, tree' plus <i>-vlke</i> 'group' i.e. sassafras tree grove (Read 1927:78, Stewart 1977:530, Martin 2002)
Yattayabba Creek AL	From an obscure Indian name, possibly Hitchiti <i>yátipi</i> 'panther' or Muskogee-Creek <i>vtvphvke</i> 'dogwood grove' (containing <i>vtvphv</i> 'dogwood' and <i>vlke</i> collective suffix) (Foscue 1989:5, Read 1927:3)
Yonaba Creek MS	'iron-wood (tree)' (Stewart 1977:546); ends in Muskogee-Creek <i>vpe</i> 'stem, tree'

Finally, Haas (1966:233–241) notes that where Chickasaw-Choctaw has *b*, Muskogee-Creek always has *k*, as illustrated by cognate words for ‘mulberry (fruit)’: Choctaw *bihi*, Muskogee-Creek *kē*. This has an historical explanation. According to Haas, the original sound was **kʷ*. In Chickasaw-Choctaw an original **kʷ* evolved into *b*, but in Muskogee-Creek **kʷ* lost the labial pronunciation and simplified into *k*, never developing into *b*.

Conclusion

Place-names such as *Arbacoochee* and *Yazoo* would not be expected to have evolved from Muskogean sources with the English sounds *r* or *z* (or *b* from Muskogee-Creek). The apparent misarticulations of native place-names such as these are not just mistakes; they are the result of the pigeon-holing of unfamiliar sounds and they are largely constrained by the parameters of the sound systems of the relevant languages. In order to understand how these “mistakes” are made, one needs to grasp certain phonetic properties of sounds: voicing, aspiration, and lateral articulation, among others. The contrastive or non-contrastive functions of these sounds are also relevant. Even after unraveling some complicating factors such as the possibility of folk etymology and spelling pronunciations, some mysteries remain demanding further scrutiny. In particular, the languages investigated in this study display a paucity of sounds — far fewer than in English — and a better study for the future might be the place-names derived from more consonant-rich languages.

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