

18 Honorific Usage in Timucua

Exempla

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The Timucua Language

Timucua is an extinct language of Northern Florida. Its relation to any other language family is unproven. There is a very large corpus of printed Timucua language material (dating from 1612 to 1635) published during the Spanish colonial period. The translation of this material was directed primarily by two Franciscans, Francisco de Pareja and Gregorio de Movilla. It consists of several catechisms, a confessional, and a doctrina. There are also two letters written in Timucua by native speakers from the mid-seventeenth century, both of which complain to Spanish authorities about harsh policies and governors.

There are considerable discrepancies between the Spanish and Timucua versions of the printed Pareja material. The Timucua is also written in different dialects. Based on this, I have argued elsewhere that native converts were unnamed coauthors of many parts of the corpus.¹

The Timucua corpus contains several dozen exempla, moral stories which have been translated from European originals. There are twenty-five exempla presented at the end of Movilla (1635), about thirty-three exempla in Pareja (1627), and about a dozen exempla in Pareja (1613).²

In this chapter, I will consider the social hierarchies present in several of these stories. I will explore the ways in which the Timucua translated not only the language but also the social stratification of the exempla into indigenous terms.

Linguistic Indications of Honor

Most languages have some way to convey honor, often through special lexical items. For example, English uses titles like *Lord*, *Dr.*, and *Sir*, while a language like Thai shows many degrees of honor, including special pronouns for royal persons.³

Grammatical markers for honor marking are also found in some languages. The best known North American example is Nahuatl.⁴ In Nahuatl, there are both regular and honorific forms of nouns and verbs, as shown in the following examples.⁵

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------|----|--|
| (1) | kal-li | vs | kal-tsin-tli |
| | house-abs | | house-hon-abs |
| | “the house” | | “the (honorable) house” |
| (2) | o:-mik | vs | o:-mo-miki-li |
| | ant-die | | ant-self-die-applic |
| | “s/he died” | | “s/he (honorable) died” (lit. “died to himself/herself”) |

Nahuatl honorific forms are available for verbs with second-person (you [sg. and pl.]) and third-person (she, he, it, they) subjects or objects. There are no honorific forms for first-person (I, we) subjects or object.

Honorific systems function to locate another person’s social status relative to oneself. Thus, many languages have forms that differentiate between the status of second- and third-person referents, but it is very rare for a language to have distinct forms for “I” or “we” based on the status of the speaker.⁶ For this reason, such forms begin with the self and index the status of another person. This is a general feature of many honorific systems around the world, and it is also true of Timucua.

Honor in Timucua

Introduction

The honorific system of Timucua is previously undescribed. Investigation of the corpus reveals three main components:

- a) A prefix *ano* used when a subject, object, or possessed noun is honored.
- b) A possessive suffix *-mitono*, used when a second- or third-person possessor is honored.
- c) Special uses of the passive suffix *-ni*, when the subject is honored.

Because the Timucua corpus is primarily composed of Christian Timucua texts, we do not have direct evidence of the precontact system. However, the two letters discussed toward the conclusion of my paper will show the same honorific system in operation in a secular context.

The complexity of the honorific system argues against the idea that it is an invention of Christian missionaries. In particular, the Timucua system does not correspond to that of any European language. The European language in most contact with Timucua was Spanish, but Spanish only has a distinction between two second pronouns (*tú* and *Usted*); it does not distinguish degrees of honor for third persons or possessors. The Timucua honorific system is quite different and shows parallels with the Nahuatl and other Mesoamerican grammatical systems.

Extensive systems of grammatical honorific marking are found almost exclusively in societies with a high degree of social stratification. Timucua society had its social hierarchy, but many of the details of this system are unclear.⁷

Triggers for Honorific Marking

Once we recognize some set of grammatical indications of honor, we may ask what kind of referents trigger the use of honorifics. In the Timucua texts, the usual triggers are deities (God, Jesus, the Virgin Mary), rulers (kings, governors), and religious authorities (priests, bishops). In a few texts, parents are also triggers of honorific grammar.

