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NANNA ITTONCHOLOLI' ILALIICHI (WE ARE CULTIVATING NEW GROWTH):

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A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE GRADUATE COLLEGE

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Dedication

Jerry Imotichey loshomakaash<u>o</u> <u>i</u>holissochilitok. (I wrote this for the late Jerry Imotichey).



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'Long ago the Chickasaws used to dance all the time. The Chickasaws arrived in Indian Territory

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Abstract

This dissertation is an autoethnographic examination of twenty years in Chikashshanompa¹¹ revitalization. Presented in the form of a tanap nannan<u>o</u>li¹², this research is presented as a story, told from my individual perspective, composed of two narrative threads. The first is a highly personal account of my language-learning journey since 2000. The second is an account of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program's efforts since 2007 to bring Chikashshanompa' back to prominence among our people, and is filtered through my experience and perspective as the director of that program. Together, these dual narratives offer a case study of Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni¹'s³ efforts to revitalize our language, and my own efforts to reclaim Chikashshanompa' for myself and my descendants.

As a contemporary Chikashsha person who still carries my clan and house group, I engaged with this research through a Chikashsha asilhlha (Chikashsha research) methodology. The method derives from what Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson termed 'an Indigenous Research Paradigm.'⁴ In this case, the paradigm is the lived experience of the Chikashsha people, a method that focuses on relationality and the maintenance of right relationships in the process of research. I began with ancestral metaphors conflating Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni' with an ancient tree, and developed a culturally derived theory of language loss and revitalization, deriving from the word ittonchololi', meaning 'new growth from a tree'. In this research I

¹ 'Chikashsha language.'

² 'War narrative.'

³ 'The Chickasaw Nation.'

⁴ Shawn Wilson, *Research Is Ceremony: Indigenous Research Methods* (Halifax, NS: Fernwood Publishing, 2008).

demonstrate how the four values of Chikashsha poya 'We are Chickasaw', a theoretical framework deriving from Chikashsha ways of being, are lived out in our revitalization context. Chikashsha poya is composed of four Chikashsha values: identity, survivance through mediation, perseverance through change, and the cultural imperative to remain an intact, dynamic, active tribal nation. By living out the values of Chikashsha poya, we are able to stand and say, in our own language, Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihma, 'We are Chikashsha, and we are still here.'

Finally, I explore what I have termed Mediated Language Change (MLC), a theoretically informed method and set of processes by which we control, to varying degrees, language change that comes with any revitalization environment. MLC is simultaneously a theory (languages change, and we can control the changes that occur in the language revitalization process), a method (a mixed-methods approach that attempts to balance the need to equip language learners with linguistically accurate, culturally appropriate language forms through immersion education with the natural need of a language to grow and change through lexical innovation), and a set of processes (including language documentation, analysis, interventional activities, and instruction). MLC is rooted in our obligation to carry the language forward in a way that respects the knowledge of Posipóngni¹⁵ and encourages expansion and growth of Chikashshanompa'.

⁵ 'Our Ancestors.'

Chapter One: Nanna hachimanompolit ishtayali (I am beginning to tell you all something): Introduction

Nanna hachiman<u>o</u>lila'chi. I will tell you all something.

Chikashsha alhihaat Aba' Bínni'lik<u>a</u> hooyimmi bíyyi'kachattook, yammak<u>o</u> nanna oshta' aba' aa-ashak<u>o i</u>holitto'pattook.

The Chickasaws have always believed in He Who Sits On High, who was composed of four sacred elements from above.

Nanna oshta' yammat hashi', hoshonti', shotik bosholli', micha aba' yaakni' micha intanap aba' pílla' bínni'lik<u>a i</u>holhchifokat Aba' Bínni'li'. Aba' Bínni'likat hattak m<u>o</u>ma shinok shobolli' aaikbi tahlihm<u>a</u> ishki' yaakni' hochifottook.

These four things were the sun, the clouds, the clear sky, and, sitting in the middle of heaven, he who is called Aba' Bínni'li', He Who Sits on High. Aba' Bínni'li' made all the people from dust, and when he was finished he named the dust Mother Earth.

Shakchikoot lokfi' chakissa m<u>a</u> oka' nota' pílla' aa-ayo'wacha yaakni' ikbittook<u>o</u> himmaka' yaakni' m<u>a</u> ishki' hochifottook.

It was the Crayfish that gathered sticky mud from under the waters and made the land now called Mother Earth.

Lokfi' Ihayyita m<u>a</u> ishto' tanahli taha mak<u>o</u> yaakni' ishki' hochifottook.

He piled up the mass of wet dirt called Mother Earth.

Yaakni' latassa' m<u>a</u> pisahmat ikanhi'cho, haatook<u>o</u> Fala' Ishto'k<u>o</u> onchaba' micha yaakni' hayaka' ikbi apila'nik<u>a</u> imasilhha Aba' Bínni'li' kashapak<u>a</u> Chikashsha milínkakat hashittook lowak ishto' holítto'pa' aba' pílla aalowak ishto' holítto'pa' okloshi' ilayyoka m<u>o</u>ma aa-áyya'shak<u>a</u> imattook.

Crayfish saw the flatness of the earth and did not like it, so he asked Raven to help in the creation of mountains and valleys. The part of Aba' Binni'li' closest to the Chickasaws was the sun, the great holy fire that burns on high. In all the different towns were places where a great holy fire burned after it was given to them.⁶

⁶ Byars, Juanita. 'Chikasha Na Ikbi Anoli: Chickasaw Creation Story.' Chickasaw Council House Museum, the Chickasaw Nation, museum rack card, 2002. A second transcription in the Munro-Willmond orthography, by the author, appears in Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' in *A Listening Wind: Native Literature from the Southeast*, edited by Marcia Haag.

Haatok<u>o</u> yaakni' hayo'shna il<u>o</u>híkki'ya'hi bíyyi'kahm<u>a</u> yammakaashoot ishpomallak<u>a</u> pomáyya'sha katihma.

So when the land was found, and we were able to stand on it, this [knowledge] came to us, and we still have it.⁷

Haatoko chiiki mishaash Posipóngni'at yaakni' ila' aa-áyya'shattook.

So long ago, our Ancestors lived in a different land.

Chikashsha Chahta oklaat wihat tanoh<u>ó</u>wattook.

The Chikashsha and Chahta people migrated together long ago.

Chiiki pílla áyya'sha'kaash hashaakottola' pílla ishkoboka' toklaat imokla pihlí'chittook. Itti' fabassa holitto'pa' áwwali'chittook. Ishkoboka' toklo'aashoot Chiksa' cha Chahta holhchifottook. Nittak tahahm<u>a</u> itti' fabassa holitto'paash<u>o</u> yaakni' anonka' apissat hilichittook. Nittakihm<u>a</u> itti' fabassa holitto'pa'at kaniya' wáyya'a píllahm<u>a</u> pitáwwali'sht ittanoh<u>ó</u>wattook.

Guided by a sacred pole, two leaders named Chiksa' and Chahta led a group from the west. At the end of the day, they would stick the sacred pole straight into the ground, and each morning they traveled in the direction it was leaning.

Haatokoot nittaki chaffakaash<u>o</u> Chahtaat itti' fabassa holitto'pa'at apissat híkki'ya imahoobattook. <u>I</u>yaakni' himitta' onat taha imahoobattook. Chiksa' Chahta tá'at ikittibaachaffokittook. Chiksa'at <u>i</u>yaakni' himitta'at hashaakochcha' pílla áyya'shak<u>a i</u>yimmittook.

One morning, Chahta was convinced that the upright pole signified they had reached their homeland. Chiksa' disagreed, and believed their homeland lay further east.

⁽University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 115-116. Presented herein is a third-pass transcription in Munro-Willmond orthography, based on her original text.

⁷ Cedric Poole, 'Conference with the Chickasaw Indians, Tue 20 Jul 1736,' transcribed from John Wesley's journal, 20 July 2010, http://johnwesley1703-

^{1791.}blogspot.com/2010/07/conference-with-chickasaw-indians.html.

Yahmihmat ishkoboka'at ikittibaachaffokittookootok<u>o</u> Chiksa' imokla cho'ma'at itti' fabassa holitto'pa' áwwali'sht ibaan<u>o</u>wattook, hashaakochcha' pila. Yaakni' himitta' onat tahattook. Yaakni'aashoot Pontotoc, Tupelo, Mississippi holhchifo, himakko'si'kano. Yamma píllak<u>o</u> itti' fabassa holitto'pa'kaashoot apissat híkki'yattook. Chikashsha alhihaat <u>i</u>yaakni' himitta' onat tahattookat ith<u>á</u>nattook.

The leaders parted ways, and the people who remained with Chiksa', still guided by the sacred pole, continued eastward to a place near present-day Pontotoc and Tupelo, Mississippi. There the pole stood straight, and the Chickasaw Nation knew they had found their homeland.⁸

Haatokoot himmaka' nittakik<u>a</u> Chahta Chikashsha táwwa'at yaakni' ittim<u>i</u>la' hooaa-áyya'sha. Okloshi' chaffa' katihma ki'yo.

So, today Chahta and Chikashsha live on different lands. They are still not one tribe.

Imanompa'akookya ittim<u>i</u>la.

Their languages are different, too.

Yammak illa.

That is it.

This—to me, anyway—is the proper way to begin a story about Chikashsha okla,

Chikashshiyaakni', and Chikashshanompa'.⁹ We begin when the ground was firm enough to

⁸ This is a translation of a condensed version of the migration story, based on a version as told to Robert Kingsbery by the Reverend Jesse J. Humes. This brief version does not include Ofi' Tohbi' Ishto', 'Big White Dog,' our spiritual protector from the old homelands to the Mississippi River where he was washed away, and whose soul became the Milky Way, Ofi' Tohbi' <u>I</u>hina', 'The White Dog's Road.' A version of this story is on display at the Mississippi Museum of Natural History, Jackson, Mississippi. The version presented here is an updated transcription of the original narrative by the author with native speaker Virginia Bolen, 2017.

⁹ 'Chikashsha people,' 'the Chickasaw Nation,' 'Chikashsha language.'

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stand on, when Aba' Bínni'li¹¹⁰ formed us and blew air into our nostrils. We were preceded by the creation of Yaakni' Ishki¹¹¹ herself, along with her children including Shakchi and Fala Ishto', powerful animals whom we still honor today.¹² Many centuries later our Ancestors found themselves in a land of trouble, and were forced to leave, following the itti' fabassa' holitto'pa¹¹³ sanctified by Aba' Bínni'li'. After the loss of our Ofi' Tohbi' Ishto¹¹⁴ at the Sakti' Lh<u>a</u>fa' Okhina¹¹⁵ we emerged on the other side as a unique and separate people from our Chahta brothers. These two narratives, each a deep teaching, are the only way to begin to tell a Chikashsha nannanoli'¹⁶, and to orient us in time and space and relationships.

¹⁰ There is no grammatical gender in Chikashshanompa' so this phrase can easily be translated with she/he/it. Contemporary speakers always use the masculine pronoun, and often combine Christian and pre-Christian phraseology in a single salutation used in common prayer: Ponki' Chihoowa' aba' ishbínni'li ma 'Our father Jehovah (God), you sit on high,' We have no idea about what our Ancestors thought of the gender of Aba' Bínni'li'. John Wesley's fascinating interview with five Chickasaw warriors regarding their spiritual beliefs is full of male pronouns for Aba' Bínni'li' but we cannot ascertain whether these are a function of translation on the part of the bilingual interpreter, and/or a function of transcription on the part of the report and newspaper editor that distributed the material. Poole, 'Conference.'

¹¹ 'Mother Earth.' Several speakers use this word for the earth, including the late Juanita Byars, the late Emily Johnson, and her son, Carlin Thompson.

¹² 'Crayfish' and 'Raven.'

¹³ 'Sacred pole.'

¹⁴ 'Big White Dog.'

¹⁵ 'Scored Bank River,' meaning the Mississippi River. 'That name derived from the look of the bluff at today's Memphis as seen from the waterside, its high bank etched into deep furrows by frequent rainwater coursing down its sheer face.' John P. Dyson, *The Early Chickasaw Homeland: Origins, Boundaries & Society* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2014), 7; John R. Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs and Usages of the Chickasaw Indians,' in *Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1928), 178.

¹⁶ 'Chikashsha story.'

Katihmit holissochilitaam? (Why did I write this?): Purpose

This dissertation is an autoethnographic examination of twenty years in Chikashshanompa' revitalization. It comprises two complementary narrative threads, woven into a single story. One thread is a highly personal narrative of my development as an anompa shaali¹⁷ of Chikashshanompa' since 2000. The other is a narrative of group development as anompa ibaashaali¹⁸, wherein we, the staff of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, undertook what, as of this writing, has been thus far a twelve-year quest to bring Chikashshanompa' back to prominence among our people. That other narrative is filtered through my experience as the director of that program.

Both draw on extensive records I began in 2003. They include notes, journal entries, doodles, drawings, and paintings, as well as multiple examples drawn from social media including Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. They reflect the language acquisition of one adult second-language learner over twenty years. Therein I also draw on the program's records, like emails, archival recordings, apprentice journals, personal interviews, and the work of fellow scholars, Chikashsha and non-Chikashsha, who focused on it. These records reflect its development from 2007 to the near future of spring 2020. The scope of this dissertation research, then, spans from 2000 to spring 2020.

My motivations are many. They include examination of my personal reasons for learning Chikashshanompa', as well as our group's motivations for pursuing a program dedicated to helping other Chikashsha people access their heritage language. I also wanted to examine the

¹⁷ Second language learner, literally 'language carrier.'

¹⁸ Second language learners, literally 'they carry the language together.'

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processes of acquiring Chikashshanompa' personally, and reflect on how we developed different aspects of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program. And I hoped to convey the personal and professional effects that learning and becoming a speaker of Chikashshanompa' have had on me. I also wished to consider the broader impacts of the development of the program on others in our community, and how they are manifested in individuals' acquisitions of Chikashshanompa'. Also, I hoped in part that this study could motivate other Chikashsha people to engage with their language. I also wished to craft a subjective, highly personal, but also historical record of both group and self-development. I view such a record through three perspectives: as a Chikashsha theory of survivance¹⁹ and perseverance, as a Chikashsha framework for language loss and revitalization, and as a theory and method that I have termed Mediated Language Change.

The study is what McIvor termed 'a stud[y] of lives being lived by their author-researcher [one that is] exploratory and aim[s] to tell to tell a life's story for the purpose of evocative response, stirring readers to action while offering greater depth of understanding of the subject at hand.'²⁰ While this study may prove useful in understanding broader patterns of adult second-language acquisition across the United States and Canada, as well as offering a road map of sorts for similarly situated individuals and tribal communities, neither were my primary purpose. I want the Chikashsha people to see what I have done as an individual and what we

¹⁹ 'Survivance' is defined by Gerald Vizenor (Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, White Earth Reservation) as 'an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry.' Gerald Vizenor, *Manifest Manners: Narratives on Postindian Survivance* (Lincoln, NE: Nebraska, 1999), p. vii.

²⁰ Onowa McIvor, 'îkakwiy nîhiyawiyân: I am learning [to be] Cree,' (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2012), 3.

have done as a community. I hope they are inspired to pick up Chikashshanompa' for

themselves. Without our language, we are nothing, and we need more anompa shaali' to help

us carry the language forward.

Anakoot yammak ishchiman<u>o</u>lili (I am the one telling you about this): A Personal Narrative

Chokma, hachinchokmahookmano anhili. Saholhchifo'at Lokosh, hookya naahollo imanompa'ookano 'Joshua D. Hinson' sahochifo. Chikashsha saya. Chikashsha, Chahta, Mashkooki', Chalakki', micha naahollo saya. Sashki'at Charla Hinson. Sashki'at Chikashsha, Chahta, micha naahollo. Anki' Waymon Hinsonat Mashkooki', Chalakki', micha naahollo. Kowishto' Iksa' sa'yacha anchokka-chaffa' holhchifo'at Imatapo. Chiiki mishaash atapo / alhtipoat 'lean-to' aachikya himmaka' nittakik<u>a</u> atapo / alhtipo'at 'tent.' Ingman<u>o</u>wa yammak ishtaaonchololili.

Hopaakikaash anchokka-chaffa'at Chikashshanompolihminattook. Alalihm<u>a</u> nannikshokittook. M<u>o</u>maat loshoma tahattook, 1930s paafka. Sahimínta katihmahmat Chikashshanompolit ishtayalittook. Himmaka' nittak<u>a</u> Chikashshanompolila'hi bíyyi'ka. Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program imishkoboka' saya. Holisso yammak<u>o</u> anonkaka' kanishchit ithanalittook<u>a</u> ishch<u>i</u>holissochila'ch<u>o</u>.

Hello, I hope you are all well. My name is Gourd, but in English they call me Joshua D. Hinson. I am Chikashsha. I am of Chikashsha, Chahta, Mashkooki', Chalakki' and Euro-American ancestry. My mother is Charla Hinson. My mother is Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Euro-American. My father Waymon Hinson is Mashkooki', Chalakki', and Euro-American. I am Panther Clan and my family (house) name is Their Lean-To People. Long ago atapo / alhtipo meant 'lean-to,' but today it means 'tent.' So I descend from these [people].

Long ago my family spoke Chikashshanompa' all the time. When I was born, there were not any left. All of them had died in the 1930s. When I was still young I began to learn to speak Chikashshanompa'. Today I can speak Chikashshanompa'. I am the director of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program. In this paper I will tell write to you about how I learned it.

This thread of the dissertation is my personal story of what Chew termed 'language

reclamation' of Chikashshanompa', my heritage language.²¹ As you will see further detailed in

Chapter 4, I am an enrolled citizen of the Chickasaw Nation, phenotypically white, of multi-

²¹ Kari Ann Burris Chew, 'Chikashshanompa' Ilanompoh<u>ó</u>li Bíyyi'ka'chi [We will always speak the Chickasaw language]: Considering the vitality and efficacy of Chickasaw language reclamation' (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2016), 17.

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tribal heritage, born and raised outside the Chickasaw Nation tribal service area in southcentral Oklahoma. I trace my pursuit of Chikashshanompa' and an emergent Chikashshaprimary identity. That pursuit took hold in me while I worked with elders to acquire my language. I problematize this experience, and examine the choice non-phenotypical people have—to be either a white, brown, or black person of Chikashsha ancestry or, in my case, a Chikashsha person who happens to present primarily as a white person with all the attendant privileges in this middle world.²² Ultimately, I demonstrate the power of Chikashshanompa' as it transformed my personal and professional life.

The second thread is my subjective interpretation and analysis of the experiences as an anompa shaali' who directs and co-develops an integrated, holistic approach to language revitalization in a large and dispersed tribal community having few first-language speakers. The resulting Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program is represented progressively from as it was in 2007 to what it is in 2019, and to what it will be in the spring of 2020 after we complete our multi-year Rosetta Stone Chickasaw project.

As further details in Chapters 2, 5, 7, and 8 will show, I explore the motivations for various forms of life for Chikashshanompa' that we have propagated and cultivated since 2007. I trace our efforts to valorize the language itself, our speakers, and the learners. I problematize this corporate experience and explain, for good or ill, our choices, the outcomes, and our attempt to ground the experiences in a Chikashsha framework for language loss and revitalization as

²² The middle world is yaakni' moma', the Earth that is the realm of humans and animals. The upper world was understood by our Ancestors as the sky. Sky beings included birds and those beings that lived in the cosmos beyond, where the four beloved things exist, including Aba' Bínni'li'. The lower world is a water-filled domain of water creatures including sishtohollo', the 'horned serpent,' and includes the void beyond. These are traditional Chikashsha teachings.

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detailed in Chapter 3. The narrative is again largely filtered through my subjective experiences and perceptions of what we accomplished, with significant input from my many teachers and community consultants, particularly where gaps exist in the documentary record, or my memory fails me.

Research is ceremony, and this story is a war narrative

Opaskwayak Cree scholar Shawn Wilson was right in his examination of Indigenous research methods and the Indigenous research paradigms that grow from our communities: research *is* ceremony. For Indigenous scholars, research is a process by which we form relationships with ideas that in part create a kind of a 'ceremony of maintaining accountability to these relationships.'²³ This 'relationality as reality' and the need for 'relational accountability' is reflected in the Chikashsha asilhlha and autoethnographic approaches I detail in Chapter 3.²⁴

The process of this research, deriving from the Indigenous research paradigm that is the lived Chikashsha experience, is manifest herein. This story of lived experience in the reclamation of Chikashshanompa', individually and corporately, is presented as a tanap nannan<u>o</u>li'—a narrative of the kind our male Ancestors provided so their war deeds could be affirmed and their war names bestowed. The war-name ceremony was fundamentally relational, as is this present research. I detail this tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' in Chapter 3.

Chikashshanompa' in place

I examine the history of Chikashshanompa' through the lives of my female Chikashsha Ancestors in Chapter Two. Here I wish to lead my readers to see in part the continuity and

²³ Wilson, *Research*, 7.

²⁴ Ibid.

resilience of Chikashshanompa' in our communities across time and place. The language Aba' Bínni'li' gave us to 'speak to each other, the land, the plants, the animals, and the Creator'²⁵ is still spoken by us, the descendants of our first Ancestors. That we still have, as of this writing, native speakers after 479 years of living daily among the consequences of contact is remarkable. That we have adults actively acquiring Chikashshanompa' is remarkable. That we continue to use Chikashshanompa' as a language of communication is remarkable. That we have native speakers working in concert with second-language learners to expand the lexicon of Chikashshanompa' to accommodate their changing world, in the same way our Ancestors did, is truly remarkable.

The language our Ancestors spoke in our southeastern Homeland survived intact across the trail they were forced to follow to Indian Territory. It was kept alive by our families during the Civil War, Reconstruction, forcible English-only education, Oklahoma statehood, the Great Depression, and a thousand other historical injustices that should have silenced our ancestral tongue. This survival is remarkable.

That we as Chikashsha people exist in community across the world, connected by our common heritage and the power of our culture, is also remarkable. We harness the power of new media and the Internet to reach across vast distances to bring Chikashshanompa' to our people. In that context the language is in fact a living thing. It is 'able to grow in places and has no boundaries.'²⁶ We are awakening increasingly to the itt<u>i</u>sh²⁷ that is Chikashshanompa'. That

²⁵ Chew, 'Chikashshanompa',' 13.

²⁶ Ibid., 28.