To understand the grammar of honorifics, it is important to recognize that honorifics involve a relationship between two people. We can identify these as the *self*, the person whose point of view is represented, and the *focus of deference*, the person whose social status is indexed linguistically. An honorific form is used when the self is lower on the social hierarchy than the focus of deference.

We can think of honorifics as a type of social deixis which “points” toward the higher status.⁸ Thus, just as words like *here* and *there* imply a certain physical distance from the speaker, use of an honorific implies a certain social distance from the speaker.

Three Linguistic Indicators of Honor in Timucua*The Prefix ano*

The first indicator of honor is *ano*. In order to correctly identify honorific *ano*, it is necessary to recognize that there are at least three distinct uses of *ano* in the Timucua texts.⁹

The first two uses are two nominal senses of *ano*, with the meanings “person” or “relative.” We can see such uses in the following examples:

- (3) Caqi Diosi-ma ano chuqua-ma? ano yaha-ma?
 this God-art person how:many-art person one-art

“This God, how many persons is he? Is he one person?” [Cat12 fol. 019v]

- (4) Chitaco ano-ya?
 who relative-2sg

“Who are your relatives?” [Bap fol. 60v–65r]

The honorific *ano* is spelled in the same way with respect to the two nouns, but its grammar is different in a few ways. Although it is often written as a separate word in Timucua, there are several lines of evidence that suggest its behavior is like a verbal prefix.

For example, while the nouns “person” and “relative” are invariable, the honorific contracts to *an-* before a word that starts with a vowel. If we consider examples like 5, 6, we see the contracted form:

- (5) an-anoco-na
 hon-lord-1sg

“my honored Lord” [MovDoc fol. 157–161]

- (6) balunu-ma an-oho-qe
 life-art hon-give-and:then
 “he (honored) gives life” [Bap fol. 15v]

An additional difference between the nouns “person” and “relative” and the honorific prefix is found in their position and grammar. Nouns may occur at multiple positions in a sentence and typically have suffixes which indicate features such as definiteness and topicality. Consider an example like the following, where *ano* “person” is followed by the article *-ma* and occurs several words before the verb *uqua* “learn”:

- (7) ano-ma chara hebuano uqua-siro man-ta-nimano
 person-art writing word take-desid want-pres-when
 “When a person wants to learn to learn.” [Bap fol. 19]

In contrast, the honorific appears immediately before a verb, with no suffix. If the verb has an object, it follows the object, as in example 8, repeated from earlier, where the honorific *an-* follows the noun *balunuma* “life” and is contracted to the verb *obo* “give.”

- (8) balunu-ma an-oho-qe
 life-art hon-give-and:then
 “he (honored) gives life” [Bap fol. 15v]

It is even possible for other verbal prefixes to precede the honorific *ano*. Consider the verb *chi-na-ano-chie-mo-nima* “when they made you” in example 9, where the prefixes *chi-* “you” and *na-* “applicative” precede the honorific *ano* and the verb stem *chie* “make”:¹⁰

- (9) ..yta-ye-te ysa-ye-te inta chi-na-ano-chie-mo-nima
 father-2sg-and mother-2sg-and not sg-applic-honor-make-3pl-when
 chi-ena-ti-ma
 2sg-see-neg-art
 “You did not see when your father and mother made you...” [Bap fol. 20r]

It is not possible for any noun to appear in the middle of the verbal prefixes. This shows the manner in which the honorific prefix is quite distinct in its grammar from the nouns “person” and “relative.”

A final difference is that in the dialect found in the *Jesus Maria* letter, the honorific is *ani* (before a consonant) and *an-* (before a vowel), while the noun “person” is *ano*. Consider the following example, where the honorific is *ani-* before the verb *hebasinitanicala* “we are speaking to you.”

- (10) An-anoco-nica Rey na-chige-leta holata-leta hiua-nte-ma
 hon-lord-1pl king applic-represent-indef chief-indef live-dur-art
 ani-heba-si-ni-ta-nica-la
 hon-speak-ben-hon:pass-pres-1pl-aff
 “Our (honored) Lord representing the king, living as chief, we are speaking to you.”¹¹

In this dialect, the noun “person” continues as *ano*:

- (11) caqi hica-ma **ano** nayo toro-bi
 this village-art person white without-past
 “this village which was without White people.”

This dialect distinction between *ani* and *ano* is one of the strongest pieces of evidence for the position that the honorific is a distinct word from the nouns “person” and “relative.”

Uses of the Prefix *ano*

There are three main grammatical contexts where *ano* is used. They are (a) honored possessed nouns, (b) honored subjects, and (c) honored objects.

Honored Possessed Nouns

The prefix *ano* is used when a possessed item is honored. Consider the following example:

- (12) Ae Sāta Maria aquitasiqe nanemi ma honihe **an-anoco-na**,
 Oh Holy Maria virgin forever art I hon-lord-1sg
 Iesu Christo **an-anoco-na an-iso-mitono-ma**, numa-mate,
 Jesus Christ hon-lord-1sg hon-mother-3hon-art heaven-and
 vti-mate nia holata acole (i)n -tema...-
 earth-and woman chief great be-nom
 “Oh Holy Mary, Eternal Virgin, my (honored) Lord, my (honored) Lord Jesus
 Christ’s (honored) mother, woman chief of the heaven and the earth....”
 (ò Señora mia Reyna del Cielo, y del suelo Virgen Maria madre de mi Señor Iesu
 Christo...) [MovDoc fol. 157–161]

In this passage, there are three (contracted) instances of *ano*. Two appear in the word *an-anoco-na* “my honored Lord,” and one appears in the word *an-iso-mitono-ma* “his (Jesus’) honored mother.”

Prefix ano—Honored Subjects

The prefix *ano* is also used when the subject of a verb is honored. Consider the following two sentences which contrast the actions of the Devil and God.

- (13) Hiti-mano hachibueno tera-co quachi-hanima toro -la.
 devil-top thing good-indef give-although without-aff
 Hachinara mi-no chiqe vfube chiqe vpa chiqe-qere eyo-co
 eternal come-nom both pain both stench both-comp other-indef
 quene nebeleca yno-s-te-ma ojo-hanima..
 and big work-ben-pres-art give-although
 “The Devil is without good things to give. He gives those who serve him eternal
 pain and stench and other things like this.”

- (14) Diosi-ma nacu hima-no-ma **an-oho-qe** balunu-ma **an-oho-qe**
 God-art but health-nom-art hon-give-and:then life-art hon-give-and:then
 hachipacha-co honoheno-co, vle-mi-co tera ynemi **an-ajo-qe...**
 possession-indef food-indef child-3poss-indef good all hon-give-and:then
 “but God (honored) gives health, (honored) gives life, (honored) gives possessions,
 food to eat, children, all good things...” (Pero Dios, danos la vida, la salud, la
 hacienda, y comida, hijos y todo lo bueno) [Bap fol. 15v]

In this passage, the actions of the Devil are described with the verb *oho* “give” (spelled <oyo, oho>), while the actions of God are described with *an-oho* “give (honored)” (spelled <anoho, anajo>).

Prefix *ano*—Honored Objects

The prefix *ano* may also be used when the object of the verb is honored. Consider the following two examples:

- (15) **ano** tamalo-ta-la.
 hon beg-pres-aff:1sg
 “I beg you.” (persona de respecto, ruego) [Arte fol. 16]
- (16) Crus **ano** na-caco -mo -nima **ano** ene-la.
 cross hon instr-torture-3p-when hon see-aff
 “He [Longinus] saw him [Jesus] when they tortured him on the Cross.” [MovDoc fol. 161]

Honored Possessors—*Mitono*

A second marker of honor is the suffix *-mitono* “his/her/your (honored),” used when the possessor is honored. *Timucua* shows the person and number of the possessor with a suffix on the noun, according to a (partial) paradigm like that shown here:

1sg “my”	N-na
2sg “your”	N-ye
3sg “his, her, its”	N-mi
2/3sg honorific “his, her, your (honored)”	N-mitono

The honorific suffix contrasts with the ordinary *-mi* “his/her/its” used for an ordinary possessor. For example, contrast the honored possessor “God” in example (17) with the ordinary possessor in example (18).