^{27 &#}x27;Medicine.'

resurgence, growing from fewer than fifty native speakers and a small band of a dozen

language workers, is now thousands strong. This is also remarkable.

Yakkookay ilimanhi.²⁸

Significance of the Research

I am supposed to write about how great this dissertation is and give proofs concerning how this is so. It seems unnatural to call attention to the ceremony itself, rather than its purpose. Akitha'no. Maybe I'm wrong.

Lokosh 13 September 2019

This autoethnographic research emerged from an internal struggle over the direction that my dissertation should take, and carries with it a variety of beliefs and teachings, and contributes to the literature in several distinct ways. I believe that *objective* research does not exist, and I am not certain *original* research does, either. These falsehoods seem to be falling in certain areas of the academy, and hang on tightly in others. In spite of these truths, I wrote this research.

I believe that, in part, the power of this research is found in its subjectivity, its relationality, its openness to experience, its inward-looking stance, and its unflinching Chikashsha identity. I could only search for this research through my relational connections with ancestral knowledges, my community, my people, and our language. I hope this tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' contributes to greater understanding of one adult's experience in acquiring their heritage language. I hope our descendants see this story as truthful, and find inspiration in it. I

²⁸ 'We give thanks; we are grateful.'

hope other Indigenous communities will see individual and corporate paths for language revitalization, which they also can follow, but I wrote this first for my own people.

This research expands an emerging Chikashsha autoethnographic literature and contributes to a growing body of collaborative ethnographic work by scholars including Barbara Meek, and autoethnographic works by Indigenous peoples worldwide, including Onowa McIvor, Michele K. Johnson, Candessa Teehee, and Shawn Wilson.²⁹ Indigenous authoethnography is an expanding field of inquiry throughout the Indigenous world. The Indigenous autoethnographic approach 'seeks to establish itself as a legitimate and respectful means of acquiring and formulating knowledge, by combining the tradition of storytelling with the practice of academic research.'³⁰ This research contributes to this growing body of Indigenous autoethographic literature by claiming the power of story and storywork, working first as an Indigenous person through those ancestral modes of storytelling while simultaneously and rigorously engaging with the practice of Western academic research, although doing so on my and our own terms. I

²⁹ Examples of such ethnographic and autoethnographic work are Chew, 'Chikashshanompa''; Kari Chew, Nitana Hicks Greendeer, and Caitlin Keliiaa, 'Claiming Space: An Autoethnographic Study of Indigenous Graduate Students Engaged In Language Reclamation,' *International Journal of Multicultural Education* 17, no. 2 (2015): 73-91; Brent Edward Sykes, ''Learning' to Become a Chickasaw Educator: An Autoethnography,' (master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2010); Sykes, 'Transformative Autoethnography: An Examination of Cultural Identity and Its Implications for Learners.' *Adult Learning* 25, no. 1 (January 2014): 3-10; Barbara Meek, *We are our language: An ethnography of language revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan community*. University of Arizona Press, 2012; McIvor, 'îkakwiy,'; Michele Kay Johnson, 'n'łəqwcin (Clear speech): 1,000 Hours to Mid-Intermediate N'syilxcn Proficiency (Indigenous Language, Syilx, Okanagan-Colville, n'qilxwcn, Interior Salish),' (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2013); Candessa Teehee, 'Negotiating Acceptance: A Sociocultural Analysis of Second Language Learners' Constructions of Speakerhood in Cherokee Nation Language Revitalization,' (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2014); Wilson, 'Research'.

³⁰ Jennifer Houston, 'Indigenous autoethnography: Formulating our knowledge, our way.' *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 36, no. S1 (2007): 45-50.

hope this approach shows other, emerging Indigenous scholars that it is possible to produce a research that is acceptable in all the worlds in which we walk.

It contributes to the limited body of scholarship on Indigenous adult second-language acquisition in native North America, inspired by and responding to McIvor and Johnson.³¹ It also contributes to the diverse Native American Studies literatures concerning linguistic sovereignty, self-determination, and survivance.³² It follows and expands upon Dr. Kari Chew's research in its attempts to valorize the efforts of all anompa shaali' and its dense description of the many forms of life that have emerged from our attempts to reclaim and revitalize Chikashshanompa'.³³ Finally it is emblematic of the emerging learner varieties documented in Dr. Juliet Morgan's research, and is furthermore an extensive record of my specific learner variety that has emerged since 2000.³⁴

Dissertation overview

This tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' of two interrelated narratives, one personal and one corporate, is

explored in the following chapters. In Chapter Two: Pomanompa' Poya (We are Our

Language): A Brief of History of the Chikashsha people and Chikashshanompa', I explore the

³¹ McIvor, 'îkakwiy,'; Michele Kay Johnson, 'n'łaqwcin'.

³² Robert Allen Warrior, *Tribal Secrets: Recovering American Indian Intellectual Traditions* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995); Gerald Vizenor; *Manifest Manners*; Beverly Singer, 'Wiping the Warpaint off the Lens: Native American Film and Video,' in *Native American Voices* 3rd ed., edited by Susan Lobo, Steve Talbot, and Traci Morris Carlston (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2016), 218-222; Clara Sue Kidwell and Alan Velie, *Native American Studies*. (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005); Amanda J. Cobb, 'Understanding Tribal Sovereignty: Definitions, Conceptualizations, and Interpretations,' *American Studies* 46, nos. 3/4 (Fall/Winter 2005): 115-132.

³³ Chew, 'Chikashshanompa''.

³⁴ Juliet Morgan, 'The Learner Varieties of the Chikasha Academy: Chickasaw Adult Language Acquisition, Change, and Revitalization' (PhD diss., University of Oklahoma, 2017).

history of our language through the lifetimes of my maternal Chikashsha Ancestors and contextualize our language loss and revitalization in our pre-removal Homeland and here in the Chickasaw Nation, post-removal.

Chapter Three: Kat<u>i</u>shchit Chikashshanompa' ishtanompolila'ni? (How can I talk about Chikashshanompa'?): Theoretical, Empirical, and Methodological Frameworks lays the theoretical, empirical, and methodological foundation for the entirety of the following chapters.

Chapter Four: Lokosh sahochifo (They call me Gourd): Twenty years as a language learner is an intensely personal, open, and revelatory examination of my own journey to become a speaker of Chikashshanompa'. I examine this development through a chronological account that spans much of my childhood and the entirety of my adult life. This chapter offers

one adult language learner's experience in acquiring their language, the effects of that journey on me personally, and frames later examinations of our collective experience in developing the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program.

Chapter Five - Tibi kolofa' onchololi (New growth is emerging from the stump): New Forms of Life for Chikashshanompa' examines new forms of life for Chikashshanompa', growing from our revitalization context. This chapter examines the forms themselves, our motivations for cultivating them, our efforts to mediate them, and our commitment to a dynamic, active, and living language.

Chapter Six: Nanna ihíngbili bíyyi'ka: I am always creating things: Chikashshanompa' in Creative Production is a return to the subjective, personal experience of my learning journey, wherein I examine the visual forms of life that I created in the process of acquiring

Chikashshanompa' for myself, and how that process was informed by and with my longstanding interest in creative visual production in multiple media.

Chapter Seven: Anompa himitta'at ikshokm<u>a</u> anompa'at ikshoka'chi (If there are no new words there will be no language): The Role of Lexical Expansion in Chickasaw Language Revitalization examines the work of our small speech community, in concert with the native speakers of the Chickasaw Language Committee, in expanding and updating the Chikashshanompa' lexicon for the current century. I examine the word-formation processes of our Ancestors and how those choices motivated our own. I provide critical examples of the many forms of neologisms³⁵ and address the controversies that have arisen from this process.

In Chapter Eight - Nannanoli' ilimaaithana (We are learning from stories): Mediated Language Change and the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program I examine in depth the development of our modified group immersion approach that grows from traditional Master Apprentice Language Learning approaches, our experience with the Sauk Language Program's own approach, and the Salish narrative-based approach. I explain our approach to development, assessment, and language variety mediations as outgrowths of our Mediated Language Change theory and method. I further examine the theoretical and cultural motivations for our group language acquisition efforts through Mediated Language Change.

Chapter 9: Nittak fokha'chikm<u>a</u> Chikashsha alhihaat Chikashshanompola'chitaa? (In the future will the Chikashsha speak Chikashshanompa'?): The Future of the Chickasaw Language functions as both a summary of this dissertation, as well as a message to our descendants living

³⁵ New words.

in 2120. I reflected on Chickasaw Governor Emeritus William Malcolm Guy's 1913 letter to the Chikashsha people of 2013, dared to imagine the future of Chikashshanompa', and left a message for our descendants living in 2120.

Nanna holissochilikmat nanta mihali? (When I write something what do I mean?): Definitions

I use a variety of critical and significant terms, Chikashsha and not, in this research, so it might be helpful to define some. In our community we use the traditional spelling 'Chikasha' in public—for example, the Chikasha Poya Exhibit Center at the Chickasaw Cultural Center. In this manuscript I use the Munro-Willmond orthography exclusively. Hence the spelling 'Chikashsha,' reflecting the geminate *sh* all native speakers use when pronouncing our name for ourselves. Similarly, I choose Chikashshanompa' to represent the more vernacular *Chickasaw*, *Chickasaw language*, or even *Indian*. This choice, among others, marks this writing as distinctly Chikashsha.³⁶

I use other specific Chikashsha terms to represent significant, repeated terms throughout this research:

- anompa himitta' 'new language, new word, neologism'—coined in 2008 during the initial phase of lexical expansion with the Chickasaw Language Committee
- anomp<u>í</u>'shi' 'has the language, native speaker'—a neologism coined in the process of this research
- anompa shaali' 'language carrier, second language learner' a neologism coined in the process of this research

³⁶ Jocelyn C. Ahlers, 'Framing Discourse,' *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 16, no. 1 (June 2006): 58-75; Chew, 'Chikashshanompa',' 29.

- Chikashsha anompoli 'Chikashsha speech'
- Chikashsha holissochi 'Chikashsha writing, literature'
- Chikashsha poya 'We are Chikashsha'—an expression of Chikashsha identity and a cornerstone of our collective strategies for survivance and perseverance
- Chikashshiyaakni' 'Chikashsha their-land, the Chickasaw Nation'
- Chikashsha okla 'the Chikashsha people'
- lilhak<u>óffi</u> 'We survive'—an expression of the commitment of the Chikashsha people to actively mediate changing circumstances to ensure our survival as a people and as a nation
- Ilachónna'chi 'We persevere'—an expression of embracing and leading change as a form of Chikashsha perseverance
- Iláyya'sha katihma 'We are still here'—an expression of survivance and cultural continuity
- ittonchololi' 'new growth from a tree'—a metaphor for Chikashshanompa' loss and revitalization; a term of semantic shift coined for this research
- onchololi 'to put out new shoots (of a tree)'
- tanap nannanoli' 'war speech'—a term of semantic shift; a Chikashsha metaphor for the dissertation narrative itself
- tibi kolofa' 'stump'—a metaphor for Chikashshanompa' after centuries of violence done to it, circa 1973; a term of semantic shift coined for this research

I use the terms *heritage language* and *ancestral language* interchangeably. A heritage language of the home can also be a language that belongs to an individual of that heritage, although perhaps they had never before heard it spoken—much like my experience.

I primarily use 'Chikashsha' to denote a Chikashsha person in this writing, but more generally I prefer *Indian* to refer to the Indigenous peoples of North America. The usage follows that of my elder teachers. Some native people reject this term, and that is their choice, but that does not concern me. I much prefer *Indian* to *Native American*, which is so often co-opted by politically right, immigrant-descendants who insist their right to this land is co-equal with ours, rationalizing that we are ultimately 'all immigrants'.

Haatookya. Nanna ikitha'nohm<u>a</u> taha'na.³⁷

Hattak api'ma' is the Chikashsha way of saying *Indian.*³⁸ *Indigenous* connotes a broader connection to communities worldwide and still in their ancestral places. I follow Chew in using this term, capitalized, as a proper noun referring to the original peoples throughout the world, as well as signaling 'a nationality parallel which emphasizes the sovereignty and agency of Indigenous Nations, ethnics groups, and other sociopolitical entities.'³⁹ *Indigenous language* bears certain connotations, but for removed peoples its definition is problematic.⁴⁰ We are putting Chikashshanompa' back onto the landscape of our ancestral territories, and perhaps can return it there more fully.

³⁷ 'Whatever. They do not know anything, anyway.'

³⁸ Hattak, 'person'; api', 'trunk or torso'; homma', 'be red', thus, 'red-bodied persons.'

³⁹ Chew, 'Chikashshanompa',' 27.

⁴⁰ Chew, 'Chikashshanompa',' 27, 28.

Nanna ishchimanolili makilla (I need to tell you about some things): Things to explain

I follow Shawn Wilson in offsetting personal, editorial, observational, and vernacular speech represented in this dissertation with a different font; in this case, Calibri Light. The body text, figures, and notes are all rendered in Calibri. I wanted to use Clarendon in deference to my research ancestors' publications through the Bureau of American Ethnology, but it looked terrible on stark, white pages. Perhaps on another project, someday.⁴¹

The form of the language data in this research is different from standard approaches to transcription of linguistic data. In the main text I do not italicize the language because it reinforces, visually, the idea of 'otherness,' while Chikashshanompa' is in fact equal to English. I follow Michelle Johnson and other Indigenous writers in this practice.⁴² In most cases I will provide a translation in a footnote. In the case of Chikashshanompa' terms that recur repeatedly throughout the manuscript I will provide a translation with the first occurrence of the term in each respective chapter, and continue without translations through the balance of each.

In long passages of language—journal entries, for instance—I provide a purposeful variation from standard linguistic interlinear gloss, as in the following example:

HAP: amanoli nannooka.

am-an<u>o</u>li nann-oo-k<u>a</u>

1SG.III.DAT-tell what.it.is

'tell me what it is.'43

⁴¹ Wilson, *Research*, 8-9. Ryan RedCorn (Osage) is my typographic guru.

⁴² Johnson, 'n'łəqwcin,' 252.

⁴³ Morgan, 'The Learner Varieties,' 316.

This form of entry gives us the initials of the speaker, in this case Hannah Pitman, on the same line with the phrase. The second and third tiers represent the morphemic breakdown, in morpheme-by-morpheme correspondence, and the forth tier is the English translation.

In contrast I present standard data from a journal entry, for example, with the following form:

impalachan

[impalacha'ni]

'might eat [I might eat]'44

The first tier is the bolded, original entry from the journal, in this case an example of marginalia on a Post-It note affixed to the interior cover. The second tier, offset with brackets and also in bold, is the corrected transcription in Munro-Willmond orthography. The third tier is the original translation in quotations, with the entry in brackets providing a fuller, more correct translation.⁴⁵ This form of data transcription is visual evidence for my acquisition of Chikashshanompa' over time, wherein I demonstrate increased proficiency in both orthographic knowledge, translation, and general, functional language use.⁴⁶ My transcriptions of personal notes, journals, spoken language or other forms are valid data, and I treat them like I would treat native speaker language data. I am an anompa shaali', a second-language speaker of my

⁴⁴ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), (Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK), 2.

 ⁴⁵ By more correct I mean I have, much as I did in the second tier, taken the opportunity to provide fuller, more correct translations, as I currently understand them. This process is itself a record of my development as a speaker of Chikashshanompa'. I am still a learner and my comprehension, productive use, and spelling of our language are always in flux.
 ⁴⁶ I consistently use the modern Munro-Willmond orthography in this research. In other contexts I have used the traditional Humes orthography. Which orthography I utilize is a matter of choice, rather than one of obligation.

language, and my language data is no more or less relevant than a native speakers' for the purposes of this research.

Lastly, this dissertation was crafted with the greatest care and with the support of my tribal community, including our Governor Bill Anoatubby, our native speakers, my co-workers in the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, and other Chikashsha scholars and community leaders. I was further supported through my academic community at the University of Oklahoma. Any errors in this research—factual, linguistic, or otherwise—are mine and mine alone.

Chapter Two: Pomanompa' Poya (We are Our Language): A Brief of History of the Chikashsha people and Chikashshanompa¹⁴⁷



Figure 1: Chikashsha poya. Pen and ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

They [my maternal Ancestors] gave me everything - my status, my clan – everything comes from them.

Lokosh 20 November 2019

The tendency in histories of non-Indigenous peoples is to understand the history of a

people or a place strictly through chronologies like timelines of key events. Chikashsha scholar

Foshhommak (Dr. Amanda J. Cobb-Greetham)⁴⁸ describes a fairly straightforward historical

record of the United States:

1. Columbus 'Discovers' America,

⁴⁷ This chapter owes much to Barbara Meek and her masterful book, *We Are Our Language: An Ethnography of Language Revitalization in a Northern Athabaskan Community* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2012).

⁴⁸ 'Redbird.' I named her Foshhommak, given her love for cardinals. Birds of any sort are messengers in our traditional teachings.

- 2. the Revolutionary War,
- 3. the Civil War,
- 4. the Settlement of the West,
- 5. etc.

in contrast to a history of events for Chikashshiyaakni':

- 1. the Migration Story,
- 2. Arrival of Colonial Powers and
- 3. the Founding of the United States,
- 4. the Trail of Tears,
- 5. the Constitution of 1856,
- 6. the Allotment Act and
- 7. Oklahoma statehood,
- 8. etc.⁴⁹

Foshhommak then asks us to consider Chikashsha history not through significant events,

but rather through the lifetimes of people. In our case, a history of six lifetimes brings us from

1735 to the present:

Consider this history of only six lifetimes:

Chickasaw Governors and Traditional Leaders

- When Bill Anoatubby was 20, Hugh Maytubby was living (1892-1970)
- When Hugh Maytubby was 20, Douglas Johnston was living (1856-1949)

⁴⁹ Amanda J. Cobb-Greetham, 'The Perseverance of a Nation: Chickasaw Lives, Chickasaw Governance' (Powerpoint presented 12 March 2019 at the Governor's Leadership Conference, Winstar Casino, Thackerville, OK).

- When Douglas Johnston was 20, Cyrus Harris was living (1816-1888)
- When Cyrus Harris was 20, Edmund Pickens was living (1789-1868)
- When Edmund Pickens was 20, Tishohminko' was still living (1735-1835)⁵⁰

Foshhommak rejects a western, linear approach to historical description and instead engages with our own Indigenous research paradigm - that of the lived Chikashsha experience. We can best understand our histories through our Ancestors' lifetimes, through the foundational teachings contained in our oral traditions, and through community understandings of the pivotal moments contained in our collective histories. In like manner, I eschew a strictly chronological approach to this narrative, and instead examine our language loss and revitalization through ten lifetimes, including mine, couched in a contemporary seasonal metaphor for Chikashsha history.⁵¹

This seasonal metaphor is composed of four seasons, toompalli 'summer,' which encompasses the lifetimes of our Ancestors prior to contact, and hashtola ammo'na' 'fall,' which encompasses the centuries following contact to the forced Removal from our Homeland. Hashtola' 'winter,' encompasses the challenging decades from Removal, to the American Civil War, the trauma of statehood and the lean years of the Great Depression, and finally to the election of Governor Bill Anoatubby in 1987, which marks toompallit ishtaya, 'spring,' which encompasses the current political and cultural renaissance of the Chikashsha people.

⁵⁰ Ibid. Tishohminko', according to recent research including a War of 1812 bounty land application from his son, who was called Richard, survived the removal to Indian Territory and died at Bushy Creek, Indian Territory. His wife passed away on the same day in the fall of 1838. Brad R. Lieb, email communication with the author, 19 September 2019.

⁵¹ This seasonal metaphor for our collective history was developed by Foshhommak (Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham.

The composite image seen in Figure 1 is of ten pen-and-ink portraits, each roughly three by five inches, framed as a tableau of relationality and titled 'Chikashsha Poya.'⁵² Nine are of my maternal Chikashsha Ancestors, and lead directly to me in the tenth generation. Through these nine women I was born into my clan, Kowishto', and my house group, Imatapo.⁵³ From them emerges my identity and my place as a Chikashsha person, in our oldest sense of self.

My maternal Ancestors are:

- Mintohoyo I (birth and death dates unknown)
- Mintohoyo II (birth and death dates unknown)
- Mintohoyo III (before 1788 after 1839)⁵⁴
- Mariah Colbert Kemp (circa 1820—18 December 1867)
- Frances Elizabeth Kemp Mead (18 March 1849—5 November 1939)
- Laura Belle Moberly Perkins (1878 1942)
- Charlie Perkins Cox (4 November, 1902 7 February 1992)
- Faye Elizabeth Cox Nichols (7 October 1924 3 December 2014)
- Charla Sue Hinson (born 20 December 1949)

Through their lifetimes I will trace the history of our people and our language. I will

briefly describe the Chikashsha seasonal metaphor including pivotal persons and moments in

our collective history, and then offer a historical narrative through our oral history that brings

us to the lifetime of my first known Chikashsha female ancestor. I then complete this historical

tracing of the history of our people and our language through ten lifetimes, including my own.

⁵² 'We are Chikashsha.' This work was included in the 'Visual Voices: Contemporary Chickasaw Art' touring exhibition, http://www.chickasawartists.com

⁵³ 'Panther Clan'; 'Their Lean-to People.'

⁵⁴ Mintohoyo is listed as over 50 years old on her muster roll document, dated 7 May 1838. I have a copy of this document from the microfilmed original, but have been unable to locate the original. Her name is listed as Min ta ho yea, 'Come and strain it here,' she is head of household, and removed with five of her family members and thirteen enslaved Africans; nineteen persons in total. There were 129 persons in her removal party.

Chikashsha okla, Chikashshanompa': Chickasaw People, Chickasaw Language

The Chikashsha are a Muskogean-speaking people descended from Ancestors who lived west of the Sakti' Lh<u>a</u>fa' Okhina'⁵⁵. Our most ancient understanding of our origins begins with the creation of the world by Aba' Bínni'li' through the efforts of Shakchi and Fala Ishto', as recounted by the late Juanita Byars and presented in the first chapter of this research.

Tribal narratives recorded in the eighteenth century and oral histories into the present day tell of ancient and ongoing connections to our other Muskogean-speaking brothers, the Creeks and Seminoles, the Alabamas, the Koasatis, and the Choctaw.