- (17) Dios iso-**mitono**-mano
 God mother-3hon-topic
 “God’s mother” [MovDoc fol. 163]
- (18) Pedro paha-**mi**-ma-qua
 Pedro house-3poss-art-obl
 “in Pedro’s house”

It is possible to have somewhat complex possessors which still trigger honorific marking.

- (19) Iesu Christo anoco-mile gracia-**mitono**-ma bueta
 Jesus Christ lord-1plPoss grace-3hon-det from
 “by the grace of our (honored) Lord Jesus Christ” [Cat12 fol. 5]

Honorific Passive

A final indication of honor is the passive, indicated by a suffix *-ni* or *-ne* after the verb. There are many instances of the passive in the Timucua texts, as in the following contrast:

- (20) toloboso-te-la
 explain-pres-aff
 “(it) explains”
 (21) toloboso-**ni**-la
 explain-pass-aff
 “(it) is explained”

The ordinary passive and the honorific passive show similar morphology on the verb. However, the syntax of the rest of the clause is somewhat different.

Although Timucua typically omits mention of the agent in a standard passive, it is possible to mention the agent passive using the noun suffix *-qua* “by, at,” as in the following example:

- (22) ela na-homi-mano mine-qua ni-balu-so-bo-**ni**-habe-la.
 day instr-finish-top he-by we-live-caus-pl-pass-irr-aff
 “On the final day, we will be revived (lit. caused to live) by him.” [MovDoc fol. 20r]

In contrast, the honorific passive normally includes the agent in the clause, now without the *-qua* suffix. Jesus and God almost always trigger honorific passive on the following verb, as in the following examples:

- (23) Diosi na-queni-haue mani-si-**ni**-qe
 God instr-be:so-irr want-ben-honor:pass-and:then
 “God (honored) wanted it to be so for him and then...” [MovDoc fol. 156]
 (24) Dios coco-ma Apostoli-care hebanica-si-bo-**ni**-qe
 God self-art Apostle-plur teach-ben-pl-honor:pass-and:then
 “God himself (honored) taught the Apostles.” [MovDoc fol. 7v]

Verbs may appear in the honorific passive even if they are intransitive:

- (25) Iesus Christo nihi-**ni**-qe...
 Jesus Christ die-honor:pass-and:then
 “Jesus Christ (honored) died and then...” [MovDoc fol. 19v]

Christ’s death is almost always described in the honorific passive, while the deaths of other people are in the active.

Verbs in the honorific passive continue to show agreement for their agents, suggesting that they continue to act as the grammatical subjects of the clause. Consider the final verb of the following example (repeated from (10)), which continues to be inflected for a first-person plural subject.¹²

- (26) An-anoco-nica Rey na-chige-leta holata-leta hiua-nte-ma
 hon-lord-1pl king instr-represent-indef chief-indef live-dur-art
 ani-heba-si-ni-ta-nica-la
 hon-speak-ben-hon:pass-pres-1pl-aff

“Our (honored) Lord representing the king, living as chief, we are speaking to you.”

We see the same phenomenon in (27), where the final verb *iquenibomoni-michu* “they wanted to kill them (honored)” has the honorific passive –*ni* but continues to be inflected for both plural subject and plural object.

- (27) Santa Inesi-qui, Acu Santa Lucia, acu yoqua care quene,
 St. Inez-and this St. Lucia this other plur and
 iqueni-bo-mo-ni-michu...
 kill-3pB-3pA-honor.pass-prev

“They wanted to kill (honorable) St. Inez and St. Lucia and these others.” [MovDoc fol. 162]

From the point of view of Timucua grammar, this suggests that the honorific passive is not a true syntactic passive, despite the fact that it has the same morphological affix. This is because we expect the passives of transitive verbs to inflect like intransitives. In the Timucua honorific passive, however, the verb continues to inflect like a normal transitive verb.

Use of Honorific Marking in *Exempla*

Having established the grammatical markers of honor, now let us examine how they are used in conveying social hierarchy in discourse.

Bishop Andres

The first exemplum to be considered is one I label *Bishop Andres and the Tempting Demons*.¹³ The basic plot of the exemplum can be summarized as follows: Bishop Andres lives with an attractive young woman. A Jew who is traveling nearby is overcome with fatigue and goes to rest in a cave. While in the cave, the Jew overhears a parliament of demons. One demon recounts that he is tempting Bishop Andres to sin with the woman, and he is encouraged by the head demon to keep up his efforts. The Jew leaves, finds the bishop, and confronts him with what he has heard. After an initial denial, the Bishop repents and the Jew is converted.

This story contains multiple points of view, including that of the narrator, the demon, and the Jew. Because the three points of view occupy different positions in the social hierarchy, we see corresponding differences in honorific usage. In the Bishop Andres story, the narrator does

not use honorific marking for the bishop. However, the Jew who meets Bishop Andres *does* use the honorific in speaking to him.

We can explain this if we understand that the narrator and the demon position themselves at a level equivalent to the Bishop; the Jew positions himself at a level lower than the Bishop. Accordingly, the demon refers to the bishop without an honorific:

- (28) Obispo Andres nia paha –mi -ma hiba-ta ino-s-tema-qui,
 bishop Andres woman house-3poss-art live-part work-ben-nom-and
 na-chalaso -siro mā –ta -qiti...
 instr-tempt-desid want-pres-so:that

“As for Bishop Andres, a woman is living in his (ordinary) house and working for him and I want to tempt him so that...”

The Jew refers to the bishop with honorifics (passive and –mitono):

- (29) Hiti na-chalaso-ni-no cume equetelenoco nahi-so-ni-bi...
 demon instr-tempt-pass-nml heart near exist-caus-pass-past

“The devil has caused temptation (lit. being tempted) to be near the heart.”

- (30) Natasi-qua paha –mitono -ma nia hiba –tema
 long;time-loc house-3possHon-art woman l ive-nom

“For a long time, a woman has been living in your (honored) house...”

The Devoted Shepherdess

The next exemplum to be considered is one I label *The Devoted Shepherdess*.¹⁴ Its basic plot can be summarized as follows: a shepherd visits a shrine to the Virgin Mary with his daughter (“the devoted shepherdess”). She laments that the image of the Virgin is badly dressed and speaks to the Virgin’s image. Her parents die; she continues to live near the shrine. Two priests are walking on a road near the place where the shepherdess lives; they stop to rest and one sleeps. The priest who is awake sees three processions of maidens (each in slightly different clothes). He asks the leader of the procession (the Virgin Mary) who they are and where they are going. The Virgin Mary explains that the three processions are virgin martyrs of different levels of sanctity. The Virgin Mary explains that they are going to the house of the devoted shepherdess. The sleeping priest awakes and relates a dream identical to the vision of the other priest. They ask the villagers, find the shepherdess, and witness the Virgin at her deathbed. The Virgin Mary consoles the shepherdess, the shepherdess dies, and angels accompany her to heaven.

In this exemplum, there is a considerably more complex set of points of view and social levels, and there are many cases where quoted characters address each other. In particular, the narrator refers to the Virgin Mary, shepherdess, and virgin martyrs; the shepherdess and the priest


speak to the Virgin Mary; the Virgin Mary speaks to the priest and the shepherdess and refers to her son, Jesus.

Consider the following passage where the shepherdess speaks to the statue of the Virgin. She uses the honorific *an(o)*- prefix, the honorific possessor suffix *-mitono*, and the honorific passive suffix *-ne* in her speech:

- (31) Ae Sāta Maria aquitasiqe nanemi ma honihe an-anoco-na,
 Oh holy Mary virgin eternal art I hon-lord-1sg
 Iesu Christo an-anoco-na an-iso-mitono-ma, numa-mate,
 Jesus Christ hon-lord hon-mother-3sgHon-art heaven-and
 vti-mate nia holata acole (i)n-te-ma, amuna eche-no
 earth-and woman chief great be-pres-art clothes wear-nom
 tera-ti, yianqua, nahi-ne-ma, cha ni-mane-coco-lete-la
 good-neg one exist-hon:pass-art regret 1sg-think-emph-nom-aff
 Oh Holy Mary, Eternal Virgin, my (honored) Lord, my (honored) Lord Jesus Christ's
 (honored) mother, woman chief of the heaven and the earth, I regret that you wear
 clothes that are bad.”(ò Señora mia Reyna del Cielo, y del suelo Virgen Maria madre
 de mi Señor Iesu Christo mucho me pesa que estais tan pobrementemente vestida)
 [MovDoc fol. 157–161]

In this passage, the shepherdess is the Self, while the Virgin is the Focus of Deference.