Our origin as a unique people called Chikashsha is recorded in a migration story passed from generation to generation for many centuries. Several variants of our ancient migration story are passed down orally, and older versions were documented in written form. British trader James Adair recorded the migration story in the early eighteenth century, writing that 'they, and the Choktah, and also the Chokchooma, who in the process of time were forced by war to settle between the two former nations, came together from the west as one family'⁵⁶ and later states that 'the Indians have an old tradition, that when they left their own native land, they brought with them a sanctified rod by order of an oracle, which they fixed every night in the ground; and were to remove from place to place on the continent towards the sun-rising, till it budded in one night's time; that they obeyed the sacred mandate, and the miracle took place after they

 ⁵⁵ 'Scored Bank River,' the Mississippi River. Dyson, '*The Early Chickasaw Homeland*,' 178.
 ⁵⁶ Adair, James. *The History of the American Indians* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2005), 34; Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs,' 174. The three tribes are, respectively, the Chikashsha, the Chahta, and the Shakchi' homma', also spelled Chakchiuma. Joshua D. Hinson, 'To'li' Chikashsha Inaafokha': Chickasaw Stickball Regalia' (master's thesis, University of New Mexico, 2007), 32.

arrived to this side of the Mississippi, on the present land they possess.⁷⁵⁷ The most widely known modern interpretation as dictated to Robert Kingsbery Jr. by the Reverend Jesse J. Humes in 1964, was known as Ofi' Tohbi' Ishto' micha Itti' Holitto'pa' (The Big White Dog and the Sacred Pole). Mr. Humes describes in detail the migration of the Ancestors of the Chikashsha and the Chahta from west of the Mississippi River, the split of the two groups into the Chikashsha and the Chahta, and the eventual settlement of the Chikashsha in the Tombigbee River valley of northeastern Mississippi. A shortened version of this story was represented in Chapter 1.⁵⁸

The Chikashsha people have a long and storied history since we left the Chahta on the

east side of the Sakti' Lhafa' Okhina'.⁵⁹ Today Chikashsha tribal history can be conceptualized in

four seasons.⁶⁰ Toompalli⁶¹, the start of the Chikashsha New Year marked by the Green Corn

Ceremony, encompasses the lives of Chikashsha Ancestors before contact. During this season,

 ⁵⁷ Adair, *History*, 195; Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs,' 174; Hinson 'To'li',' 32.
 ⁵⁸ The Reverend Jesse J. Humes, *Ofi' Tohbi' Ishto' micha Itti' Holitto'pa' (The Big White Dog and the Sacred Pole*), manuscript edited by Robert Kingsbery, Jr. (1964), 1; Hinson 'To'li',' 39ff.
 ⁵⁹ Glotto-chronology suggests that our people separated 540 BP (AD 1450), plus or minus 140 years. George Aaron Broadwell, 'Reconstructing Proto-Muskogean Language and Prehistory: Preliminary Results' (paper presented at the Southern Anthropological Association, St. Augustine, FL, 23 April 1992), 10. Accessed 15 October 2019.

https://s3.amazonaws.com/academia.edu.documents/2708236/8h67uvf934xnurs.pdf?respons e-content-disposition=inline%3B%20filename%3DReconstructing_Proto-

Muskogean_Language.pdf&X-Amz-Algorithm=AWS4-HMAC-SHA256&X-Amz-Credential=AKIAIWOWYYGZ2Y53UL3A%2F20191015%2Fus-east-1%2Fs3%2Faws4 request&X-

Amz-Date=20191015T215223Z&X-Amz-Expires=3600&X-Amz-SignedHeaders=host&X-Amz Signature=277b53fd61553693f914b3c63055cda0ab5ae513195edcd06b2864ff89dd206e ⁶⁰ We used this season metaphor in crafting the orientation video, written by Foshhommak (Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham), shown daily at the Chickasaw Cultural Center since 2010. It was also used in Phillip Carroll Morgan, *Chickasaw Renaissance* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2010). ⁶¹ 'Summer.'

which begins with our split from the Chahta, our lifeways including Chikashshanompa' were fully intact and strong.

Hashtola' ammo'na⁶², marked by the closing of the ceremonial grounds and preparation of food for the long winter, is understood as encompassing the period beginning with first contact with Hernando de Soto in 1540 and his expulsion from Chikashsha lands in 1541 to the challenging years of the eighteenth century, when the Chikashsha people were hard pressed on all sides by the French and French-allied Chahta, losing hundreds of our people to warfare and disease. From the Yamasee War of 1715 though the defensive consolidation at Old Town in present-day Tupelo, Mississippi, to the flight of Fani' Minko'⁶³ and his people to the Savannah River near present-day Augusta, Georgia in 1720, our Ancestors declined to a population of as low as 1600 people by 1760.⁶⁴

⁶² 'Fall.'

⁶³ 'Squirrel King.'

⁶⁴ Robert A. Brightman and Pamela S. Wallace, 'Chickasaw,' in *Handbook of North American Indians: Vol. 14: Southeast*, edited by William Sturtevant and Raymond D. Fogelson, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2004), 491; Jay K. Johnson, 'The Chickasaws,' in *Indians of the Greater Southeast* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 2000), 85-121; Hinson, 'To'li',' 32.



Figure 2: Mintohoyo I. Pen and ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.



Figure 3: Mintohoyo II. Pen and ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

This was the rapidly changing world into which the three women called Mintohoyo were born (Figures 2, 3, and 4). Three successive generations of women, from the Kowishto' Iksa' and Imatapo house group, carried the same name.⁶⁵ They were all monolingual speakers of Chikashshanompa' and lived near the core settlements of the Chikashsha people in and around present-day Tupelo, Mississippi. When the first Mintohoyo was born, likely in the late seventeenth or early eighteenth century, the Chikashsha people had only had sustained trading relationships with the French and the English for a decade at most. Prior to this a one hundred fifty some-odd year span had occurred in which the Chikashsha had essentially no sustained to carry the name of Mintohoyo, the language was present in our nation in its fullness – Chikashshanompa' was the language of daily interaction, interpersonal communication, and ceremony. It was the language of day and night, life and death, peace and war. It was passed, as our Creator intended it, from mother to child, in community and in relationship with others.

⁶⁵ Granny Mead told my great-grandmother Charlie Perkins Cox and my grandmother Faye Elizabeth Cox Nichols that her grandmother Mintohoyo was the third generation of women in their family to carry that name. Granny Mead translated her name as 'Come Woman', but this is problematic. Minti ohoyo would be 'come woman' in Chahta, but in Chikashshanompa' woman is 'ihoo'; a contraction of the two could plausibly be Mintihoo. Further muddying the waters are the many alternative spellings for the third Mintohoyo's name in the historical record. Mintihoyo, Mintihoyya and other derivations are common. Her name is written on her 1838 removal muster roll as Min ta ho ya, which would be Mintaahoyya in modern orthography, meaning 'Come and strain it here'—Mintihoyo meaning 'Come and look for it'; Mintihoyya meaning 'come and strain it.' I have retained Mintohoyo because of its regular occurence in the historical record, but I think one of these alternatives is far more likely to be her actual name. I have visited the site of her last home in Mississippi several times, and have participated in salvage archaeology, including trash pit sampling, on the site. I am sure she would be quite surprised to find that her trash is now interesting to somebody. Michelle Cooke, 'Touched By Our Past: Unearthing Memories from Levi Colbert's Prairie,' Chokma Chickasaw *Magazine* (Spring 2019), 8-17.

The language sustained us in so many ways – when we were hard-pressed by enemies on all sides, it was still there for us.

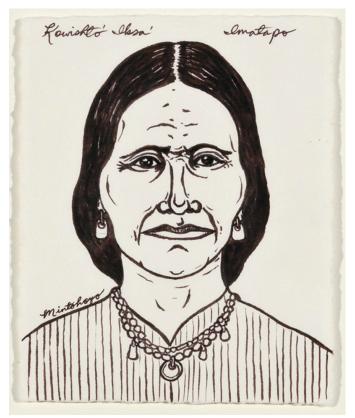


Figure 4: Mintohoyo III. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

Within the lifetime of the third woman to carry the name of Mintohoyo (Figure 4) the language remained a powerful force and essentially the only language spoken in the traditional Chikashsha villages. Born before 1788 near present-day Tupelo, Mississippi and passing away in Indian Territory after 1839, Mintohoyo was a monolingual Chikashsha speaker who would have known only a handful of intermarried white traders, including her father in law James Logan Colbert, James Gunn, John Gilchrist, James Allen, and John Bynum, tribal interpreter Malcolm McGee, and others who were bilingual English-Chikashshanompa' speakers.⁶⁶ Her own husband

⁶⁶ Horatio Bardwell Cushman, *History of the Choctaw, Chickasaw and Natchez Indians*. (Greenville, TX: Headlight printing house, 1899), 414; Amanda J. Cobb, *Listening to Our*

Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert, though he was a mixed blood Chikashsha with a white father, was neither fluent nor literate in English, but was nonetheless powerful by virtue of his mother and her clan status.⁶⁷ His father, James Logan Colbert, and tribal translator Malcolm McGee were both raised from infancy with the Chikashsha people and could speak the language with nativelike proficiency.⁶⁸ Within a generation, the mixed blood children of these early traders and powerful Chikashsha clan mothers would ascend to political power in their rapidly changing world, and their children would go on to become the first bilingual, and in some cases literate, Chikashsha. Chikashshanompa' of the third Mintohoyo's world was still powerful, and the dominant language within the boundaries of Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni', but terrible consequences of removal would soon begin to have effects on our language.

Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949 (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2000), 24.

⁶⁷ Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert was Inkonihomma', 'Their Red Skunk People'.

⁶⁸ That James Logan Colbert was brought to Chickasaw Nation as an infant and raised among our people is an oral history passed down in numerous descendant families. This may be incorrect, but this is how my family understands his history with the Chikashsha people.

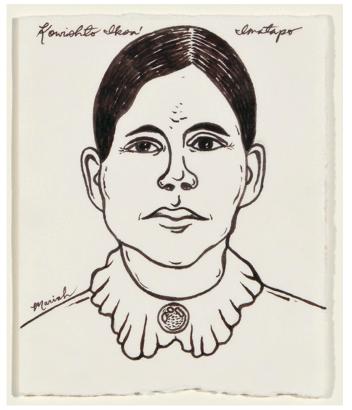


Figure 5: Mariah Colbert Kemp. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017. Mintohoyo's daughter Mariah Colbert Kemp was likely born at her mother's allotment near modern day Nettleton, Monroe County, Mississippi, circa 1820 (Figure 5) into a markedly different world from that of her mother, one where the intense violence of the eighteenth century had faded and the settlement patterns of the mother towns were changing as Chikashsha people moved out onto the landscape to pursue Euro-American style agriculture and livestock farming. Schools were beginning to be established in Chikashshiyaakni', established by the South Carolina-Georgia Synod, which established the mission school known as Monroe School in 1822 and the Cumberland Presbyterian Association, which established Charity Hall in 1820. Other schools included Tokshish, Martyn, and Caney Creek.⁶⁹ These schools, which focused on religious, domestic, and academic training, would in part help create

⁶⁹ Cobb, *Listening*, 27-28.

a generation of bilingual Chikashsha children who would use their language skills for the betterment of their people.⁷⁰ Literate, Chikashsha bilinguals and translators would prove to be invaluable in treaty negotiations with the United States. This same generation would often choose to withhold Chikashshanompa' from their children. This terrible decision was less of a matter of choice than one of protection – our Ancestors did not want their children to suffer as they had.

Hashtola¹⁷¹, marked by hunger months of limited food and long nights filled with tribal stories, is today understood to encompass the horrors of Removal to Indian Territory beginning in 1837. Frances Elizabeth Kemp Mead (Figure 6) was born in Indian Territory near lands that would become Kemp, Oklahoma, roughly a decade after her mother Mariah Colbert Kemp, her father Joel Kemp, and her grandmother Mintohoyo were forced to leave the bones of their Ancestors in Chikashshiyaakni' and come to Indian Territory.⁷² Her parents were both multilingual, her mother speaking Chikashshanompa' and English and her father speaking 'good English, and the Chickasaw and Choctaw languages.'⁷³ She was enrolled in the inaugural class of the Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females in 1853. The literacy curriculum at Bloomfield, similar to curricula created for contemporaneous white schools, was very effective in its mission to 'Christianize and civilize.'⁷⁴ Granny Mead, who cherished her time at Bloomfield,

⁷⁰ Ibid. 29.

^{71 &#}x27;Winter.'

⁷² Mintohoyo and her household were enrolled to remove on 5 May 1838, and took with them the last hereditary minko' of our people, Ishtaahottopa'. His name means 'Where He Was Hurt With It,' translation provided by native speaker Catherine Willmond. Dr. Pamela Munro, email to author, 18 October 2019.

 ⁷³ Frances Elizabeth Kemp Mead interview, Oklahoma Indian-Pioneer Papers, interview 162, 1937. http://files.usgwarchives.net/ok/bryan/bios/k5100001.txt. Accessed 19 September 2019.
 ⁷⁴ Cobb, *Listening*, 45.

would be the last proficient speaker of Chikashshanompa' in our family, until I picked it up in 2000.75

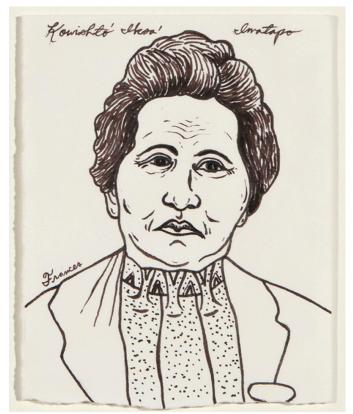


Figure 6: Frances Elizabeth Kemp Mead. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

She lived through the struggles of re-establishing our nation in the new lands, the losses of the Civil War, and the struggle to rebuild. Her daughter, Laura Belle Moberly Perkins (Figure 7), would only know the pain of the war years through stories, but would experience first-hand the heartbreak of allotment, when our tribal government functions were severely restricted, and our tribal lands broken up into individual parcels.

⁷⁵ In addition to being a fluent speaker of Chikashshanompa', she was also an alikchi', 'Indian doctor,' who knew traditional medicine to a degree. I doubt she was an initiated doctor, selected from birth for training by <u>I</u>yaaknaasha', 'the Little People,' who taught alikchi' the fullness of Indian medicine, both good and bad. She did know extensive herbal remedies for maladies – remedies that were passed down to her granddaughter, my great-grandmother Charlie Perkins Cox.



Figure 7: Laura Belle Moberly Perkins. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

She was born in Indian Territory at the very southeastern-most portion of the Chickasaw Nation, the Panola District, into a period of rapid cultural decline.⁷⁶ The clan system was breaking down. Some families, primarily ones with mixed racial heritage, were becoming monolingual speakers of naahollimanompa¹⁷⁷. Chikashsha people also were converting to Christianity, giving up their native beliefs. Laura, too, was a graduate of the Bloomfield Academy, and had limited proficiency in Chikashshanompa'. Her daughter, Charlie Perkins Cox (Figure 8), was born at Calera, Indian Territory, Chickasaw Nation, just five years before

⁷⁶ 'A Resolution in Relation to Striking Boundary Lines' was approved by Chickasaw Governor B.F. Overton on 17 October 1876. The resolution established the four voting districts: Pontotoc, Pickens, Tishomingo, and Panola. Originally called counties, they were maintained in the 1983 Constitution and named districts. https://legislative.chickasaw.net/Districts.aspx, accessed 13 October 2019.

^{77 &#}x27;English.'

statehood, and would be among the last in her immediate family to be included in the final rolls of the Dawes Commission, and allotted land thereby.



Figure 8: Charlie Perkins Cox. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

Grandma Cox was the first of my Ancestors I knew growing up. She attended a later incarnation of the Bloomfield Academy, renamed Carter Seminary. Like her mother and her grandmother, she received education in domestic arts, Christian instruction, and Western fundamentals like literacy. She knew a smattering of Chikashsha words, retained some of our food traditions, kept some of her mother and grandmother's herbal remedies including ones for insect stings and minor cuts, and was an incredibly proud citizen of Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni'. The civilizing work of the academy was too effective. After three successive generations of attendance, there was almost no remnant of Chikashshanompa' in our family.

The metaphorical winter into which she, her mother and grandmother were born continued into the lean years of the early to mid-twentieth century. The Chikashsha people struggled to survive without a fully-functioning government. We had limited financial resources, and were progressively forced to leave our traditional communities to find work. Charlie's daughter, Faye Elizabeth Cox Nichols (Figure 9), would be born a few short years before the stock market crash that plunged the nation into the Great Depression.



Figure 9: Faye Elizabeth Cox Nichols. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

Faye, who I called 'Meme,' was the first female child in three generations not to attend a tribal boarding school. Instead she went to a neighborhood school with other Chikashsha children, mostly her relatives and a smattering of naahollo students. She was an excellent student, particularly in music, and would become a teacher. She was our family genealogist and

keeper of the Colbert-Kemp family lore, a role she bequeathed to me on her passing in December 2014. She was a product of her time and a victim of historical circumstance. She was, as are we all, a child of Removal who made her way through the world with little overt knowledge of the rich heritage that had been ripped from her. She knew her church, the foodways of her mother, and about life on the farm, but nothing of Chikashshanompa'. Many of her generation would either never be taught to speak Chikashshanompa', or would actively stop speaking it upon entering school.

Her daughter, my mother Charla Sue Nichols Hinson would be born after the end of World War II. A quintessential Baby Boomer child, my mother was raised far from her grandmother Charlie Perkins Cox's farm near Achille, Oklahoma (Figure 10).



Figure 10: Charla Sue Nichols Hinson. Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

She knew as much of her tribal heritage as her mother would pass to her but, like her mother, she was largely disconnected from the core, fluently speaking Chikashsha communities throughout rural areas of south-central Oklahoma. She would grow to maturity during the late 1960s and early 1970s, when the Reverend Jesse and Vinnie May James Humes noted the paucity of young Chikashsha who could converse in Chikashshanompa'. By the time of my birth (Figure 11), there were perhaps only a thousand or fewer speakers of Chikashshanompa' left. Contemporaneous sources note almost no one of middle age or younger was then capable of holding sustained conversation therewith.⁷⁸ The programs of assimilation had been remarkably effective. However, a great political and cultural resurgence was coming.

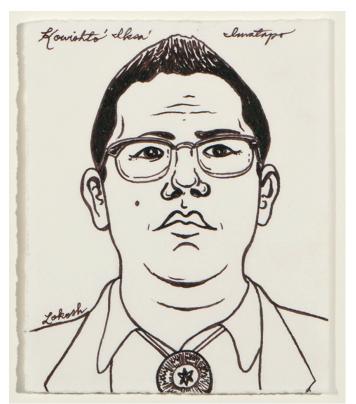


Figure 11: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Pen and Ink on paper. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

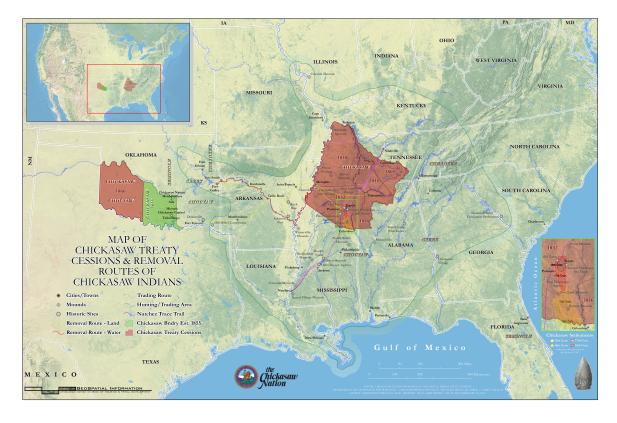
⁷⁸ Dorothy Milligan, ed., *The Indian Way: Chickasaws* (Quanah, TX: Nortex Press, 1976), vi.

I was born eleven years before our metaphorical Spring, marked in our traditions by the return of to'li¹⁷⁹ play, dances, and the first growth of atofalaa' imilhlha'.⁸⁰ That season represents our present Chikashsha cultural and political renaissance that began with the election of Governor Bill Anoatubby in 1987. I, like other Chikashsha people of my generation, was greatly blessed by grassroots efforts of individuals including Mr. and Mrs. Humes, Abijah Colbert, Robert Kingsbery, and others in pressing for the appointment of a young and dynamic Chikashsha man named Overton James, who would go on to be our first popularly elected governor since 1898. While not a speaker of the language, he valued it, and encouraged his mother, Vinnie May James Humes, to finish *A Chickasaw Dictionary* following the death of her husband, the Reverend Jess J. Humes. Governor James and his administration accomplished a great deal, including passage of our tribal constitution in 1983.

The nadir of the language also was the beginning of a revitalization movement during James's administration that was more fully realized under the leadership of Governor Anoatubby, who greatly values Chikashshanompa' and what it means for our people. Never before have we had so few speakers of Chikashshanompa', but neither have we had more passion, commitment and energy to bring it back to its rightful place in our daily lives, in the hearts and on the tongues of our people.

⁷⁹ 'stickball.'

^{80 &#}x27;wild onions.'



Chikashshiyaakni' (Chickasaw Nation): The importance of place

Figure 12: Map of the Chickasaw Treaty Sessions & Removal Routes of Chickasaw Indians, Chickasaw Nation GeoSpatial Information, 22 February 2012.

The importance of place cannot be underestimated, both the loss of our traditional place and our adaptation to new place. We were originally from the west of the Sakti' Lh<u>a</u>fa' Okhina', but came to reside in the Tombigbee River valley, centered on present-day Tupelo, Mississippi (Figure 12). Until Removal, beginning June 1837, we inhabited communities built first along ridge tops overlooking the rivers and creeks that are scattered throughout our homeland, and then later into more dispersed individual homesteads.⁸¹ Chikashshanompa' was sitting on the

⁸¹ The first removal party left the Chickasaw Nation in June, and crossed the Mississippi River at Memphis on 4 July 1837.

land - we knew our places intimately, naming them Chisha' Tálla'a'⁸², Chokka' Falaa'⁸³,

Chokkilissa¹⁸⁴, Shiiki Aabínni'li¹⁸⁵, Nita' Bookoshi¹⁸⁶, and Sakti' Lh<u>a</u>fa' Okhina¹⁸⁷. Other places were known, named for the ancestor that died there, for some activity that animals performed there, or some unique quality to the natural environment.⁸⁸ In that time Chikashshanompa' was still present in the heavens, the astronomical knowledge of our hopayi' still intact.⁸⁹ The bodies of our Ancestors are buried throughout that land, even though we are no longer there (Figure 13 and Figure 14).

⁸² 'Post Oak Grove.'

⁸³ 'Long Town.'

⁸⁴ 'Abandoned Town.'

⁸⁵ 'Buzzard's Roost.'

⁸⁶ 'Bear Creek.'

 ⁸⁷ 'Scored Bank River, ' the Mississippi River. Dyson, 'The Early Chickasaw Homeland,' 178.
 ⁸⁸ See Keith H. Basso, Wisdom Sits in Places: Landscape and Language Among the Western Apache (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1996) for an excellent study of place and story among the Western Apache.

⁸⁹ 'Prophets.' Today, Chikashsha astronomical knowledge is almost wholly gone.

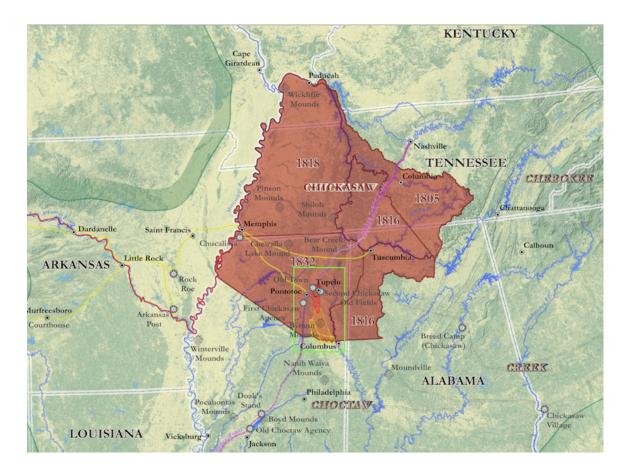


Figure 13: Map of the Chickasaw Treaty Sessions & Removal Routes of Chickasaw Indians, Chickasaw Nation GeoSpatial Information, 22 February 2012, detail.

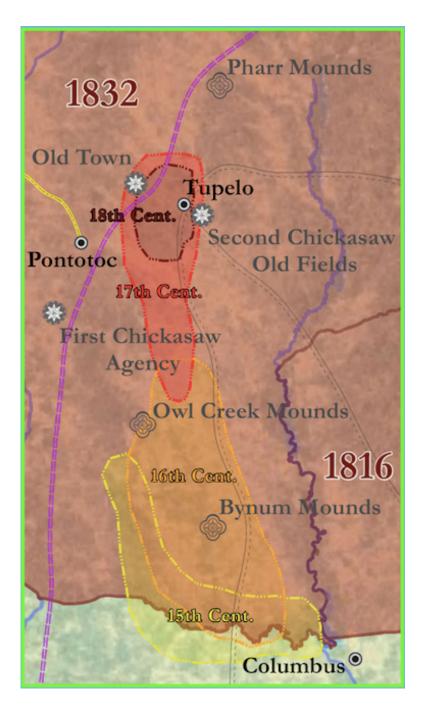


Figure 14: Map of the Chickasaw Treaty Sessions & Removal Routes of Chickasaw Indians, Chickasaw Nation GeoSpatial Information, 22 February 2012, detail.

Before Removal, we negotiated for the western portion of the Choctaw Nation.⁹⁰ The

Chahta were more than glad to convey it, because it meant we could pose a buffer between

⁹⁰ The negotiations are outlined in the 1837 Treaty of Doaksville.

them and fierce western tribes like the Plains Apaches, the Kiowa, the Comanches, none particularly taken with the fact that another tribe now inhabited their traditional hunting lands. We brought our places with us, naming Kali' Chokma¹⁹¹, Kali' Awaalhaali¹⁹², Panti' Oktaak⁹³. We renamed Kali' Chokma¹⁹⁴ for our beloved leader Tishohminko' - Tishomingo. Again the language was over the land. We named it while we worked on it, and struggled to adapt to our new environment. (Figure 15).



Figure 15: Map of the Chickasaw Treaty Sessions & Removal Routes of Chickasaw Indians, Chickasaw Nation GeoSpatial Information, 22 February 2012, detail.

We have grown into our new home, though the old folks call us back now and then so we

might protect them in the ground where they have lain for so long. Our communities follow a

⁹¹ 'Good Springs.'

⁹² 'Boiling Springs.'

⁹³ 'Cattail Prairie.'

^{94 &#}x27;Good Springs.'

meandering line from Allen, Happyland, and Kullihoma⁹⁵ in the north, through Pontotoc and Connerville to Tishomingo and Fillmore in the south. Hardly any of our speakers live outside our boundaries—perhaps two at most. Chickasaw speakers are homebodies, and prefer to stay near other speakers. The wild onions are not any good in California, anyhow (Figure 16).

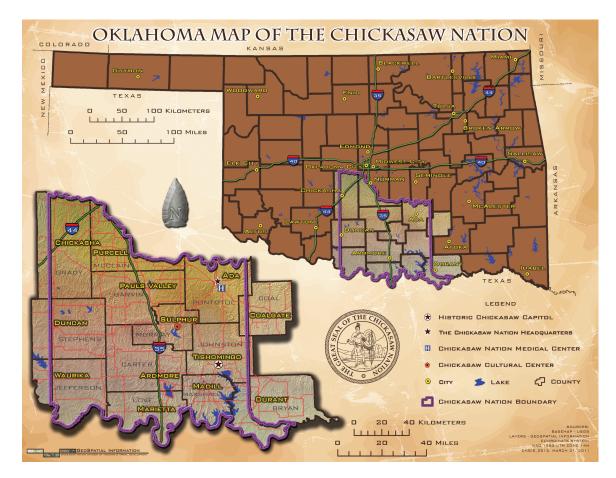


Figure 16: Oklahoma Map of the Chickasaw Nation, Chickasaw Nation GeoSpatial Information, 31 March 2011.

Naming continues while we expand and grow, build and develop. We give names

appropriate to places and to our sense of place. We think of the diaspora of Chikashsha people,

including ones who have never lived here. Our language is over their lands, too. We give them

⁹⁵ Kali-homma', 'Red Springs.'

names for things in their daily lives, and help them speak from afar. We help them remember who they are, and where they came from, with traditional naming.

Still, out of some 68,000 people, we have less than 50 native speakers of Chikashshanompa' remaining. This dwindling came as a series of insidious, small, quiet steps, the 'disjunctures' Meek describes as ruptures in community due to colonizing influences.⁹⁶ Small warp- and weft-tearing intrusions, tiny in the fabric of our community, occurred at contact, including out-marriage, war, and cultural degradation. We learned English as a way to survive. Over time we became skillful at navigating in the dominant society—maybe too skillful, some of the old folks say. Our language made it intact through Removal as a matter of daily communication, but we were poorer for having lost some things that do not exist in Oklahoma or at least in our service area, like swans, bald cypress trees, and medicine plants that only grew in the old country.

The twentieth century opened with the withering blow of statehood. Our government was effectively terminated. Our communities were left with the labors of their hands, hopes of small payouts from the remnants of tribal assets and our meager allotments. Our children suffered the trauma of the federal boarding-school system that often tore their language right out of them—but sometimes it did not. We still had strong social communities, yet World War II would affect even that. Our men went off to fight, saw something of the world, relocated to take jobs in urban areas, and never came back. Often our people fell in love with others who did not speak Chikashshanompa'. This generation was the one that really began to lose the

⁹⁶ Meek, We Are Our Language, x.

language. Less than fifty native speakers remain. From that we struggle to bring our nation back together through the power of Chikashshanompa'.

Chikashshaat ittokchali (The Chickasaws are waking themselves up): Chickasaw Renaissance

We have made strides toward putting ourselves back together politically and culturally. With the advent of Indian gaming under the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (Public Law 100-497-Oct. 17, 1988 100th Congress Sec. 2701), the Chickasaw Nation has flourished. Gaming dollars reinvested into essential services have changed the quality of life for the Chickasaw people for the better. We have dramatically expanded programs and services, including health care through the Chickasaw Nation Medical Center in Ada, Oklahoma, and its satellite clinics in surrounding communities. We operate elder programs, housing and home ownership services, the tribally owned Bank 2, child-support enforcement, and extensive education services. Gaming dollars also have funded diversification efforts in our non-gaming business arm comprising Chickasaw Enterprises, Solara Health Care, Global Gaming Solutions LLC. We have grown our employment base from two in 1971 to more than 14,000 as of this writing. Other tribal enterprises include gaming centers, smoke shops, Bedré Chocolates, several local newspapers and radio stations, travel stops, and extensive business with the federal government including medical contracting for the United States Armed Forces.

The Chickasaw Nation's cultural revitalization has accelerated since the mid-1990s. Ceremonial and social dancing traditions were revitalized at the Kullihoma⁹⁷ stomp grounds east of Ada. Simultaneously, community-based plans for a cultural center began, culminating in the opening of the Chickasaw Cultural Center in 2010. Chickasaw Press was founded in 2007,

⁹⁷ Kali-homma', 'Red Springs.'

devoted to publishing books and book-length materials about Chikashsha topics, from language texts to history, and cookbooks to children's literature. Chickasaw citizens are returning to their ancestral cultural roots, taking up bow-making, archery and traditional foodways, and participating in language-learning programs. Some even return 'home' from outside our service area, to live in the Chickasaw Nation.

And our tribal government under Governor Anoatubby has taken language loss seriously. Beginning with the founding of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program in 2007, dedicated efforts are at the forefront of the Chickasaw Nation's cultural initiatives. The program offers an array of enrichment and immersion activities for Chickasaw citizens and other interested persons. Its core is the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program, modeled after the Salish Language Program / Paul Creek Language Program.⁹⁸ Now in its fourth year, the Chikasha Academy is dedicated to the creation of competent second-language learners of Chikashshanompa' via immersion at six hours a day, three days a week, for up to three years.

Our commitment to academic research, writing, and publication feeds back into the Chikasha Academy program. We have a long-standing relationship with UCLA linguistics professor Dr. Pamela Munro who, besides co-authoring our core documentation with native speaker Catherine Willmond, supports the program. In 2013 the Chickasaw Nation and the University of Texas at Arlington were awarded a Documenting Endangered Languages grant from the National Science Foundation (BCS-1263699 and BCS-1263698). That grant established the Chickasaw Verb, a project to document Chickasaw verbs in conversational and narrative

⁹⁸ http://www.interiorsalish.com/tpcla.html

contexts, and to examine the natural speech of our last native speakers. Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald is co-principal investigator with myself for the project, and Dr. Munro serves as a consultant.

Dr. Juliet Morgan and Dr. Kari Chew also are core academic partners. Dr. Morgan is our full-time staff linguist. She analyzes the speech of our Chikasha Academy students and creates structured immersion activities that focus on nonstandard variations in their oral production. Those activities repeat critical morphological features needed for accurate production. Dr. Chew has played in integral role in long-term projects like Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, as well as contributing to this current research, along with Dr. Morgan.

Besides our core immersion program, there are other, extensive enrichment efforts to offer Chikashsha people, no matter where they live, access to their heritage language. Within the service area we offer study groups in each of the major communities including Purcell, Ada, Tishomingo, Sulphur, and Ardmore. Chipota Chikashshanompoli (Children Speaking Chickasaw) and Himitta' Alhihaat Hoochokoshkomo (The Youth Are Playing) focus on children's language learning. At East Central University the program offers four semesters of Chikashshanompa' taught by native speaker JoAnn Ellis and second-language learner Osi' Tohbi' (Brandon White Eagle). For employees of the Chickasaw Nation, we offer Individual Development Program classes about everyday matters like food, family, traditional hymn singing and introductions. We also offer a grammar-based program for the Chickasaw Nation executive department and other leaders. Extensive language programming is available on www.chickasaw.tv, including lessons, language staff profiles, speaker interviews, and children's videos.

Furthermore, our program has made available via the iTunes store a Chickasaw language learning application for Apple mobile devices, free to all interested persons. The app

features topically organized phrases, videos, and traditional hymns. And we undertook an extensive project with Rosetta Stone in 2015, culminating in Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Levels 1, 2, and 3, with level 4 going live in the spring of 2020.

At the core of all the program does is the Chickasaw Language Committee. Composed of 25 native speakers, this advisory committee assists in directing all aspects of program development, including creation of anompa himitta¹⁹⁹, Chickasaw language publications including a Chickasaw prayer book, public signage, and direction concerning language use.

Pomanompaat nosa'chitaa? (Will our language go to sleep?): Language Loss and Revitalization in Oklahoma

Any discussion of Chikashshanompa' language ecology must include the broader, multitribal context that is Oklahoma Indian Country, and must include our motivations for addressing language loss and for revitalization efforts. For the Chikashsha community, concerns about language loss began in the late 1960s, particularly among our conservative speakers. For them, language was so intimately tied to identity, even if they had made difficult choices not to pass theirs to their children, and some were resigned to the language's inevitable slide into sleep. And yet others among them fought passionately against such surrender. To them, language loss meant severe consequences, including the end of our people, and even the end of the world. The tribal government took a tribe-wide language survey in 2007 and, given the political and cultural motivations discussed above, decided to do something.

Oklahoma Indian Country is fertile ground for revitalization not only because of its status as a language hotspot, but also the intensity with which many tribes therein approach

⁹⁹ 'New words.'

their languages' endangerment and revitalization. Their efforts have had significant influence on ours. This is not to say our inspiration was totally insular - we also looked outside our state boundaries to the Karok and the Alutiiq and, after working with individuals from those tribes and Dr. Leanne Hinton, we developed our Master-Apprentice program.

The Sauk Language Program, under the direction of Jacob Manatowa-Bailey, had perhaps the strongest influence on the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program (Chapter 8). Jacob was an exceptional leader who applied his insights to program development, planning, and sustainability. His team approach to Master-Apprentice was the most successful adult immersion program in the state of Oklahoma, in my opinion. The Sauk are continuing their language revitalization efforts under the direction of Chakîhkwê Katie Grant Johnson.¹⁰⁰

The Cherokees also run a large immersion school to educate Cherokee children, prekindergarten through sixth grade, entirely in their language. Their school-based approach grew out of the Hawaiian experience, which Cherokees applied successfully after some bumps along the way. The Cherokee experience, given the great number of native speakers, is different from ours. However, we are inspired by their approach to new media integration. The work of Roy Boney (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma) in bringing Cherokee to the masses via Apple and Microsoft products has shaped our thinking considerably on the intersection of language and culture with contemporary media, and in particular the youthful users of such media. The students of the Cherokee Language Master Apprentice Program under the direction of Ryan Mackey (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma) and Howard Paden (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma) are

¹⁰⁰ Jacob Manatowa-Bailey is now a doctoral student at the University of British Columbia, Victoria.

making incredible progress over a short period of time.¹⁰¹ The School of Choctaw Language under Teresa Billy (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma) is reaching far across the United States and beyond, utilizing the power of the Internet to bring Chahta imanompa¹¹⁰² to wherever the Chahta people reside. The Seminole Nation Language Program under the direction of Joe Coon (Seminole) is using the power of video and social media to educate citizens via Facebook and Instagram. Delaney Pennock (Seminole Nation of Oklahoma) and Jeremy Fultz (Muscogee Creek Nation) are the creative team behind their current efforts. The Osage Nation has an active revitalization program, and a tribal immersion school administrated by Debra Atterberry. Ryan RedCorn (Osage) and Buffalo Nickel Creative produce language-centric media programs, including projects for the Chickasaw Nation (Chapter 5).

We also draw inspiration from outside the state, including from jessie little doe baird from the Mashpee Wampanoag, who revived her language from a two-hundred-year sleep and whose community has created adult and children immersion programs including a tribal school. My Ojibwe friend Leslie Harper ran an immersion school deep in the woods of northern Minnesota, and I often think of what they accomplished in the face of incredible odds. These and others shape how we work in Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni'.

Our relationships are codified in the Intertribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, an intertribal organization founded in 1949, including the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma, the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, the Muscogee Nation, the Seminole Nation of Oklahoma, and the

 ¹⁰¹ Chakîhkwê Katie Grant Johnson, personal communication with author, 23 September 2019.
 ¹⁰² 'Choctaw language.'

Chickasaw Nation.¹⁰³ This intertribal organization represents over 400,000 Indian people nationwide.¹⁰⁴ The collective efforts of this political organization also extend to cultural resources. Our respective language programs meet quarterly and host a language symposium once a year, most recently on communicative language learning approaches. We work collaboratively to better each of our individual efforts. Each tribal nation has inherent strengths and brings those to bear, in a language context, in a variety of ways.

Pomanompa' apissali mihatok (They tried to straighten our language): Chickasaw Language Standardization and Materials Creation

Like all the aforementioned Oklahoma tribal nations, we have seen a variety of tribal language education efforts since the 1970s. One of the first community-based efforts was publication of *A Chickasaw Dictionary*_in 1973. The late Reverend and Mrs. Humes compiled a word list of Chikashshanompa' to counter what they saw as a generation of young Chickasaws without substantial knowledge of their tribal language.¹⁰⁵ A small community effort resulted in a series of tapes and lessons in the 1990s, with audio recorded by the late Yvonne Alberson, the late Jerry Imotichey, and Carlin Thompson.¹⁰⁶ The late Pauline Walker also recorded a phrase tape, and the dance troupe created a CD of traditional stomp dance and social dance songs. In the schools we have had language and culture programs since the 1960s. Neither formal nor sustained, the programs generally were developed by individual tribal members. Native

¹⁰³ 'Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes, Chapter One'

http://www.fivecivilizedtribes.org/Chapter-One.html, accessed 13 October 2019. ¹⁰⁴ 'The Inter-Tribal Council of the Five Civilized Tribes: Resolution No. <u>2001 – 08</u>,' http://aistm.org/2001.civilized.tribes.htm.

¹⁰⁵ Humes, A Chickasaw Dictionary, ix.

¹⁰⁶ I use the English adjectival phrase, 'the late,' to indicate our deceased native speakers in deference to ancestral patterns of name avoidance during the period of mourning, and to a regular pattern of marking their names after that period.

speakers also taught series of formal classes: The late Yvonne Alberson taught at Tishomingo, and the late Geraldine Greenwood taught at Mill Creek for some years. Their materials were never published, but continue to circulate within the community.

Language revitalization programs often look to materials creation while conducting language planning. In the case of Chikashshanompa', creation of most didactic materials was largely accomplished before the nation had a dedicated language program. *Introduction to Chickasaw*, mentioned above, was published by Various Indian Peoples Publishing Company in the 1990s. The same company produced audio recordings and a CD-ROM of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* in the 1990s as well. Dr. Munro and Mrs. Willmond published their dictionary in 1994, and developed a series of lessons for Chickasaw classes at UCLA that would grow into the teaching grammar published in 2008.

Beginning in 2008, the department of Chickasaw language began to engage more seriously in discussions about meeting the needs of citizens at large through media and technology. A community council program grew into a vision for high-quality language education without taxing our limited speaker resources. Out of that vision we developed the Chickasaw language learning application for Apple devices. The program also is heavily invested in Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, a distance-learning program utilizing existing technologies and providing communicative and immersive environments for all citizens.

Pomanompa' ilanompola'hi bíyyi'ka'chitaa? (Will we be able to speak our language?): Implications for Chikashshanompa'

I can think of few tribes in Oklahoma that lack any type of language initiative. Simply put, languages are integral to who we are as Indian people. That determination confronts the political and cultural environment at state and local levels here in Oklahoma, where for some

years English-only bills and ordinances have circulated, gained traction, and ultimately passed despite numerous court challenges. Though these bills often exempt native languages, a bias toward English is made clear.

The discourses within our program are positive. We are still very much in a position to market our language to our people, many of whom have not heretofore had access to it. The tasks of meeting their increasing needs while preserving the immersion core of our program means we must dance a strange dance. We must emphasize the criticality of our language status, and what we have lost, but not to the degree that our people might conclude that revitalization is impossible. We can save our language, and bring it back to a level of prominence not seen in several decades.

Speaker discourses are slowly changing, even while some negative ideologies persist (Chapter 7). Our speaker community realizes, on rising levels, the importance of the work they do for our program. As they have greater say in what is done and how, they take more ownership over their language initiatives, like creating a new words dictionary and a bilingual prayer book. Our speakers are taking pride in their language, and working with, in, and for it.

Second-language learners are flocking to our programs. Whether via immersion or enrichment, we reach thousands of individuals a year. Tribal citizens among such learners speak of the losses that have come of not knowing their language. Many do not know who the last person was in their family who could speak Chikashshanompa', yet want to know the language for themselves and for their children.

Our community members are supportive even if they do not participate. Some might criticize what or how we do things, but all support Chikashshanompa', and agree that we are

our language, and our language is us, even if all of us cannot speak it. That last phrase is pertinent among us. We have racialized and socialized the discourses surrounding identity, belonging and language.¹⁰⁷ On the governmental level, we have a classless society of all Chikashsha people, blooded and less so, speaking and not: Chikashsha poya, 'We are Chickasaw.' On the community level, however, we have a number of traditionalists who disagree, holding that biology and phenotype are paramount to Chikashsha identity and increasingly, language also. Therefore, according to them, language and cultural involvement can overcome phenotype and place of origin. I have seen it, because I have lived it. Conversely, within our department, language is positioned not as a racial heritage, but as a gift from the Ancestors. It is passed to us by our old ones, for the benefit of all Chikashsha okla.¹⁰⁸ Our job is to facilitate access to that gift. We consider it a mission, more than a job, and a calling more than a vocation.

Of course, we suffer persistent damage. We cannot help that. We are a diverse family living as a minority people, in our own land and as a Chikashsha diaspora flung across the world.¹⁰⁹ Conditions for return to a socially grounded and communicative language community are not ideal. The fact that we must artificially reconstruct the conditions for such a shift before we can even begin to tackle long-term language development proves we face significant if

¹⁰⁷ Chahta / Chikashsha author Dr. Phillip Carroll Morgan argues that 'racialization of citizenship did not originate with Chickasaws,' and in fact it is in complete opposition to ancestral patterns of 'traced citizenship, property rights, parental rights, and lines of succession matrilineally.' Phillip Carroll Morgan, *Riding Out the Storm: 19th Century Chickasaw Governors, Their Lives and Intellectual Legacy* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2013), 37.

 ¹⁰⁸ 'Chikashsha people.' Some speakers prefer Chikashsha moma 'all the Chikashsha.'
 ¹⁰⁹ Davis defines diaspora 'broadly as 'the displacement of subjects.'' Jenny L. Davis, *Talking Indian: Identity and Language Revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2018), 7.

perhaps not insurmountable challenges. We face all distractions of the dominant culture television, media and technology—with choices either to re-engage them on the behalf of our language, strive to ignore them (unsuccessfully), or accept them without comment.