We may contrast the honor shown to the Virgin Mary with the neutral style used by the narrator in describing two groups of virgins — an unnamed group of virgins and a group of virgin martyrs which includes Sts. Lucia and Inez. The unnamed virgins are not described deferentially in the text¹⁵:

- (32) Mine-cate nubatima-s-ta hiocomo-ma-la
 3-plur show:reverence-ben-part greet-3pA-aff
 “They (the maidens) greeted him (the priest) reverentially.”
 But the virgin martyrs Sts. Lucia and Inez *are* described reverentially: 
- (33) Santa Inesi-qui, Acu Santa Lucia, acu yoqua care quene,
 St. Inez-and this St. Lucia this other plur and
 iqueni-bo-mo-ni-michu...
 kill-3pB-3pA-honor.pass-prev
 “They wanted to kill (honorable) St. Inez and St. Lucia and these others.”

The priest shows deference to the Virgin Mary in direct quotation¹⁶:

- (34) Chitaco ch-in-ta-heco ni-ahosi-ni-haue, chanco chi-mi-bo-ta-heco,
 who 2-be-pres-if 1-reveal-honor:pass-irr where 2-go-pl-pres-if
 quenema ni-ahosi-ni-haue...
 and 1-reveal-honor:pass-irr
 “May it be explained to me who you (sg.) are and where you (pl.) are going?”
 (y suplicola que le dixese quien era, y donde yva con tantas y tan hermosas doncellas)

The narrator's linguistic attitude toward the shepherdess is particularly interesting. Initially the narrator does not use deference toward the shepherd:

- (35) ... ano mase-la naquen-ta-qua, iti-mi-michu nihi-qe,
 hon s ay-affirm do:this-part-when father-3poss-prev die-and:then

“She said this (to honored obj.) and when she had done this (later) her parents died...”

Note that in (35) the narrator uses an ordinary possessor marking in *itimimichu*, not the more honorific version *itimitonomichu*. At the end of the story, however, when the shepherdess has died and is being carried to heaven by the angels, she undergoes a status change, and the narrator refers to her honorifically. Note that in the first clause, “the group of angels accompanied her soul,” where the soul and the action of accompaniment are described in neutral language. In the final clause, “they brought her (honored) to heaven above,” however, the narrator switches to honorific language, signaling this with the honorific passive:

- (36) ... atichicolo-mi-michunu, Aquitasiqe puqua-michu, nepasiso-ta,
 soul-3poss-prev virgin group-prev accompany-part

huta-ta nalimo abo-ma mino-so-ne-la
 take-part heaven above-art arrive-caus-honor:pass-aff

“The group of virgins which accompanied took her soul and brought her (honored) to heaven above...”

One might ask in such a case whether the honorific passive is triggered by the subject (the group of heavenly virgins) or by the dead shepherdess. It seems that here it must be triggered by the transformation of the shepherdess, since the same heavenly virgins are the subject of the initial clause. Nothing about the status of the virgins has changed, but the devoted shepherdess has gone from being a dead soul to a soul honored in heaven.

If we keep track of all the honorific uses in *The Devoted Shepherdess*, we come to a system of deference like that shown in the Image 18.1.

The considerable dexterity of the honorific system in Timucua allows us to deduce fairly elaborate hierarchies of deference. Yet we also see that the hierarchy does not completely reproduce a European Catholic

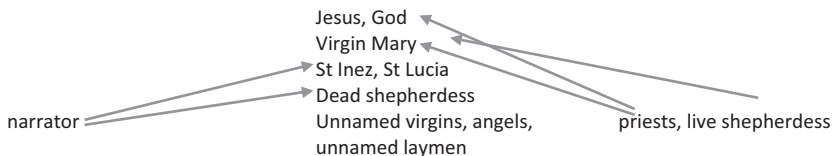


Image 18.1 Scheme of deference in the Devoted shepherdess.

worldview. In particular, note that angels, living people, and priests occupy the same (non-deferential) status; no living person in this text shows deference to another living person.