Re-engagement is our solution. Such a shift toward growing our language into a modern, relevant one is perhaps the best approach we have taken. We cannot grow with a moribund lexicon any more than we can expect to keep intact language communities without babies. The language must be made relevant again for our people, particularly for our youth. They want tali' lopi', holisso palhki', and iskaaypi'¹¹⁰, because they are what they know.

Yammak illa (That's it): Revitalization to Socialization

The Chikashsha people have undergone about five hundred years of language shift, loss, and now, renewal since significant contact with Europeans. We survived the nadir of our population during the eighteenth century, the brutal challenges of political and cultural loss as consequences of Removal, the forced education and assimilation of our children in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and the imposed erosion of much of our language at the hands of others and of our own people—parents, grandparents, and great-grandparents who kept it from us, out of protective love. We arrived in the present a tattered but intact people, with much of our pieces in place, waiting to be reattached, re-sewn and made whole and new.

We push forward not only in language but all areas of Chickasaw life, whether cultural, political, social or economic. We are constantly remaking ourselves, while looking back to ensure we keep in mind what our Ancestors valued. We do so in the broad context of cultural and political renewal across Indian Country, and in many ways we are a standard bearer of

¹¹⁰ 'Computer'; 'email'; 'Skype.'

possibilities therein. We are vibrant, and provide for our own. We compete in the modern non-Indian world, keeping close to our hearts the things that make us Chikashsha. We yet have much to put back together, but we are on our way.

Chapter Three: Kat<u>i</u>shchit Chikashshanompa' ishtanompolila'ni? (How can I talk about Chikashshanompa'?): Theoretical, Empirical, and Methodological Frameworks

I am not very good at this part of dissertation writing. Why can't I just earn the PhD for becoming a speaker of my language? That seems reasonable to me.

Lokosh 2 July 2019

It really is a joy to craft critical frameworks based on our Ancestors' knowledge and their many teachings. It is conversely difficult and painful. We should be living the fullness of their knowledge and teachings, not trying to recover it from the void and trying to make sense of this mess we are in. The consequences of removal are here, as in every part of our lives, ever-present, even if we are not consciously aware of them.

Lokosh 16 July 2019

Hin-oshi' m<u>a</u> hassáwwali'chikm<u>a</u> nanna hachimaabachila'ch<u>o</u> (If y'all follow me down this path I will point some things out): Chapter Overview

In this chapter I will examine theoretical, empirical, and methodological foundations for this research. In the first section I examine a theoretical framework deriving from Chikashsha ways of being. This theory of survivance and perseverance is one that I have termed Chikashsha poya.¹¹¹ Chikashsha poya is composed of four Chikashsha values that center on identity, survivance through mediation, perseverance through change, and the cultural imperative to remain an intact, dynamic, active tribal nation. In the second section I consider the reporting framework for this research, and situate this project as a form of tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' – a traditional war narrative. I then explore the connections between the overarching theory of Chikashsha Poya, tanap nannan<u>o</u>li', and the phenomena of autoethnographic researches in the

¹¹¹ 'We are Chikashsha.'

social sciences, and principally the use of autoethnographic methodologies and reporting frames for other Indigenous scholars worldwide.

In the third section I describe Chikashsha asilhlha, a community-derived, culturallygrounded research methodology, its application in both my master's thesis and this research, as well as its connections to Shawn Wilson's ideas about Indigenous research paradigms and the practice of research as ceremony. In the fourth section I examine the place of this research in greater Indigenous second language learning contexts across the United States and Canada, and detail a culturally-derived metaphorical framework for Chikashshanompa' loss and revitalization that I have termed ittonchololi' – new growth from a tree. I then examine Mediated Language Change as an outgrowth of ittonchololi' and examine its function as a theoretically-informed method and set of processes in our revitalization context. Finally, I disperse commentary on significant theses and dissertations that have influenced this research throughout the text, and provide a chapter summary at the closing of this chapter.

Lhak<u>ó</u>ffit ilachónna'chi bílli'ya'shki (Having survived, we will persevere forever): A Chikashsha theory of survivance and perseverance

1768, after many years of war the South Carolina census estimated the Chickasaw to be only 2500 this included 500 warriors, I would not be here if not the 500, thank you 500 and all who gave their lives so I could hang my flag today.¹¹²

Ishtiliimáa. 'We persevere.'113

Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihma. 'We are Chikashsha and we are still here.'114

 ¹¹² Wayne Walker, Chikashsha veteran Facebook post, 27 May 2019, accessed 23 July 2019. https://www.facebook.com/search/top/?q=Wayne%20Walker%20500&epa=SEARCH_BOX
 ¹¹³ JoAnn Ellis, fluent Chikashsha speaker, personal communication with author, August 2010.
 ¹¹⁴ Sadie Elmore (Chikashsha) and Melissa Cranford (Chikashsha) Facebook post with author tagged, 6 October 2011, accessed 23 July 2019.

https://www.facebook.com/photo.php?fbid=2449006622500&set=a.2261516455363&type=3& theater

A Chikashsha theory of survivance and perseverance underpins and motivates the Mediated Language Change approach detailed below, and is a primary force behind the production of this research. The theory is predicated on several fundamental Chikashsha values taken from ancestral knowledge and ways of being, and help inform our understandings of our Ancestors' historical contexts and our own. They underpin our strong tribal identity, our survivance over time, our perseverance through struggle, and our commitment to remaining an intact and thriving nation.

Chikashsha poya - We are Chikashsha

Our unique identity as Chikashsha, as expressed through the language Aba' Bínni'li' gave us to speak, and that was embodied in our clan systems and brought to life in our ceremonies, songs, dances, and relationships, is the basis upon which we built our nation. We are aware of deep and ongoing relationships with our brothers the Chahta, the Mashkooki', the Shimanooli', Alabaamo', the Homma', and other Muskogean-speaking nations. We were at one time people of one fire with the Koweta and the Koasati, and brothers to the Kasihta, the Albaamo', and the Abihka'.¹¹⁵ Our deepest relationship is with our brothers, the Chahta. We were one people with them until not very long ago. We traveled with them from the west as one people with Ofi' Tohbi' Ishto',¹¹⁶ who was lost in the Sakti' Lh<u>a</u>fa' Okhina'.¹¹⁷ We split from them on the eastern side of that great river, and walked toward the rising of the sun as a separate people.¹¹⁸ Though

¹¹⁵ Hinson, 'To'li',' 44-45.

¹¹⁶ 'Big White Dog,'

 ¹¹⁷ 'Scored Bank River,' the Mississippi River. Dyson, 'The Early Chickasaw Homeland,' 178.
 ¹¹⁸ Humes, Ofi' Tohbi' Ishto'. I have no reason to doubt a relatively recent split with the Chahta. I can generally understand the gist of what Chahta people are talking about. It suggests to me

inextricably linked with the Chahta, we began a history with our unique and separate identity as Chikashsha, and remained so through much struggle. Even now, while the clan system is but a memory to many Chikashsha and several of us are spread across the world far from our treaty lands in south central Oklahoma, our shared cultural identity ties us together, across time and space. That identity is manifest in our political body—our nationhood. Chikashsha poya, 'We are Chikashsha,' is the foundation of our collective strategies for survivance and perseverance.

lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi - We survive

As written above by Chikashsha veteran Wayne Walker, all living Chikashsha descend from the five hundred warriors and 2,000 women and children who survived the terrors of intertribal warfare during the early 1700s.¹¹⁹ That survival was active, purposeful, and negotiated. Adaptation in service to survivance is a strong cultural imperative. Some of our oldest teachings concerning the division of day and night show a demonstration of that principle. For an example we have the story about the willingness of one (Chil<u>i</u>sa^{'120}) to stretch,

that we are rather recently separated, or alternatively, that Chikashsha people can understand Chahta because of our familiarity with the Chahta Bible and hymnal. There is also a case to be made for Chikashsha familiarity with Chahta imanompa' as published according to traditions of western European literature. The constitution and laws of the Chickasaw Nation were in fact published in Chahta imanompa'. There are interesting examples from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of Chikashsha speakers who seem to code-switch to distinctly Chahta language in public prayers and written documents. Significant historical linguistic work remains to be done in this and other areas. Whether this author or another will undertake it remains to be seen.

¹¹⁹ Brightman and Wallace. 'Chickasaw,' 491; Johnson, 'The Chickasaws,' 85-121; Hinson, 'To'li',' 32. Bernard Romans said there were even fewer in his day: 'the greatest number that their gunmen can now be reckoned at, does not exceed [two] hundred and fifty; it is really amazing, to think, that such a handful keeps about ten thousand of the men of the other tribes from destroying them.' Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 69.

¹²⁰ 'Ground squirrel.'

expand and push past a present idea or fact (a world of inconsistently mixed day and night) into what is possible (the day and night cycle as we now know it), although he faced opposition, jealousy and rage (from Nita',¹²¹ who clawed Chil<u>i</u>sa's back in his anger). This cultural tendency toward innovative responses to problems is woven throughout our Ancestors' decision-making processes, and persists in today's Chikashsha community.

Many strategies enabled our Ancestors to survive as a small but culturally intact nation through European conquest, intertribal wars, the horrors of Removal, the devastating losses of the Civil War, the trauma of Oklahoma statehood, the challenges of the Great Depression and the Termination era of federal Indian policy. Our Ancestors survived while competing European powers jostled over American territory because they manipulated alliances with the English, French, and Spanish to our people's material and political benefit. Trading alliances were strengthened with European powers that could provide guns and ammunition critical to defense against ancient enemy tribes also thus armed. Another strategy was the adoption of war captives and taking in of other tribal peoples, often to replace family members lost in battle or victims similarly kidnapped by enemy tribes. The practice was considered as a way to right a wrong, and to restore the kind of balance considered essential to harmonious relationships and right living. Balance was inherent between Creator and created, the spiritual and the physical, day and night, light and dark, men and women, war and peace, red and white, ceremony and taboo.¹²² Even within ittabánna'li, our traditional justice practices termed 'a tooth for a tooth' by native speaker Catherine Willmond, a life was demanded for a life: Chikashshaakot nannaka

¹²¹ 'Bear.'

¹²² The gendered binary between Chikashsha men and women is well illustrated in the singlepole to'li' game. Hinson, 'To'li',' 177-182.

ittabánna'liminattook. 'The Chickasaws used to punish things by 'an eye for an eye". Only by death could a death be balanced out.¹²³ As an extension of traditional war adoption, many of the tribal peoples taken in by our Chikashsha Ancestors intermarried and adopted Chikashsha lifestyles. Among such were the Shakchihomma' and Naachi' peoples who fled intertribal warfare and assaults by the French and their Choctaw allies. They settled near our main villages on the Black Prairie, and we fought their enemies with them. The Fani' Minko' (Squirrel King) adoption was an intertribal process by which one tribal community could become the protector of another, codified with a pipe ceremony. This practice of survivance is not unlike a member of one clan asking a member of another, unrelated clan, to stand up for him while he related his war honors.¹²⁴

lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi also is seen in our skillful management of forced removal at the hands of the freshly constituted government of the United States. Chikashsha representatives used traditional modes of rhetoric to push back against federal commissioners who pressed for land cession treaties that ultimately led to our removal. Our leaders negotiated certain protective provisions into the treaties, to keep our interests forefront. Only when forced removal was inevitable did our traditional leaders, assisted by their multilingual and multiliterate children, insist that our land be surveyed, assessed, allotted and sold acre for acre, as the naahollo¹²⁵ did.

¹²³ Pamela Munro and Catherine Willmond, *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1994), 177.

¹²⁴ For more on the war deeds process, see below. For more on the Fani' Minko' institution, see Patricia K. Galloway, 'Henri de Tonti du Village des Chacta, 1702: The Beginning of the French Alliance,' in *LaSalle and His Legacy, Frenchmen and Indians in the Lower Mississippi Valley*, edited by Patricia K. Galloway (Jackson. MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1982), 322.
¹²⁵ 'White people.' The folk etymology of this word is 'stingy people'—nannihollo 'they are stingy / hoard things.' I believe a more likely etymology is naahollo 'something supernatural,' given the appearance of armored, horse-mounted Spaniards with pale skin.

We financed our own removal in so doing, but this exercise of control did not prevent us to falling prey to dishonest and disreputable contractors and government officials.¹²⁶

Another exemplar of lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi is our ancestor's acceptance of western education for a select few mixed-ancestry Chikashsha boys. That later expanded to general vocational training for boys and girls, and eventually western-style academic training in tribally controlled boarding schools. Cobb-Greetham addresses these efforts spearheaded by our tribal government beginning in the 1850s, and argues the strategy was a purposeful adaptation in service to survivance. Thereby, she says, our Ancestors 'elevate[d] [Chikashsha] children to an equal footing' with naahollo children. Education was 'not a practice of freedom but a practice of control—a way to create an acceptable place for themselves in a different world.'¹²⁷ This education was not to 'kill the Indian . . . and save the man'—far from it.¹²⁸ It was education for survival in a rapidly changing world, and as a tool to mediate the onslaught of impending change.

Contemporaneous with this purposeful shift toward western-style education for Chikashsha children, the hereditary leadership of our nation, in concert with western-educated tribal citizens, shifted away from traditional forms of governance to adopt a representative, republican model. This form of lilhak<u>óffi</u> was a way to negotiate the realities that our clan-

¹²⁶ Amanda L. Paige, Fuller L. Bumpers, and Daniel F. Littlefield, *Chickasaw Removal* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2010), 201-231.

¹²⁷ Cobb, *Listening*, 37.

¹²⁸ Capt. Richard H. Pratt, 'Kill the Indian, and Save the Man, Capt. Richard H. Pratt on the Education of Native Americans,' in *Official Report of the Nineteenth Annual Conference of Charities and Correction(1892),* 46–59; reprinted in Richard H. Pratt, 'The Advantages of Mingling Indians with Whites,' in *Americanizing the American Indians: Writings by the 'Friends of the Indian' 1880–1900* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973), 260–271.

based, hereditary system of governance was fading, and that a western-style model, if still closely aligned with ancestral governing practices, would best enable our people to navigate in a post-removal world. Ishtaahottopa', the last hereditary minko', survived the removal and died in Indian Territory in 1847, as did his speaker and assistant Tishohminko', who passed away in 1838.¹²⁹ The hereditary minko' mantle of leadership was assumed by a popularly elected governor, and that of Tishohminko' were passed to the lieutenant governor.¹³⁰ The duties of hereditary clan leaders were in some ways assumed by legislators elected to represent four districts: Panola, Pickens, Tishomingo, and Pontotoc. The existing system of customary, clanbased law was subsequently codified under this system. Such a mediated response to cultural change also was made to address the sovereign-to-sovereign, treaty-based relationship with the United States government. Perhaps our Ancestors felt a system of government familiar to the United States could prove beneficial to future intergovernmental relations.¹³¹ Regardless of motivation, that form of government would sustain us through the Civil War, the trauma of statehood (while overseen solely by an appointed tribal governor), through the termination era

¹²⁹ Brad R. Lieb, email communication with the author, 19 September 2019.
¹³⁰ The elected position of lieutenant governor was not added to the constitution until 1983, but legislators, unofficial advisors and personal confidants performed some of the roles of Tishohminko' despite the position's formal absence for one hundred and thirty years.
¹³¹ The Harvard Native Nations study concluded that the most stable, effective forms of tribal government were those that most closely reflect ancestral forms of governance. This seems to be the case for the Chikashsha people: Governor (Hereditary minko'), Lieutenant Governor (Tishohminko'), and Legislator (hereditary clan leaders representing the powers inherent in the matrilineal clan), as well as the lack of term limits as cognate to the lifetime service of our hereditary leaders. We have only had five governors since 1898: Douglas Johnston, Floyd Maytubby, Hugh Maytubby, Overton James and Bill Anoatubby. This was not the case from 1856 to 1898, however, wherein occurred significant turnover in tribal leadership. Our twentieth-century political leadership more closely reflects the ancestral forms of leadership than did those of the nineteenth century.

and into the era of self-governance in which it flourished again, fully approved and implemented by the Chikashsha people after the ratification of the 1983 Constitution. Here, as so many times before, the Chikashsha people actively mediated changing circumstances to ensure our survival as a people and as a nation—lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi.

Ilachónna'chi - We persevere.

As mediation is a form of lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi, so change is a form of perseverance, manifest in llachónna'chi. Our cultural traditions, whether recovered or tenaciously preserved, coexist with aggressive business practices in the modern Chickasaw Nation. Therein tradition and change again are often one and the same. The Chickasaw Nation includes 68,000 tribal citizens and employs over 14,000 native and non-native employees and elected officials who strive to improve the Chikashsha people's quality of life. As a nation of tribal people committed to perseverance, to Ilachónna'chi, our Ancestors 'chose to change, and in changing they maintained their identity, they preserved their identity. Their choice did not make them any less Chickasaw.'¹³² In that same manner we negotiate the terms of our persistent, active, living culture, and the tribal government that is a manifestation of that culture.

Unrelenting adaptation is part of Ilachónna'chi, a tradition among our people that informs change in many aspects of Chikashsha culture, including Chikashsha Christianity, ceremonial ground practices, and verbal and material arts. The late Reverend and Mrs. Humes used the phrase yummomi chatok / yámmohmichatok for the entry 'tradition' in A Chickasaw

¹³² Cobb, *Listening*, 120; Hinson, 'To'li',' 204-205.

Dictionary.¹³³ An approximate translation of this phrase is something like, 'It has been done (in a particular way) in the past.' Yammommi beka toka hopaki / yámmohmi bíyyi'katok<u>a</u> hopaaki means, 'It's always been (done) that way for a long time,' and is a Chikashsha phrase that approaches the average English speaker's concept of 'tradition.'¹³⁴

Among the Chikashsha people, the concept of 'tradition' indeed comprehends things done in particular ways over many years and passed down to subsequent generations. Those teachings, first given when the earth was just firm enough to stand on, are the 'original instructions from [Aba' Bínni'li'] for how to be a people in good relation to one another, the land, plants, animals, and spirits.'¹³⁵ The material culture of longstanding traditions like kapochcha' to'li'¹³⁶ are in some instances linked over time through continuity of their materials. Kapochcha',¹³⁷ for example, have been made of osak¹³⁸ for as long as the game has been played, and uses of osak falaa'¹³⁹ and itti' lakna'¹⁴⁰ for them appear to be post-Removal adaptations.¹⁴¹ More recently, kapochcha' itti' makers including Kowishto' (Clovis Hamilton) and Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood) have used chisha¹⁴² and nassapi'¹⁴³ for ballsticks, and have

¹³³ Jesse Humes and Vinnie May (James) Humes, *A Chickasaw Dictionary* (Durant, OK: Creative Infomatics, 1973), 226.

¹³⁴ Hannah Pitman, personal communication, 23 August 2007; Hinson, 'To'li',' 204. Tradition is such a slippery term that it has become almost meaningless in Indian Country, without some referent to connect to, or contrast with.

¹³⁵ Kari Chew, personal communication with author, 23 August 2019.

¹³⁶ 'Stickball.'

¹³⁷ 'Stickball sticks.'

¹³⁸ 'Hickory.'

¹³⁹ 'Pecan.'

¹⁴⁰ 'Bois d'arc.'

¹⁴¹ Hinson, 'To'li',' 205.

¹⁴² 'Post oak.'

¹⁴³ 'Red oak.'

innovated other materials like athletic tape for the wrapping around the throats of the kapochcha' cups and their handles. Leather remains the most popular material of choice for lacing. Other adaptations include the use of power tools like bandsaws in construction of kapochcha', and specialized jigs to form the bent cups, all of which have supplanted the painstaking work of Ancestors who crafted each component and stick by hand. Such adaptations are in and of themselves evidence of ongoing Ilachónna'chi and exemplars of the cultural value we assign to adaptation and change.

Our Ancestors encountered foreign technologies, materials, and peoples, and assimilated them into their own cultural contexts. Emblematic of this is askoffa, our traditional yarn belts. Our Ancestors first made them from native fibers like buffalo yarns and Indian hemp. European yarns quickly replaced those materials once they became commercially available, and modern acrylic yarns replaced those beginning in the 1960s. So, the belts changed materially, but remained fundamentally Chikashsha. We still wear them in the same ceremonial contexts, in the same ways—tied leftward, toward the sacred fire.

We have many other examples of such adaptation—Ilachónna'chi—in service to Iilhak<u>ó</u>ffi. A most powerful one is our emergence as a people separate from our relatives the Chahta, and our claiming of the Chikashsha identity from which Chikashsha poya emerges. Another is the post-contact emergence of clan groups including the Oshpaani' Iksa' (Spanish Clan), formed by warriors who defeated Hernando de Soto in the winter of 1541. The Fani' Minko' adoption ceremony was in part established to accommodate adoptees who had no clan, and thus no sociopolitical or cultural standing among Chikashsha villages.¹⁴⁴ These two

¹⁴⁴ Galloway, 'Henri de Tonti,' 322.

examples show how the cultural value of persistent change and adaptation was deeply rooted among our Ancestors. By the 1680s they took up modern arms before rival tribes did, using rifles and muskets to hold our tribal land base against thousands of enemies.¹⁴⁵ When tribal population was at its lowest, Chikashsha women and children broke customary law to take up arms against the French led by Bienville and D'Artaguette and their Choctaw, Iroquois, Arkansas, Miami and Illinois allies at the Battle of Aahíkki'ya', near present-day Tupelo, in what is now the Lee Acres subdivision on the south side of town. One motivation for the French attack was because the refugee Naachi'¹⁴⁶ had taken up residence among our Chikashsha Ancestors. The adoption of the Naachi', likely through the Fani' Minko' ceremony, is another example of persistent adaptation under challenging circumstances

In another case, a tribal customary law was modified to avoid conflict with the United States and surrounding tribes. In 1811 Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert persuaded clan representatives present at the national council to amend the custom of ittabánna'li so that only the actual killer, not a sibling or clan member, could be put to death as punishment for murder.¹⁴⁷ In more recent times we adopted one-quarter blood quantum and residency requirements for the positions of governor and lieutenant governor. Those qualifications are in part a response to our Ancestors' choices move toward a Chikashsha form of representative republic. The drafters

¹⁴⁵ Romans, 'A Concise Natural History,' 69. In 1708, French trader Thomas Nairne noted 'success in the war against their Bow and Arrow Neighbours, for they chancing to procure a Trade with us, soon made themselves terrible to those who wanted that advantage, so they have now the reputation of the most military people of any about the great river.' Nairne, *Nairne's Muskhogean Journals: The 1708 Expedition to the Mississippi River* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1988), 38.

¹⁴⁶ 'Natchez Indians'

¹⁴⁷ Brad Lieb, personal communication, 29 July 2019.

and voters who approved the 1983 Constitution felt they would encourage culturally engaged and community-present tribal citizens to run for our public offices.¹⁴⁸ There are many more examples of mediated cultural change than can be enumerated here. Thereby we see the incredible depth and breadth of our Ancestors' prescience and philosophies, and our people's commitment to surviving and thriving through persistent, mediated cultural change.

lláyya'sha katihma - We are still here.

This existential statement grows from the deep and abiding identity we have as Chikashsha people and as Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni'. It sprouts from Chikashsha poya, 'We are Chikashsha.' It also grows from lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi, 'We survive.' Our ancestor's commitment to survive as a culturally and politically intact tribal community is reflected in our present commitment. I use the term 'survivance' in a particular way, as first defined by Gerald Vizenor as 'an active sense of presence, the continuance of native stories, not a mere reaction, or a survivable name. Native survivance stories are renunciations of dominance, tragedy and victimry.'¹⁴⁹ Ilachónna'chi, 'We persevere,' is also a perspective from which Iláyya'sha katihma. 'We are still

¹⁴⁸ The blood quantum requirement for these positions and the Chickasaw Princess Pageant contestants is not without problems. Many of our people are well aware that the settler-colonial blood-quantum system was designed to exterminate us as native people and nations. Internal demographic data shows that generally the higher the blood quantum, the more likely the citizen lives within the boundaries of the nation, and that residence in one of our traditional communities can make one more aware of the concerns and values of our core conservatively tradition-oriented people. This is perhaps the most important characteristic of a successful governor: a strong cultural identity and a concern for our people. There will be many discussions in the years to come, but as a Chickasaw citizen I have always appreciated our Governor Anoatubby's perspective that a Chikashsha person is a Chikashsha person, regardless of blood quantum. This perspective has been institutionalized through our tribal government's efforts to build a truly classless society.

here,' arises. Change is a form of perseverance, and our Ancestors' ability to mediate monumental social, political and cultural change through conscious adaptation helped ensure that we still stand today.

Collectively these cultural values speak strongly to who we are as a nation. Their statements speak to our identity, our ongoing presence and the continuation of our stories as a people. And they speak, as Vizenor noted, against 'oppressive themes of dominance, tragedy, and victimry.'¹⁵⁰ They speak to our commitment to survivance, our willingness to change in order to survive, and our ongoing presence in the Homeland and in Indian Territory.

Chikashsha poya.

We are Chikashsha.

lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi.

We survive.

Ilachónna'chi.

We persevere.

Iláyya'sha katihma.

We are still here.

Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihmakat lhak<u>ó</u>ffit ilachónna'chi

bílli'ya'shki.

We are Chikashsha, we are still here and, having survived, we will persevere forever.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

Tanap nannanoli': A Chikashsha war exploit narrative

Tanap nannan<u>o</u>li¹¹⁵¹ is a culturally-derived reporting framework for understanding this dissertation. This research is fundamentally a form of tanap nannan<u>o</u>li¹ - a war exploit address. In old ways, a Chikashsha tashka¹⁵² would go to a tashka of a different iksa¹¹⁵³ and make himself a tashka of that family. He would tell an assembled body composed of hereditary minko¹¹⁵⁴ and iksa¹ ishki¹¹⁵⁵ what he had accomplished in battle, and having told truthfully, could be awarded a new war name in a ceremony.¹⁵⁶ It was a singular narrative, with only rebuttals spoken aloud by others. The status of tashka, like other war titles including Hopayi¹ Minko¹, 'prophet leader,' and civil titles including Tishohminko¹, 'assistant leader,' were earned within and conferred by community members as emblems of achieved status, and never self-determined.¹⁵⁷ Eighteenth-century Chickasaw men were given war titles based upon specific war deeds. A clan different from the warrior's immediate clan conferred war titles, tattoos, and ceremonial items including small white-fletched arrows, denoting the status of tashka. Chikashsha tashka would never dare to wear false war honors or self-tattoo war exploits that were not earned. Such pretensions would be forcibly removed.¹⁵⁸

The tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' / Chikashsha war exploit narrative that frames my autoethnographic approach is in a sense the same: a process narrative of what occurred over

¹⁵¹ 'War story'; a war-exploit address.

¹⁵² 'Chickasaw warrior.'

¹⁵³ 'Clan.'

¹⁵⁴ 'Leaders.'

¹⁵⁵ 'Clan mothers.'

¹⁵⁶ Nairne, *Journals*, 43-44.

¹⁵⁷ Hinson, 'To'li',' 208.

¹⁵⁸ Nairne, Journals, 43-44

the past two decades of language work, with my language community standing behind me in solidarity if I tell a truthful story, and in rebuke if I do not. It is autobiographical—my story and my lived experience, shared with my language teachers, my co-workers, and my family. It is up to the community (communities, actually) to determine if my story is true, right, and compelling. The process relates to my methodology Chikashshaat asilhlha, wherein research is a matter of questioning and retelling, as detailed below. This tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' is two distinct yet interconnected narratives: one the experience of an adult second-language learner of Chikashshanompa'; the second, of that learner directing and co-developing an integrated, holistic approach to language revitalization for a large and geographically dispersed tribal nation with few native speakers.

The form of this tanap nannan<u>o</u>li' used here is autoethnographic (see below) and presented in what Johnson terms 'a personal narrative style [that is] is often poetic, culturallygrounded, relational, and personal.'¹⁵⁹ Bill Cohen's 2010 dissertation 'School failed coyote so fox made a new school: Indigenous Okanagan knowledge transforms educational pedagogy' is emblematic of this personal narrative style, and was an essential resource and model in the construction of this study written, much like Cohen's, through 'carefully and critically gather[ing] information, experiences of others, attitudes and artefacts, old and current knowledge and breath[ing] it into new knowledge and understanding to be ritualized into practice.'¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ Johnson, 'n'łaqwcin (Clear speech), Indigenous' 48.

¹⁶⁰ William Alexander Cohen. 'School Failed Coyote So Fox Made a New School: Indigenous Okanagan Knowledge Transforms Educational Pedagogy' (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 2010).

Anokfillit holissochi (Thinking and writing): Autoethnography

Nanna alhpí'sa iliianola'chi. 'We will tell something that is correct.¹⁶¹

As an autoethnographer, I am both the author and the focus of the story, the one who tells and the one who experiences, the observer and the observed, the creator and the created. I am the person at the intersection of the personal and the cultural, thinking and observing as an ethnographer and writing and describing as a storyteller.¹⁶²

Ellis and Bochner define autoethnography as 'an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural.'¹⁶³ Chang defines autoethnography as a method that 'combines cultural analysis and interpretation with narrative details. It follows the anthropological and social scientific inquiry approach rather than the descriptive or performative storytelling. That is, I expect the stories of autoethnographers to be reflected upon, analyzed, and interpreted within their broader sociocultural context.'¹⁶⁴ Ellis and Bochner define the approach as 'autobiographies that self-consciously explore the interplay of the introspective, personally engaged self with cultural descriptions mediated through language, history, and ethnographic explanation.'¹⁶⁵

Autoethnography is a powerful mode of inquiry for the indigenist scholar who refuses to

bow to Western empiricism. It is unabashedly qualitative, open, diffuse, ephemeral, artistic,

¹⁶¹ Hinson, 'To'li',' 1.

¹⁶² Carolyn Ellis, *Revision: Autoethnographic Reflections on Life and Work* (London: Routledge, 2009),13; McIvor, 'îkakwiy nîhiyawiyân,' 68. My apologies to Dr. McIvor, who used this same quote in the introductory paragraph in the methods section of her dissertation. It is just too good not to reproduce here.

¹⁶³ Carolyn Ellis and Art Bochner, 'Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity: Researcher as Subject,' in *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 2nd ed., edited by Norman K. Denzin and Yvonne. S. Lincoln (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publishing, 2000), 739.

¹⁶⁴ Heewon Chang, Autoethnography As Method (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2008), 46.

¹⁶⁵ Ellis and Bochner, 'Autoethnography, Personal Narrative, Reflexivity,' 733-742.

and human. It is an avenue to claim the power of subjectivity¹⁶⁶ and speak in particular ways to the indigenist research paradigm as a lived community experience. Though non-Indigenous in origin, autoethnography can be adopted by Indigenous scholars as a means to work from an 'epistemology of insiderness' in which Indigenous ways of knowing are both valid and prioritized, and to construct knowledge.¹⁶⁷

My autoethnographic approach grows from specifically Chikashsha ways of storytelling—our deep oral traditions—and our specific modes of ceremonial speech. Structurally, it is deeply indebted to Onowa McIvor (Cree) and her masterfully crafted 2012 dissertation. The fundamental difference between my study and McIvor's is the intertwined, dual self-study narratives of my language-learning journey and of our language program, largely filtered through my own perceptions as director of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program.

Chikashsha asilhlha (Ask Chikashsha): A Chickasaw Research Methodology

In 2007 I outlined a methodology to help guide my research into to'li' Chikashsha <u>i</u>naafokha' (Chikashsha stickball regalia). Informed by international indigenist approaches and drawing from Smith's Kaupapa Māori methodology, an approach that is 'internally-focused [and] community-serving,' and attempt[s] to 'retrieve some space' from Western research paradigms, I crafted a methodology taken from Chikashsha cultural values and nation

¹⁶⁶ Carolyn Ellis, Tony E. Adams, and Arthur P. Bochner, 'Autoethnography: An Overview.' *Historical Social Research/Historische Sozialforschung* 12 (2011): 273-290.

¹⁶⁷ Roxanne Bainbridge, 'Autoethnography in Indigenous Research Contexts: The Value of Inner Knowing,' *Journal of Australian Indigenous Issues* 10, no. 2 (2007): 54-64; Chew, Greendeer and Keliiaa, 'Claiming Space Indigenous,' 78.

standards.¹⁶⁸ Based on asilhlha, a verb meaning 'to ask,' Chikashsha asilhlha is composed of six aspects that offer a respectful and grounded research path for the Chikashsha researcher:

- 1. Respect the chokka' (house), iksa' (clan), and okloshi' (tribe).
- 2. Be visible to the community.
- 3. Listen and observe before questioning.
- 4. Reciprocate gifts.
- 5. Be careful with knowledge that is given.
- 6. Be humble.

Using the fundamentals of Chikashsha society as cultural metaphors (chokka', iksa', and okloshi'), Chikashsha asilhlha emphasizes respect for the immediate matrilocal family or house group—the chokka-chaffa'—the extended family through the iksa', and okloshi' as a whole.¹⁶⁹ From this grounding in community and its systems of relationship and accountability comes the Chikashsha researcher's obligation to work respectfully.

The methodology enabled me to navigate the challenges of doing community-derived

research within the nation, as a member of that same nation. In my master's thesis and this

research, the first element kept me grounded in reciprocal relationships from the core of our

nation to its outer edges. All Chikashsha people descend from as few as perhaps two thousand

five hundred Ancestors who survived the intertribal wars of the early eighteenth century.

¹⁶⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (New York: Zed Books Ltd., 1999), 183; Hinson, 'To'li',' 16.

¹⁶⁹ The matrilocal house group is the smallest unit of social organization, followed by the clan (relationships that extend beyond the boundary of tribe), and the tribe itself. I met a Florida Seminole man on a consultation trip, and once he found out he and I were the same clan (Kaccvlke 'Tiger Clan,' Kowishto' Iksa', 'Panther Clan') he treated me as if I were his own nephew. It was a powerful testimony to our ancient clan system that though diminished in our own tribe, is very much alive and functional in Florida.

The second element pushed me to stay present, active, and engaged. As anompa shaali' is it my obligation to be known in the nation and to carry my language respectfully.¹⁷⁰ We also are obligated to use our language for the benefit of others, as did Bakbak,¹⁷¹ who used her language to warn our people of approaching danger. Though a powerful flood overcame her, changing her feathers and the quality of her voice, she still calls to warn of danger. Like Bakbak, we use our language to protect and to communicate, as well as to lift others up and help them find their own identity in Chikashshanompa', and to sing for the dead and those left among the living.

The third element is an ongoing process for me. Raised amid the dominant culture outside my nation and the tribal communities in Oklahoma, I still have struggles with seeing, listening, and questioning in slower, more deliberate, and more community-aware ways. An elder once taught me that, 'The slower you go, the more Indian you become.'¹⁷²

The fourth element is a guiding principal, not only in terms of direct reciprocity with my language teachers, but also with my larger community. My elders have given me twenty years of their lives. How can I not give back, in every possible way? It is also a strong Chikashsha teaching, of giving what is given to others, ensuring that all in the nation are cared for. Language, like any other resource, is to be shared.

¹⁷⁰ Anompa shaali', 'language carrier,' is used for second-language learners; anomp<u>í</u>'shi', 'has the language, native speaker,' is used for fluent speakers. You can also express language carrier verbally, as in Anompa shaalili, 'I carry the language,' which is more fundamentally Chikashsha, to my mind.

¹⁷¹ 'Woodpecker.'

¹⁷² Chickasaw elder and author Robert Perry, statement to author, circa 2005.

The fifth element is difficult. I try to be careful with Posipóngni',¹⁷³ deferring to and treating them in ways that are right and correct. But with others I am more apt to be dogmatic and judgmental if their commitment to language is not up to my private standards. My obligation is to behave as our Ancestors did, using the power of speech to convince others of the significance of language, much as our minko' used their powerful speech to spur action among assembled warriors and clan leaders. No person can be forced to love their language any more than they could have been forced into battle with an enemy tribe. It was and remains a matter of choice.

The sixth element is easier than one might expect. Though many non-speakers of Chikashshanompa' will marvel at the apparently fluent expression uttered by myself and others who work in the adult immersion program, we know how truly pitiful our speech is compared to that of Posipóngni'. That ever-present reality keeps healthy egos in check. Our teachings from Chakwihili'¹⁷⁴ also warn against inflated ego, pride and vanity. In his vanity, Chakwihili' walked around showing off his luxurious tail to the other animals. They were filled with envy, and sent hayowani'¹⁷⁵ to eat the hair off his tail. It is critical to remember that though we carry the language for others, in reality—nanna ikilitha'nohm<u>a</u> taha'na.¹⁷⁶ Being in the community and doing research in these particular ways enables one to approach a research that is nann<u>á</u>lhlhi'—something real, true, correct and appropriate.¹⁷⁷

¹⁷³ Posipóngni', 'Our Elders / Ancestors,' capitalized to denote respect, in the same manner in which I capitalize 'Ancestor.'

¹⁷⁴ 'Possum.'

¹⁷⁵ 'Worm.'

¹⁷⁶ 'We do not really know anything, anyway.'

¹⁷⁷ For fuller explication of this research methodology, see Hinson, 'To'li',' and Chew, 'Chikashshanompa'.' Dr. Chew explained it much more eloquently than did I.

I have come to think of these six elements as nannatalhlhichi'—blazes on a tree marking my way as a mnemonic device that helps me recall to whom I am indebted.¹⁷⁸ They also stand for others who may want to follow a similar path as did Chikashsha scholar Dr. Kari Chew, who followed Chikashsha asilhlha methodology in her 2016 dissertation on Chickasaw language reclamation. She stated the method 'creates space within my work to be flexible to community members' input and, importantly, to allow my subjectivities as a Chickasaw person and language learner to saturate and enhance this study.'¹⁷⁹

Much of my thinking, and Chikashsha asilhlha itself, reflect what Wilson termed the 'Indigenist Research Paradigm' that frames the 'millennia of interaction and relationships with our environment [as] painstaking research . . . It is part of what makes us Indigenous peoples, and its philosophy is reflected in everything that we do, think, and are.'¹⁸⁰ It is not merely an Indigenist paradigm by virtue of the ethnicity or race of the researcher, but because it grows from the lived experiences of and within our communities. It is then 'the choice to follow this paradigm, philosophy, or world view that makes research Indigenist.'¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁸ Atalhlhichi, marking a tree by some means, is an ancient Chikashsha method of way marking, nannatalhichi—'marks on the tree.'

¹⁷⁹ Chew, 'Chikashshanompa',' 61.

¹⁸⁰ Shawn Wilson, 'Guest Editorial: What Is an Indigenist Research Paradigm?' *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 30, no. 2 (2007): 194.

¹⁸¹ Chikashsha asilhlha is in fact an Indigenist research paradigm in that it emerges from the Chikashsha community that comprises our language. I once argued that true Chikashsha asilhlha research can only be conducted in the nation, in concert with community members, by a community member, by a Chikashsha person. On the latter point I was wrong, and my argument was both racist and essentialist. My earlier claims stand in stark contrast to Wilson: 'Researchers do not have to be Indigenous to use an Indigenist paradigm, just as researchers do not have to be 'white' to use a Western paradigm.' Ibid. Any scholar that commits to using Chikashsha asilhlha can do Chikashsha asilhlha research. Non-Chikashsha scholars including the late Dr. John Dyson, Dr. Joshua Gorman, Dr. Ivan Ozbolt, and Dr. Juliet Morgan have done coresearches with our nation that I would consider Chikashsha asilhlha, as much as I consider the

Wilson's principals resonate with me, and call to mind the fundamental guidelines of

Chikashsha asilhlha, most particularly:

The foundation of the research question must lie within the reality of the Indigenous experience. Any theories developed or proposed must be grounded in an Indigenous epistemology and supported by the Elders and the community that live out this particular epistemology. The researcher must assume a certain responsibility for the transformations and outcomes of the research project(s) which he or she brings into a community. It is recognized that the languages and cultures of Indigenous peoples are living processes and that research and the discovery of knowledge is an ongoing function for the thinkers and scholars of every Indigenous group.¹⁸²

Chikashsha asilhlha connects with many other Indigenous research methodologies, but

is fundamentally Chikashsha. It is a method that leads to 'research by and for Indigenous

peoples, using techniques and methods drawn from the traditions and knowledges of those

peoples.'183

Ittonchololi': A Chikashsha Framework for Language Loss and Revitalization

Chikashshanompa' ultimately derives its life, power and purpose through our

Chikashsha people as they were created by Aba' Bínni'li', who blew life into our earthen forms

and enabled us to speak in our language to one another. When I began to search for an

appropriate metaphorical framework—a Chikashsha framework that could encompass our

nation's experience with language loss and revitalization—I immediately thought of the words

uttered by my maternal ancestor, Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert, on behalf of the Chikashsha

work of Chikashsha scholars including Dr. Kari Chew, Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham, Dr. Phillip Carroll Morgan, and Stanley Nelson to be full participants in Chikashsha asilhlha. ¹⁸² Ibid., 195.

¹⁸³ Norman K. Denzin, Yvonne Sessions Lincoln, and Linda Tuhiwai Smith, eds., *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies* (Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publishing, 2008), ix.

delegation in their refusal to cede lands during the failed treaty negotiations of 1826 at the Old Council House at Panti' Oktaak¹⁸⁴ near present-day Black Zion, Mississippi.¹⁸⁵ After being pushed, cajoled, appealed to, and ultimately threatened by the treaty commissioners, Colbert turned to metaphorical language to convey our leadership's concerns should the Chikashsha people give up their land. On three different occasions during two weeks of negotiating, the Chikashsha leaders, led by Colbert, invoked metaphorical nature language to insist on the primacy of Chikashsha love for their land, and to express their misgivings at considering abandonment of it for a new home in the west. I present here a linear excerpt from the treaty negotiation, followed by analysis:

Tuesday, October 24, 1826.

We find it is the wish of our father to exchange lands with us, lying on the west side of the Mississippi river; which we are very sorry to hear, as we never had a thought of exchanging our land for any other, as we think that we would not find a country that would suit us as well as this we now occupy, it being the land of our forefathers, if we should exchange our lands for any other, fearing the consequences may be similar to transplanting an old tree, which would wither and die away, and we are fearful we would come to the same. We want you, our brethren, to take our talk. We have no lands to exchange for any other.

Our father the President wishes that we should come under the laws of the United States; we are a people that are not enlightened, and we cannot consent to be under your Government. If we should consent, we should be likened unto young corn growing and met with a drought that would kill it all.

LEVI COLBERT, EMMUBBIA, ASH-TA-MA-TUT-KA, J. McCLISH, M. COLBERT.

¹⁸⁴ 'Cattail Prairie.'

¹⁸⁵ The treaty negotiations were forestalled by Chikashsha leadership, who refused to schedule the talks until the nation's corn crop was fully mature and gathered in. The Indian agent agreed because it would be too difficult to feed the gathered tribal citizens until 'their crops of corn were matured for bread-stuffs.' Refusal of the Chickasaws and Choctaws to Cede Their Lands in Mississippi : 1826,' texts of correspondence, accessed 3 July 2019, https://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th century/nt007.asp.

Wednesday, October 25, 1826

You say that to remove would be similar to transplanting an old tree, which would wither and die. The trees of the forest, and particularly the most useless trees, are most difficult of transplanting; but fruit-trees, which are more particularly designated by the Great Spirit for the nourishment and comfort of man, require not only to be transplanted, but to be nourished, and cultivated, and even pruned, in order to bring forth good fruit.

THOMAS HINDS, JOHN COFFEE.

FRIDAY, October 27, 1826.

You say, 'Are you willing to sit down in delusive security, and see your nation dwindle away until the name of Chickasaw is forever lost?' No, we are not; but if it be the will of the Great Spirit that we should lose our name and language, we must submit.

... we consider ourselves as the tree of the forest, but not of the useless kind. We are a fruitful tree, and have provided means, by the assistance of our father the President, to cultivate and improve it, in order that we may bring forth good fruit.

It is true we are poor for money, but we love our lands better.

LEVI COLBERT, EMMUBBIA, ASH-TA-MA-TUT-KA, J. McCLISH, MARTIN COLBERT.¹⁸⁶

The first metaphor is a response to the treaty commissioners' initial injunction that the

Chikashsha people give up their homelands for a new land west of the Mississippi River,

thereby to avoid the entanglements of approaching white civilization. Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert

uses metaphorical language, wherein an old tree 'would wither and die' if transplanted.¹⁸⁷ By

¹⁸⁶ 'Refusal of the Chickasaws.'