Honorifics in Secular Texts

There are two surviving letters in Timucua, written to Spanish authorities. Both show the same use of honorifics in addressing Spanish people of high rank. The 1651 Timucua letter begins as follows:

- (37) Nanemi Anoquela-**mitono**-ma ni-eia-bo-bi-la-haca
 always servant-2sgHon-art 1pl-live-pl-past-aff-but
 heqeno cumenatimo-coco Anoquela-**mitono**-ma ni-eia-bo-te-la
 now full-hearted-emph servant-2sgHon-art 1pl-live-pl-pres-aff
 quenique **Ano**-heba-si-siro ni-mani-bo-ta-qe
 and hon-speak-ben-desid 1pl-want-pl-pres-and:then
 “We have always lived as your servants, but now we very full-heartedly are your servants and we want to talk to you (honored).”

The “Jesus Maria” letter begins:

- (38) **An**-anoco-nica Rey na-chige-leta holata-leta hiua-nte-ma
 hon-lord-1pl king applic-represent-indef chief-indef live-dur-art
ani-heba-si-ni-ta-nica-la
 hon-speak-ben-hon:pass-pres-1pl-aff
 “Our (honored) Lord representing the king, living as chief, we are speaking to you.”

Thus, the secular texts show deference to secular authorities just as the sacred texts show deference to spiritual authorities.

Speech Styles

We can therefore identify two speech styles in Timucua, which can be distinguished by their use of honorific morphology. I will call these *plain talk* and *reverent talk*.

In basic third-person narration, no special honorifics are used, even when potential targets of deference are present. We can call this plain talk. This is especially characteristic of simple narration:

- (39) Christiano-care-michu-nu, orabo-ta Diosi-ma, naboso-ta
 Christian-pl-prev-ConFoc happy-part God-art praise-part
 quosa-ma-la.
 do-3pl-aff
 “The (previously mentioned) Christians were happy and praised God.” [CatEx fol. 285]

A more honorific version is possible but not used here.

- (40) Christiano-care-michu-nu, orabo-ta Diosi-ma, ano naboso-ta
 Christian-pl-prev-ConFoc happy-part God-art hon praise-part
 quosa-ma-la.
 do-3pl-aff

“The (previously mentioned) Christians were happy and praised God.” [CatEx, fol. 285]

In contrast, the full range of honorifics can be used in a style we can call reverent talk. Reverent talk is especially common in direct quotation. Some narrative texts also employ reverent talk.

We see an example of this in the following text, where St. Claire, defending the monastery from infidels, cries to God using reverent talk:

- (41) caqi ano patafilesta-care-ma, mine ano hubuaso-no-ma beta, hachibono inemi-ma
 this hon servant-plur-art self hon love-nom-art from thing all-art
 hã-ta caqi paha-ma na-taro-n-ta ea-te-ma
 give:up-part this house-art ins-give:up-pass-part live-pres-art
 ni-melabo-bo-ta ni-iputu-si-bo-ni-haue,
 1-mercy-pl-part 1-save-ben-pl-hon:pass-irr

“These your (honored) servants, who from love of you (honored), have given up all things And are shut up living in this house, have mercy on us and may we be saved (hon)...” [CatEx, fols. 278v–279r]

Direct quotation expresses the point of view of some person, in this case St. Claire, as she addresses God. In this case, the *Self* = St. Claire and the *Focus of deference* = God. A question which requires more investigation is why some narrative text uses reverent talk while other text does not. Is this due to different authors, different dialects, or perhaps different text genres?

Conclusions

Timucua has a previously undocumented system of honorifics. Timucua speech was characterized by at least two speech styles, which we can label plain talk and reverent talk. Plain talk is characteristic of a neutral third-person point of view and employs no honorifics. Reverent talk occurs when the text quotes a speaker addressing a person of higher status or a deity and, in some texts, when discussing the actions of the deity.

The grammatical properties of reverent talk are not similar to those of Spanish or any European language. Extensive grammatical marking of a reverent speech style is very rare in American indigenous languages, and seems only to be attested in Mesoamerica. The Timucua system is more similar to that of Nahuatl and probably reflects extensive social stratification in Timucua society.