¹⁸⁷ C. J. Aducci explored contemporary Chikashsha tree metaphors in his 2013 dissertation. Christopher John Aducci, 'Itti'at akka' wáyya'ahookya ikkobaffo (Trees bend, but don't break): Chickasaw family stories of historical trauma and resilience across the generations.' (PhD diss., Kansas State University, 2013).

extension he suggests his people, so deeply rooted for thousands of years to a particular place and way of life, would go the same way. How could we not cease to exist if uprooted from Chikashshiyaakni'?

The second metaphor draws on the primacy of our Ancestors' relationship to tanchi' (corn), their most essential food source. Colbert crafted another metaphor wherein the Chikashsha people, if they consented to be under the laws of the United States, would be equivalent to a young tanchi' crop destroyed by drought. The loss of an entire year's tanchi' would have been disastrous. In fact, certain alikchi' (Indian doctors) specialized in a type of weather medicine that ensured sufficient rain during the summer corn-growing months.¹⁸⁸ A complete crop failure would end in certain death for many Chikashsha people, and removal would lead to the same.

The third metaphor, again referencing a tree, is a retort to a statement by treaty commissioners Thomas Hinds and John Coffee, in reply to Colbert's initial tree metaphor:

You say that to remove would be similar to transplanting an old tree, which would wither and die. The trees of the forest, and particularly the most useless trees, are most difficult of transplanting; but fruit-trees, which are more particularly designated by the Great Spirit for the nourishment and comfort of man, require not only to be transplanted, but to be nourished, and cultivated, and even pruned, in order to bring forth good fruit.¹⁸⁹

Colbert turned that on its head, laying claim to his people's identity as a 'tree of the

forest, but not of the useless kind.'¹⁹⁰ Instead he appeals, in the formal language of Indian

treaty-making, to the president's generosity in providing assistance to the Chikashsha people,

¹⁸⁸ Adair, *History*, 136.

¹⁸⁹ 'Refusal of the Chickasaws.'

¹⁹⁰ Ibid.

who as 'a fruitful tree,' have 'cultivate[d] and improve[d] . . . in order that we may bring forth good fruit.'¹⁹¹ A useful tree of the forest, if cared for, can be fully and wholly fruitful in its native place.

The leadership of the nation was committed to their land and to survivance in that place: 'It is true we are poor for money, but we love our lands better.'¹⁹² Even to the point of political, cultural and linguistic death, the Chikashsha leaders suggested they would choose holding to their lands over any other course:

You say, 'Are you willing to sit down in delusive security, and see your nation dwindle away until the name of Chickasaw is forever lost?' No, we are not; but if it be the will of the Great Spirit that we should lose our name and language, we must submit.¹⁹³

The masterful rhetoric of this exchange is striking, even with the limitations of English

translation.¹⁹⁴ Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert appeals and cajoles, using potent cultural metaphors to

convey fundamentally Chikashsha ideas in a form understandable to a wholly insensitive federal

bureaucracy committed to absolute termination of Indian title to lands east of the Mississippi.

Though I could follow the metaphor of young tanchi' further, the metaphorical language

of Chikashshiyaakni' as an ancient chisha¹⁹⁵ or chishanko' toba'¹⁹⁶ is powerful and resonates

with me deeply. I chose this symbol of continuity and strength as the primary metaphor on

¹⁹⁵ 'Post oak.'

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Malcolm McGee, a white man who was raised from infancy with the Chikashsha people, was the translator of record for this treaty negotiation.

¹⁹⁶ Chishanko toba', 'willow tree'; literally, 'arbor—to take the form of.'

which to build a Chikashsha framework of language loss and revitalization that I term ittonchololi'—new growth from a tree.

Consider Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni' in its totality: our people, culture, history and place encompassed in Chikashshanompa'. Chikashshanompa' (again, carrying all that we are as a people), is metaphorically the 'old tree,' 'the tree of the forest,' and 'the fruitful tree' that Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert referenced in his entreaties to a deaf government.

This powerful itti' sipokni', ancient and rooted in place, would be uprooted from the rich black soil of the Blackland Prairie just over a decade after the failed treaty-making attempts of 1826, and forcibly removed to the Chickasaw district of the Choctaw Nation. It survived largely intact, but by no means began the journey unscathed. Even before removal, the expansive branches and shoots of this magnificent itti' sipokni' were damaged by extensive cultural change, leaving the powerful trunk and deeply inearthed roots with less than ideal sustenance. Ch<u>a</u>'li bíyyi'ka, by 'chopping and chopping,' it would be reduced to tibi kolofa'—a 'stump.'¹⁹⁷

This itti' sipokni' would, despite Colbert's dire prediction, find root again in Indian Territory, only to be diminished again by the violence of the Civil War and by new Christian boarding schools that forbade our language. It would hold on in the decades leading to statehood, while most Chikashsha people could at least understand the language. A thousand cuts would reduce it to a tibi kolofa' after 1907, but the language could not be killed. It re-

¹⁹⁷ ittibikolofa, tibokolofa', ittibi' kolofa 'stump' itti' abi kolofa 'tree kill be cut, cut off'; Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 188. I think a possible etymology is itti' api' kolofa' 'tree trunk cut off,' with the 'p' shifting to 'b' over time, ittapikolofa' -> ittibikolofa -> tibokolofa' -> tibi kolofa'. The late Mrs. Humes's word was tebe kolofa / tibi kolofa. Jesse Humes and Vinnie May James Humes, *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*, edited by Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2015), 310.

sprouted, again and again, just as chishanko toba' will re-sprout from the most meager rootstock. Federal boarding schools and laws against our ceremonies, and the language they carried, cut against the new growth struggling to emerge. Our own families contributed to the cuts by choosing to withhold the language from their children. Motivated by love, they would not speak it with them, hoping to insulate them against the pain they had suffered in school, in the workplace, and in their own country. Not all, but many Chikashsha went this way. Ch<u>a</u>'li bíyyi'ka. 'Chopping and chopping.'

Those old ones who only spoke Chikashshanompa' were as branches that withered and died. A new generation of speakers came forth from tibi kolofa', monolinguals becoming bilinguals while they entered neighborhood schools at Citri, Allen, and Kullihoma, and the boarding schools at Bloomfield, Goodland, or Tahlequah. They continued to speak to one another at church, at home, and secretly, in quiet corners on the school ground. But they grew up, and their children did not carry the language, and could not understand their elders all that well. The itti' sipokni' that survived that long removal trail, the horrors of war and of being a minority in one's own land, that persisted through allotment and the trauma of statehood, through the horrors of the War to End all Wars, through the closing of the ceremonial grounds and the loss of sons during World War II, was living, but had become tibi kolofa' over time. It seemed to lose its life, slowly. Dead passages of trunk, remembrances of once magnificent, soaring branches, juxtaposed with those that still showed green. Small sprouts of the smallest, squirrel-ear-size leaves contrasted with the veins of silvery, grey, weathered wood, of life gone, choked out, dried to nothing. There still was a lifeforce there, and a powerful medicine to self-

cure, as Loksi' did when he used his itt<u>i</u>sh to call the shonkani' to sew his shell back together.¹⁹⁸ Ch<u>a</u>'li bíyyi'kahookya onchololit miya. 'Chopping and chopping, but trying to put out new shoots.'

I position this metaphorical tibi kolofa' in the early 1970s during what I consider to be the nadir of Chikashshanompa' and the beginning of our efforts to restore it. Our tibi kolofa' was at its lowest point, all but lifeless after a few decades, hookya toompallit ishtaya'chitok.¹⁹⁹ The late Mrs. Humes, co-author of the first published dictionary of Chikashshanompa', *A Chickasaw Dictionary*, saw the violence our itti' sipokni' had been subjected to, and considered the tibi kolofa' in 1973:

> ... my late husband, the Reverend Jesse Humes, and I began to wonder about our heritage. Would it be forgotten? Would our culture be lost? What could we, as individuals, do to remind the young Chickasaws that they have a proud heritage? As we saw increasing numbers of young Chickasaws without a working knowledge of their native language, we began to fear that the language itself might be lost. And here was one place where we might be able to help. Thus, with the thought of preserving our language, we compiled a list of Chickasaw words in a very simple manner.²⁰⁰

I do not suggest that Chikashshanompa' was at its nadir in terms of speaker numbers

(there were probably several thousand native speakers still living in the late 1960s and early

1970s), nor do I consider the political and economic status of Chikashshanompa' as an indicator

¹⁹⁸ 'Turtle,' 'medicine,' 'gnats.' There are many versions of this shikonno'pa', and all roughly center on a pair of young boys who find Loksi' eating strawberries, and smash his shell to bits. He uses his medicine to call to the gnats, who come to restore his shell with a medicine plant called loksimpolonna', 'turtle's thread.' For one version by native speaker Geraldine Greenwood, see Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level Three, Lesson 97. For another see Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 115-116. Weldon Fulsom, a native speaker who currently lives in Ada, Oklahoma, gave a version involves a family of koni (skunks) rather than the two boys. ¹⁹⁹ 'But spring was coming.'

²⁰⁰ Humes and Humes, A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary, ix.

that it was, although it had been a minority language of little political power even within the Chickasaw government, and its speakers were vastly outnumbered by non-Indians in 1890, with 48,421 whites in contrast to only 3,941 Chickasaws enumerated in the Chickasaw Nation.²⁰¹

Instead I suggest the moment was a linguistic nadir of sorts, in that natural use of Chikashshanompa' waned while speakers, many of whom chose to not bring up their children in their language, were aging, and while English began more fully to infiltrate the most fundamentally Chikashsha places, like our churches and homes. In large measure Chikashshanompa' was not esteemed, aside from concerns of grassroots-activist Chikashsha people like the late Reverend and Mrs. Humes, and discussions about revitalization were not prevalent. Our tibi kolofa' hung for existence on the edge of a steep embankment that seemed to erode rapidly toward a world where no Chikashshanompa' would remain.

Paradoxically, it is also the moment I consider to be the nascence of our revitalization movement, the beginnings of ittonchololi'. The late Reverend and Mrs. Humes signaled an awakening critical consciousness of the fragile state of Chikashshanompa', recognizing that the ground surrounding our tibi kolofa' would soon fall away. Some of our own people disagreed: 'The Chickasaw way is gone. Smile!.'²⁰² 'The most knowledgeable Chickasaws predict that in another fifty years no one will speak Chickasaw.'²⁰³ Yet voices calling for revitalization prevailed, beginning with the publication of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* in 1973, followed by a flood of community efforts detailed in the preceding chapter. A small, seemingly unimportant

²⁰¹ 'Census of 1890 in Indian Territory, Department of the Interior,' in *Report on Indians Taxed and Indians not Taxed in the United States, Except Alaska at the Eleventh Census: 1890* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1894).

 ²⁰² A quote from Mrs. Mose Burris in Milligan, *The Indian Way: Chickasaw*, v.
 ²⁰³ Milligan, *The Indian Way: Chickasaw*, vi.

moment in time, a thought turning into action, a modest volume of a language absolutely critical to our continuity as people, burst into a vibrant spring, tibi kolofa' flush with new shoots radiantly reaching out toward the sun, the air, the rain—toward life—ittonchololit ishtayattook. 'The new growth from that tree had begun.'

Here is where the cultural framework of Chikashshanompa' / Chikashsha okla' as a metaphorical tibi kolofa' bursting with new growth (i.e., forms of life for the language) comes fully alive as ittonchololi'. It is not to say our magnificent, ancient, rooted tree is recovered; far from it. We will never regain what was lost—in this life, anyway. What we have is the knowledge of our Ancestors, the speech of our Elders, and their associated ways of thinking and being and knowing and expressing that form the rootstock wherefrom our revitalization efforts spring. From tibi kolofa' comes ittonchololi', new growth from that tree. We are the self-same, from the root stock of Posipóngni', 'our Ancestors.' We put out new shoots, growing again, sprouting. Ishtilaaonchololi, 'We sprout from them.' Ishtaaonchololi' poya, 'We are their descendants.' This recalls Meek's discussion of language personified: we are our language; our language is us. We are our revitalization efforts, and our revitalization efforts are us. We are our Ancestors are us. Ishtilaaoncholo'licha pomanompa' ilanompohóli bílli'ya'shki. Yammako iliyimmi. Yammak illa.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ 'We descend from them and we will be speaking and speaking our language forever. We believe in this. That is it.'

Other Theoretical and Critical Frameworks:

Indigenous second language learning (ISLL)

Indigenous second-language learning (ISLL) is an approach to studying second-language acquisition that emerged and emerges from Indigenous communities. The expansion of ISLL into the academy was largely a function of allied, non-Indigenous language workers; however, it has in recent years seen increasing contributions from Indigenous community members and academics.²⁰⁵ As noted by McIvor 2012, ISLL is composed of grassroots language revitalization work done in community and the results of research and other scholarly inquiries done in the field. However, unlike community-based action research, ISLL scholarship emerges from communities rather than simply being community-aligned scholarship.²⁰⁶ ISLL is an emerging

²⁰⁵ Candace K. Galla, 'Indigenous Language Revitalization and Technology: From Traditional to Contemporary Domains.' Language and Literacy 20, no. 3, (2018): 100-120; Stephen Greymorning, 'Going beyond Words: The Arapaho Immersion Program,' in Teaching Indigenous Languages, edited by Jon Reyhner (Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University, 1997), 22-30; Greymorning, 'Running the Gauntlet of an Indigenous Language Program,' in Revitalizing Indigenous Languages, edited by Jon Reyhner, et al. (Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University, 1999), 6-16; Greymorning, 'Reflections on the Arapaho Language Project, or When Bambi Spoke Arapaho and Other Tales of Arapaho Language Revitalization Efforts,' in The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice, edited by Leanne Hinton and Kenneth Hale (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 2001), 287-298; Greymorning, ed., A Will to Survive: Indigenous Essays on the Politics Of Culture, Language, and Identity (New York: McGraw-Hill Humanities Social, 2004); Verna J. Kirkness, 'The Preservation and Use of Our Languages: Respecting the Natural Order of the Creator' (paper presented for Barrie Area Native Advisory Circle Language Conference Mnjikaning First Nation (RAMA), Barrie, ON, 23 February 2001); Richard Littlebear, 'Some Rare and Radical Ideas for Keeping Indigenous Languages Alive,' in Revitalizing Indigenous languages, 1-5; Chew, Greendeer, and Keliiaa, 'Claiming space,' 73-91; Chew, 'Family at the Heart of Chickasaw Language Reclamation.' American Indian Quarterly 39, no. 2 (Spring 2015): 154-179; Chew, 'Chikashshanompa' Ilanompohóli Bíyyi'ka'chi [We will always speak the Chickasaw language]: Considering the vitality and efficacy of Chickasaw language reclamation' (PhD diss., University of Arizona, 2016); Chew, 'Weaving Words: Conceptualizing Language Reclamation through a Culturally-Significant Metaphor.' Canadian Journal of Native Education, 41(1), (Spring-Summer 2019); McIvor, 'îkakwiy nîhiyawiyân,' 39. ²⁰⁶Ibid. 39-40.

academic field that grows from community, action-based research protocols, secondlanguage acquisition, linguistics, education, political science, sociology, psychology, and decolonization studies.²⁰⁷ Because of its interdisciplinary nature, I suggest that communityoriginated, language-focused research (beyond the limited scope of 'language learning') can find a comfortable place within ISLL studies.

There are relatively few 'first-hand stories of adult ISLL' in the literature, although descriptive third-person studies of adult second-language learners of Indigenous languages can be instructive, and have contributed to this study.²⁰⁸ Nihiyawin (Cree) scholar Dr. Onowa McIvor (2012) describes her experience as an adult second-language learner in a masterfully crafted and inspiring dissertation. Drawing from journal writing and other records of her language learning, her autoethnography examines the 'motivations, processes, effects, and outcomes of the author's journey into urban nĭhiyawĭwin learning.'²⁰⁹ Perhaps more than any other, her dissertation was a kind of road map for this study, showing me what was possible in that space.

Hinton provides accounts of American and international Indigenous language learners. jessie little doe baird and Daryl Baldwin are exemplars, with portions of their texts dedicated to discussion of their language journeys. In *Bringing Our Languages Home: Language Revitalization for Families*, published in 2013, baird and Baldwin each contributed chapters— Baldwin sharing authorship with family members of the account of Myaamia revitalization in

²⁰⁷Ibid. 41

²⁰⁸Ibid. 59.

²⁰⁹ Ibid. ii.

their home.²¹⁰ Other contributors include Hana O'Reagan (Māori) and Margaret Noori (Anishnaabe).

Chikashsha scholar Dr. Kari Chew's 2011 master's thesis, 'Pomanompa' Kilanompolika Chokma (It is Good that We Speak Our Language): Motivations to Revitalize Chikashshanompa' (Chickasaw Language) Across Generations,' examined the motivations for a variety of Chikashsha people to learn their heritage language. Her 2016 dissertation, 'Chikashshanompa' Kilanompohóli Bíyyi'ka'chi [We Will Always Speak the Chickasaw Language]: Considering the Vitality and Efficacy of Chickasaw Language Reclamation,' is a phenomenological study of Chikashshanompa' language learners' efforts. Dr. Chew examines Chickasaw language workers of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, Chickasaw at-large citizens and their efforts to acquire Chikashshanompa', and young second-language learners of Chikashshanompa' given opportunity to learn in public school settings. While not a qualitative study of adult ISLL, her work provides a significant contribution to this project. I was a participant in the research, and appreciate how Dr. Chew's thinking about our revitalization efforts have influenced mine. In particular, her positioning of the revitalization effort as a fundamentally Chikashsha practice and her valorization of second-language learners and their efforts to acquire Chikashshanompa' have helped me modify how I think about myself as an anompa shaali' and about our collective efforts to carry the language forward.

²¹⁰ Leanne Hinton, Matt Vera, and Nancy Steele, *How to Keep Your Language Alive: A Commonsense Approach to One-On-One Language Learning* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2002); Hinton, ed., *Bringing our languages home: Language revitalization for families* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 2013).

Dr. Juliet Morgan's 2017 dissertation, 'The Learner Varieties of the Chikasha Academy: Chickasaw Adult Language Acquisition, Change, and Revitalization,' is another significant study that fits within the rubric of ISLL. Dr. Morgan had worked with CLRP since 2012, and was committed to community-responsive, community-originated research to assist our efforts to revitalize Chikashshanompa'. Her methodological approach, in particular a deep dive into our anompa shaali's emerging grammar, is a pillar of our Mediated Language Change approach as detailed below. Her dissertation also greatly expands our understanding of adult secondlanguage acquisition and language change in the greater contexts of Indigenous language revitalization, and offers a compelling insight into what is possible through collaboration between community-responsive linguistic partners and Indigenous language communities.

Jennifer Davis' 2013 dissertation, 'Learning to 'talk Indian': Ethnolinguistic identity and language revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance,' was also produced as a communityresponsive and community-originated project. Davis, a Chickasaw citizen, did collaborative fieldwork in the Chickasaw Nation as a Chickasaw person and a fellow anompa shaali'. Her examination of shifting 'linguistic norms and social realities' in our revitalization context was instructive for consideration of the broader consequences of revitalization work.²¹¹

S?ímla?x^w Michelle Johnson's 2013 dissertation, 'n'łaqwcin (Clear speech): 1,000 hours to mid-intermediate N'syilxcn proficiency,' is an excellent example of a rigorous, interdisciplinary approach to ISLL research. Johnson critically examines her and her learning

²¹¹ Jennifer Lynn Davis, 'Learning to 'Talk Indian': Ethnolinguistic Identity and Language Revitalization in the Chickasaw Renaissance,' in *Linguistics Graduate Theses & Dissertations* (Boulder, CO: University of Colorado, 2013), 31. https://scholar.colorado.edu/ling_gradetds/31; Davis, *Talking Indian*.

cohort's efforts to become mid-intermediate speakers of their language. She frames her discussion in deeply embedded Sylix cultural frameworks, situates the work of the cohort in the greater Salish language revitalization movement in Canada and the United States, and provides detailed analysis of her cohort's learning process and the three films that documented it. Johnson also shares the pedagogical and methodological underpinnings of their work, and offers recommendations for other second-language learners about how to reach intermediate proficiency in their language.

Mediated Language Change

Mediated Language Change (MLC) is a theoretically informed method and set of processes by which we control, to varying degrees, language change that comes with any revitalization environment. MLC is simultaneously a theory (Languages change, and we can control the changes that occur in the language revitalization process), a method (a mixedmethods approach that attempts to balance the need to equip language learners with linguistically accurate, culturally appropriate language forms through immersion education with the natural need of a language to grow and change through lexical innovation), and a set of processes (including language documentation, analysis, interventional activities, and instruction). MLC is rooted in our obligation to carry the language forward in a way that respects the knowledge of Posipóngni¹²¹² and encourages expansion and growth of Chikashshanompa'. I first began to formulate my Mediated Language Change theory and

²¹² 'Our Ancestors.'

method early in my career as a language worker, and began to more fully articulate it in 2013.²¹³

Each generation only does what comes naturally, by which I mean they participate in the natural growth inherent in language change, modifying their languages in conscious and unconscious ways to arrive at something novel and yet culturally grounded. Chikashshanompa' has been changed by its speakers over the centuries, if arguably to a lesser degree than more robust, populous languages like Choctaw and Mvskoke Creek-Seminole. The changes occurred among monolingual speakers in contact with other languages, second-language learners of Chikashshanompa' learning in the community, fully bilingual persons growing up in duallanguage households, monolinguals learning English while they entered school or finally, as second-language learners in revitalization contexts. These changes are many—lexical, phonological and morphological.²¹⁴

In contrast to natural language change, mediated language change is wholly artificial, although at points it connects in synchronistic ways with natural language change, much as a rigorously constructed order of acquisition might, and perhaps should, connect with natural orders of acquisition for a given language.

²¹³ Ozbolt includes several references to MLC that grew out of our discussions during his dissertation research. Ivan C. Ozbolt, 'Community Perspectives, Language Ideologies, and Learner Motivation in Chickasaw Language Programs' (PhD diss., unpublished, University of Oklahoma, 2014), 148-149. I presented on MLC in the context of the Chikasha Academy at the International Conference of Language Documentation & Conservation (ICLDC) in Hawaii in 2017: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 'Nannanoli' ilimaaithana (We're Learning from Stories): Transforming Narrative Documentation into Adult Immersion Curriculum' (paper presented at ICLDC 5, 2 March 2017). Morgan briefly examines MLC in the context of the Chikasha Academy in 'The Learner Varieties,' 172-174.