Notes

- 1 Alejandra Dubcovsky and George Aaron Broadwell, "Writing Timucua, Recovering and Interrogating Indigenous Authorship," *Early American Studies* (Summer 2017), 409–441. I thank Alejandra Dubcovsky, Timothy Johnson, Sean King, and Christopher Muntzner for useful comments on this presentation and Michael Stoop, Sean King, Karen Burgos, Natasha Kelly, Joshua Killingsworth, Jennifer Sierra, and Michael Springthorpe for their contributions to the Timucua database project. All errors are my own.
- 2 The sources of the Timucua examples cited here are shown by an abbreviation, in square brackets, after the translation provided throughout the paper. The sources are: Gregorio de Movilla, *Explicacion de la Doctrina que compuso el cardenal Belarmino, por mandado del Señor Papa Clemente 8. Traducida en Lengua Florida: por el Padre Fr. Gregorio de Movilla* (Mexico, 1635) [MovDoc]; Francisco Pareja, *Confessionario en lengua castellana y timuquana con unos consejos para animar al penitente* (Mexico City, 1613) [Conf]; Francisco Pareja, *Cathecismo y examan para los que comulgan, en lengua Castellana y Timuqua* (Mexico City, 1627) [CatEx]; Francisco Pareja, *Cathecismo en lengua castellana, y Timuquana. En el qual se contiene lo que se les puede enseñar a los adultos que an de ser bautizados* (Mexico City, 1612) [Bap]; Francisco Pareja, *Catechismo y breve exposición de la doctrina christiana* (Mexico City, 1612) [Cat12]; Francisco Pareja, *Arte y Pronunciacion de la Lengua Timucvana y Castellana* (Mexico City, 1614) [Arte].
- 3 Pranee Kullavanijaya "Power and intimacy: A contradiction in a Thai personal pronoun," *Oceanic Linguistics Special Publications* 29 (2000), 80–86.
- 4 Sergio F. Romero, "Grammar, Dialectal Variation, and Honorific Registers in Nahuatl in Seventeenth-Century Guatemala," *Anthropological Linguistics* 56:1 (2014), 54–77.
- 5 Linguistic examples are conventionally presented in three lines. The first line shows the original text, broken into its constituent morphemes. The second line shows the meaning of each morpheme, and the third line shows a free translation in English. For some examples, the original Spanish is also shown to illustrate some feature of the sentence. The source of the example follows the free translation. The second line giving the meanings of the morphemes uses the following abbreviations: abs = absolutive, aff = affirmative, ant = antecessive, applic = applicative, art = article, ben = benefactive, comp = complementizer, desid = desiderative, dur = durative, hon = honorific, indef = indefinite, neg = negative, part = participle, pass = passive, pl = plural, poss = possessive, pres = present, sg = singular, top = topic, 1 = first person, 2 = second person, 3 = third person.
- 6 Johannes Helmbrecht, "Politeness Distinctions in Pronouns," in *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*, eds. Matthew S. Dryer and Martin Haspelmath (Leipzig, 2013) (<http://wals.info/chapter/45>).
- 7 Jerald T. Milanich, *Timucua* (New York, 1996).
- 8 Stephen C. Levinson, "Pragmatics and social deixis: reclaiming the notion of conventional implicature," in *Fifth Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* (1979), 206–223.
- 9 Timucua is written in an alphabet adapted from Spanish, and there may be differences in pronunciation here which are not reflected in the spelling.

- 10 An applicative is an affix which adds an additional object to a verb. In this case, the verb *chie*, “make,” generally occurs with the *na-* prefix when a human object is added.
- 11 Manuel, chief of Yustaga, “Jesus Maria Letter,” in *National Anthropological Archives*, Manuscript 2446-f.
- 12 “Jesus Maria,” line 2.
- 13 MovDoc fols. 149–151.
- 14 MovDoc fols. 157–161.
- 15 The honorific form of the verb would be *biocomanela*, with an additional passive suffix.
- 16 Note that there is no direct quotation in the Spanish, and that the singular versus plural reference is only implicit in the Spanish.