²¹⁴ See Morgan, 'The Learner Varieties.'

MLC grows directly from the Chikashsha people and their ways of being. It is motivated by and grows from Chikashsha theories of survivance and perseverance—lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi, 'we survive,' and Ilachónna'chi, 'we persevere.' Mediated Language Change, as a set of approaches and processes, is a fundamentally Chikashsha approach. While we mediate these changes and grow in our language, we live out Chikashsha poya and Iláyya'sha katihma in their fullness. We are an intact, culturally vibrant and dynamic tribal community and government committed to bringing our ways, new and old, with us into the future.

MLC, a powerful tool in our determination to ensure that our language persists for generations, connects to other theories and methodologies born of Indigenist and Indigenization approaches, and is firmly rooted in the ideologies of first-wave selfdetermination and sovereignty movements of the 1960s. In our context, it is born from the heart of the Chikashsha people and our responsibility to carry Chikashshanompa' forward in a good way. Because languages change, and our language will do so rapidly within revitalization contexts, we use MLC as a 'practice of freedom and of control,' and a way to nurture Chikashshanompa' from tibi kolofa' back to the thriving itti' it once was.²¹⁵ The form of Chikashshanompa' that emerges from our efforts is and will be new in some senses (particularly in new domains and neologisms), but will remain fundamentally Chikashsha while it is assimilated into our current context, and while strategies that inform our lexical expansions derive from the ways our Ancestors did the same.

²¹⁵ Cobb, *Listening*, 37.

Underlying beliefs

Certain values and beliefs undergird the MLC method and our choice to develop and use it. We believe language change is a given in all contexts. We believe we can mediate such change in the ways our Ancestors did while they faced enormous reorderings in their times and places. We believe that through Mediated Language Change we can arrive at learner varieties of Chikashshanompa' that reflect our current teachers' speech varieties and those of our Ancestors. We believe our learner varieties of Chikashshanompa' are as valid as those of native speakers, even if different. We believe that by accepting responsibilities as anompa shaali' we can ensure our nation continues with a strong cultural identity in service to ancestral ideals of survivance and perseverance.

Inherent Tensions in this process

There are tensions that come of developing a revitalization method predicated on an idea that one can control, to any degree, language change occurring in natural and artificial environments. Languages, like the people who carry, speak, and use them, are wild, free and fecund, always giving birth to new forms. That reality stands in contrast to ideologies that often surround endangered languages, particularly among varieties with more than one living speaker. Our anomp<u>í</u>'shi' speak individual, unique language varieties that carry private changes they collected or developed over years. The endangerment of our language, even if a separate matter, makes the slightest of differences seem glaringly obvious among such speaker populations. Often as a result, many anomp<u>í</u>'shi' generally hold to the idea that their variety is best, and that others are inferior to theirs and not to be encouraged. How can you mediate

change that might occur in a context like ours, with about fifty native speakers and no more than a handful of highly committed second-language learners?

Tension exists between anomp<u>i</u>'shi' and anompa shaali', even if anomp<u>i</u>'shi' are generally generous, loving, encouraging, and kind in sharing their native language with us. The more sensitive anomp<u>i</u>'shi' are consciously aware of the difficulty of what we anompa shaali' are trying to achieve, and provide sensitive guidance to us. They willingly listen to us talk like children, year after year. Still, if and when asked, they often say things like, 'My language will end with me. I never thought it would be like this when I was a child.' Sometimes they express that thought in Chikashshanompa' to a proficient second-language learner. It is a strange sensation to learn your own teachers do not truly believe what you are trying to accomplish is possible. One reason is that to some speakers the death of our language will be a portent of the end of the world. One family's prophecy foretells that when the last speaker of Chikashshanompa' dies, the world will cease to exist.²¹⁶

Tensions also are present in the application of the method itself. For instance, linguistic analysis is a powerful tool of Mediated Language Change, but bears tension in and of itself. In our case, the revitalization environment we constructed is a supportive one, in which we valorize the efforts of second-language learners. We want our language to be used, prolifically, in every context relevant to our daily lives. We push multi-competence for our learners, insisting they be fully competent in both of their main languages. Because of challenges inherent in acquiring any language as an adult learner, our varieties of Chikashshanompa' will be different from those of our teachers. We use the tools of linguistic analysis to examine our

²¹⁶ Catherine Willmond, interview with author, summer 2012.

specific learner varieties, contrast them against known speaker data, and design mediating activities to encourage acquisition of more standard, native-like speech. This tension between varieties of Chikashshanompa' described as 'correct' and our 'imperfect' varieties of learner Chikashshanompa' are palpable. We seek linguistic and cultural perfection in our use of Chikashshanompa', and attempt to speak and use it in a manner as close to native-like as possible. It is difficult to valorize our learner efforts while also analyzing them for variation and designing activities to shift them toward more native-like speech patterns. These efforts may ultimately prove unfruitful. Perhaps the varieties that emerge will prove resistant to mediation.

MLC as a process has proven to be simultaneously innovative and regressive. We have innovated and created things only to come back and correct them, or take different paths. A good example is the shift from numerical month names innovated in 2009 back to more community-normative naahollimanompa' borrowings, e.g. Hashi' Atalhlhá'pi', 'Fifth Month' vs. Mih, 'May' as a programmatic example of a regressive or corrective MLC. An individual example is my reanalysis of -akookya, *Pepsi' ishkoliakookya [I drink Pepsi too.] versus a later correction, as a consequence of language analysis work with Dr. Morgan, Pepsi'akookya ishkoli. [I drink Pepsi too].²¹⁷

MLC in context

MLC is a product of the global language revitalization movement, manifested in our tribal context. After building on efforts of early community revitalizationists including the late

²¹⁷ '-akookya' is a nominal suffix meaning something like 'too, as well' for native speakers, one that was reanalyzed by anompa shaali' as a verbal suffix, then corrected back to the nominal suffix through the process of Mediated Language Change. Dr. Juliet Morgan, comment to author on an early draft of this chapter, 13 September 2019.

Humes, the late Geraldine Greenwood, and the late Yvonne Alberson, we began moving toward an MLC approach before 2007 with a community-wide language vitality survey. The survey identified fewer than 120 native speakers of Chikashshanompa'. We were well aware the language hung precariously at Fishman's Reversing Language Shift stage 7—all speakers are past childbearing age; children are not being raised with their language; small numbers of second-language learners; the language is present ceremonially at cultural events; and there is a culturally active, elderly population of speakers.²¹⁸ We worked immediately toward raising the visibility of the language within the community through physical products like bumper stickers and flash cards, by encouraging bilingual signage in public spaces, and through the creation of a Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program logo (see Chapter 5).

We also sought to raise the prestige both of native speakers and the language in the community by actively pulling the speakers into the revitalization program, creating short films and television spots that featured them, and by monetizing linguistic knowledge through compensating native speakers and second-language learners. A significant aspect of MLC is the ability to pay the bills with your language—to support a family with Chikashshanompa'. These ideas focused on the hearts and minds of our community and were essential to building a groundswell of support for more challenging initiatives. Those and other strategies described in other chapters position MLC comfortably among larger international language revitalization movements.

²¹⁸ Joshua A. Fishman, ed., *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*, vol. 76. (Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 1991), 89.

For some communities, linguistics and linguists specifically are considered as complicated topics. Too often Indigenous knowledge is extracted or removed from its community for the 'greater good' of Western science and empirical knowledges, for the sake of constructing some great 'archive' of human knowledge. This is problematic among Indigenous communities because we value our languages and all they hold in quite different ways. We do not worship abstracted, disembodied knowledge like the West does. We consider knowledge as powerful only in its specific application, and not in its mere accumulation.

There are many instances however, in which persons created language records for religious, scientific, cultural or other purposes that proved useful for Indigenous communities, particularly with sleeping languages. I am thinking particularly of my friends jessie little doe baird (Mashpee Wampanoag) and Daryl Baldwin (Miami Tribe of Oklahoma) who were able to reacquire their sleeping languages through specific graduate courses of study that enabled them to reveal what was held in linguistic documentation, religious records, Bible translations, and other records.

In our situation, records of Chikashshanompa' from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are relatively scant. Some travelers' journals, a Jeffersonian word list, a text by British trader James Adair, a smattering of letters, prayers, church records, and a two-volume notebook of Chikashshanompa' produced by linguist Albert Gatschet along with native speaker and Chickasaw Nation representative to the United States J. D. Collins are the whole of Chikashshanompa' known documentation before the publication of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* in 1973.

Since then, Pulte 1975 first described Chahta imanompa' and Chikashshanompa' as separate languages. Dr. Pamela Munro of UCLA, more than any other linguist, has had the greatest effect on our current language revitalization efforts. Besides her numerous articles about Chikashshanompa', Dr. Munro and native speaker Catherine Willmond compiled *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary*, published in 1994, and *Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli': Let's Speak Chickasaw*, published in 2008. The described variety, primarily documented with Mrs. Willmond and examples from more than forty other speakers, formed the greatest part of the Chikashshanompa' corpus until we began to publish in Chikashshanompa' in earnest after the founding of Chickasaw Press (see Chapter 5).²¹⁹

Given the foundation of the Munro-Willmond materials, our present documentation efforts focus largely on second-language-learner varieties of Chikashshanompa',²²⁰ a substantial Chikashshanompa' oral narratives and conversation analysis project,²²¹ speech analysis of second-language learners of Chikashshanompa' employed in the Chikasha Academy under the MLC approach,²²² and learner materials creation for the Chikasha Academy program.²²³ We also are currently developing a teaching grammar based on our remaining fully bilingual native speaker population in the Chickasaw Nation. The grammar will also include examples of the

²¹⁹ 'Described variety' is here used to mean the variety of Chikashshanompa' that forms the basis of our Chickasaw corpus. The speech of Mrs. Catherine Willmond comprises most of this described variety.

²²⁰ Morgan, 'Learner Varieties.'

 ²²¹ Colleen Fitzgerald and Joshua D. Hinson, 'Approaches to Collecting Texts: The Chickasaw Narrative Bootcamp.' *Language Documentation and Conservation* 10 (December 2016): 522-547; Hinson, 'Nannan<u>o</u>li'.'

²²² Morgan, 'Learner Varieties.'

²²³ Juliet Morgan and Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 'Mediating Language Change in Chikashshanompa': An Example with Dative 'Have' Constructions' (article forthcoming).

emergent learner varieties from academy participants as we further our attempts to valorize their efforts.

Underlying beliefs

We care very little for generative linguistics, e.g. universal grammar, the nature of language, and its emergence in human history. Our ancestral knowledge, including Chikashshanompa', came to us, according to our Ancestors, 'As soon as ever the ground was sound, and fit to stand upon, it came to us, and has been with us ever since.'²²⁴ Our elders tell us Chikashshanompa' was given to us by Aba' Bínni'li' so we could communicate with one another. Their teaching is satisfactory to us. We believe in applied linguistics and Indigenist linguistic research projects that grow from our nation's needs. We believe that documentation of areas under-represented in the described literature, including oral narratives and conversation, are critical to creating a language archive of Chikashshanompa' for current and future generations. We want to tell stories and model our conversations to be like our teachers'.

MLC is a toolbox

MLC is a set of tools specifically designed and strategically employed to address the ongoing language change innate in ISLL practice in our nation. Those tools and strategies are manifest in both corporate (programmatic) and individual (personal language use) contexts.

The tools of MLC are many and varied. The primary tool is the speech of anomp<u>í</u>'shi' and anompa shaali' including elicitations, traditional shikonno'pa' (animal stories), as well narratives

²²⁴ Poole, 'Conference.'

related to family history and life experience. I would include written documentation including learner-created materials as a tool, besides ongoing language documentation designed to expand the described variety of Chikashshanompa'. MLC assists us in looking into the future where what we learn and create becomes, for better or worse, the standard for all our secondlanguage learners. Documented standards of appropriate speech from native speakers active in our program, aligned with the described variety where possible, would form this future standard. The varied forms of documentation are programmatic in approach through immersion-motivated story collection under our current Documenting Endangered Languages / National Science Foundation grant (BCS-1263699 and BCS-1263698). They also are individual in approach through sessions with discrete speakers, and through speaker notes, journal entries, and other learner materials.

Another critical tool of MLC arsenal is immersion curriculum derived from anomp<u>f</u>'shi' speech and created in response to learner needs. This curricular approach as used in the Chikasha Academy was heavily influenced by the Sauk Language Program and further adapted from the curriculum of the Salish peoples, including the Paul Creek Language Association curriculum as modified and used in a highly structured group-immersion approach on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. The scope and sequence of our approach is modified from our highly successful Rosetta Stone Chickasaw online language-learning program (see Chapter 5) used to teach vocabulary and familiarize learners with content before involving them in immersion. Non-immersive curricular approaches have also been successfully used in immersion environments. Curriculum development is solidly programmatic in approach and

function, while the products of development are powerful for individual language development.

Neologisms are also powerful tools in MLC. They are used to expand the domains of our language, particularly ones that address technology. Our new words are created by the Chickasaw Language Committee in an official capacity as language advisory to the CLRP, and by individual speakers, language teachers, and anompa shaali'. Such Mediated Language Change is critical to expanding the language to accommodate current technologies along with other rapidly changing trends of the majority culture (See Chapter 7). The MLC-driven process of neologism creation by the Chickasaw Language Committee is programmatic in nature, while individual approaches also help to build our new-words corpus.

Assessments are also a powerful tool of MLC. We have employed a variety of approaches in efforts to move toward a comprehensive, culturally informed and effective assessment method. Adopted from earlier, one-on-one Master-Apprentice approaches, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) oral proficiency assessment still plays a key role in our assessment practice. We have to date been less interested in the other areas of assessment like writing, reading, and listening. We focus our learners on efforts to become fluent speakers of the language, and know that reading and writing will come later, naturally. Listening happens in the early, silent phase which in our context is rather short.

ACTFL's assessment is administered by an advanced learner or a native speaker, and follows a general script with open questions at the end, designed to push the learner past a predicted level of proficiency. We also use self-assessment tools including ACTFL Can-Do statements and the powerful, culturally motivated, and theoretically informed NETOLNEW

Language Learning Assessment Tool.²²⁵ Our varied and multi-pronged approach to language assessment gives learners and program leadership a good way to measure where students are and, in concert with speech analysis from daily immersion sessions, helps create immersion aids, study guides, activity sheets and other materials learners can use to conform their speech to native-speaker-like patterns.

A final tool of MLC is work devoted to expanding the domains of Chikashshanompa' so new learners can communicate fully about modern life, daily concerns, technological innovations, and anything else one might talk about. I consider such expansion as new growth from the rootstock of our ancestor's speech, adapting as our Ancestors did when they encountered new people, places, and things. As they were, so are we committed to a Chikashshanompa' that embraces multivitality. We are interested in the oral narratives of speakers and learners, including those recorded as literature. We want natural speech communities to arise from the artificial, professionalized one we created within the program.

We also are interested in using technology to create language communities online and through social media. Our efforts to make the language accessible to Chikashsha people regardless of where they live naturally led to online language classes, study groups, Facebook groups, emailing, texting and the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw computer-aided language-learning program. This is a new form of life for the language.

Our archive also is a new form of life for Chikashshanompa', wherein written, audio, and visual documentation is available to learners. The archive is kept at the Chickasaw Cultural Center and the Sam Noble Museum of Natural History Native Language Archive, and is

²²⁵ https://www.uvic.ca/research/partner/home/projects/language-assessment-tool/index.php

disseminated via virtual platforms like YouTube and www.chickasaw.tv. We continue to curate historical documents, linguistic papers and historical realia like letters and postcards even while we create new ones (See Chapters 5 and 6), and all are dynamic and relevant forms of life for Chikashshanompa'. Though new, they are equally valid and fundamentally Chikashsha.

How MLC tools are used

The tools and strategies MLC are employed in multiple environments, depending on emerging needs in any given situation. We actively collect shikonno'pa' and personal narratives from anomp<u>i</u>'shi', and create environments to collect natural Chikashshanompa' conversation, focusing particularly on turn-taking and the regular narrative devices anomp<u>i</u>'shi' use. These environments might be artificial, like in a studio setting with a native speaker leading the discussion, or taken from natural contexts like meetings of the Chickasaw Language Committee. We also practice elicitation in situations where we need to clarify native speaker understandings of particular language features. We regularly co-transcribe and translate with native speakers and passive bilinguals in large-group, small-group, and solo sessions. These transcripts are used to create stories for the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program. We also collect anompa shaali' speech from daily Chikasha Academy immersion sessions. These conversations and narratives are transcribed and analyzed for expanding the described variety of Chikashshanompa' and creating learner products for academy sessions.

As we create anompa himitta' with the Chickasaw Language Committee, we actively disseminate them in various forms online and in other ways, like flash cards. We plan to create and maintain an online anompa himitta' dictionary for use by anompa shaali'. We also use

anompa himitta', particularly newly created slang and textisms, in our small language community of CLRP employees and anompa shaali' with whom we interact online or elsewhere.

We actively assess acquisition of stories and other language forms. Thereby we can create activities to address gaps and patterns of non-standard use, both linguistic and cultural, working with those, and re-assessing the results. That aspect of our program is structured around what we have termed the Chickasaw Model—a feedback loop between documentation and revitalization.²²⁶ Documentation leads to analysis, analysis motivates revitalization practice, and ongoing training enhances all aspects of the approach. In our most pressing context (the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program), documentation led to a story about cooking frog legs from native speaker Virginia Bolen. It was fully transcribed and three leveled versions were created and used in immersion sessions followed by analysis of learner acquisition and creation of further training materials based on results of those analyses (See Chapter 8).

The matter of which features of anompa shaali' language we need to focus on in standardization exercises can be complicated. The output of both anompa shaali' and anomp<u>í</u>'shi' are examined carefully, while they are in dialog with one another. Multiple varieties emerge, with preference given to anomp<u>í</u>'shi' speech. There are many moments where the speech of anomp<u>í</u>'shi' is quite different from the described variety. In a programmatic sense we align our learner products and push learner speech to standardize with the speech of our teachers in the Chikasha Academy rather than the described variety. We anompa shaali'

²²⁶ Colleen M. Fitzgerald and Joshua D. Hinson, 'ilittibaatoksali' 'We Are Working Together': Perspectives on Our Chickasaw Tribal-Academic Collaboration,' in *Proceedings of the 17th Foundation for Endangered Languages Conference*, edited by Mary Jane Norris, et al. (Hungerford, UK: Foundation for Endangered Languages, 2013), 53–60; Fitzgerald and Hinson, 'Approaches to Collecting Texts,' 522-547.

regularly modify our speech to conform to whomever we speak to. However, we may generally assimilate speech features from anomp<u>í</u>'shi' even while they are not actively teaching in immersion (See Chapter 6).

In activities designed to shift anompa shaali' varieties toward those of anomp<u>í</u>'shi', we focus on affixes. Phonological variation and English accent are of little immediate concern. With sufficient time and exposure to recordings and native speaker conversation, we can address English accent, while processes like rhythmic lengthening often require significant self-study and overt grammatical instruction. Accuracy in rhythmic lengthening and native-like accent are features of higher oral proficiency speakers (Intermediate high—Advanced low ACTFL oral proficiency standard).

Goals of Mediated Language Change

Our sole motivation for the Chikasha Academy is the creation of highly competent anompa shaali', communicative speakers of Chikashshanompa' who are also culturally competent users of Chikashshanompa'. We also desire for anompa shaali' to write Chikashshanompa' proficiently in the modern orthography, create learner products, and help others learn in a variety of contexts. They will speak like their teachers as well as innovate in the language as the community deems appropriate, as well as recover varieties that may have fallen to the wayside because of speaker death. These anompa shaali' fit in an artificial but functional speech community that equips them to become language carriers for the next generation. The final piece of this community is anompa shaali' who choose to raise their children in Chikashshanompa'—which we have not yet seen.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I set forth the theoretical, empirical, and methodological foundations and frameworks for this project. In the first section I examined Chikashsha Poya, a theoretical framework deriving from Chikashsha ways of being. Chikashsha poya is composed of four Chikashsha values of Chikashsha Poya, Iilhakóffi, Ilachónna'chi, and Ilaa-áyya'sha katihma. In the second section I discussed the reporting framework for this research, and presented this research as a form of tanap nannanoli' – a traditional war narrative. I then explored the connections between the overarching theory of Chikashsha Poya, tanap nannanoli', and autoethnography. In the third section I described Chikashsha asilhlha, a community-derived, culturally-grounded research methodology, its use, and its relationship to Wilson's theory of research as ceremony. In the fourth section I examined the place of this research in greater Indigenous second-language learning contexts in North America, detailed Ittonchololi', a culturally-derived metaphorical framework for Chikashshanompa' loss and revitalization. I then examined Mediated Language Change as an outgrowth of ittonchololi' and examined its application as a theoretically informed method and set of processes in our revitalization context. Finally, I dispersed commentary on significant theses and dissertations that have influenced this research throughout the text, noting those scholars, Chikashsha and otherwise, that have inspired me in this research.

Chapter Four: Lokosh sahochifo (They call me Gourd): Twenty years as a language learner Holisso chokma' micha Nashoba Tohbi' (A significant book and a White Wolf): 1978 - 1999

I am called Lokosh (Gourd) in Chikashshanompa'. I am Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Euro-American on my mother's side, and Mvskoke (Creek), Cherokee, and Euro-American on my father's side. I descend from nine documented generations of Chickasaw women, and I carry my clan and house through my mother. I am Kowishto' Iksa' (Panther Clan) and Imatapo Chokka-chaffa' (Their Lean-to People House). I am in many ways a typical mixed-blood urban Indian person, raised outside my tribal service area, with minimal knowledge of my Chikashsha culture while I was a child.

I was born in Memphis, Tennessee, in 1978. Memphis, built along the Sakti' Lh<u>a</u>fa' Okhina', which was actually the westernmost holding of our Chikashsha people prior to Removal. My maternal Ancestors crossed the river there in the summer of 1838, never to return to our Homeland. My brother, Micah P. Hinson, who is called Intaloowa¹²²⁷ in Chikashshanompa', was born in Memphis in 1981. We moved to West Virginia for a time, and later relocated to Abilene, Texas, where we lived until I moved away to graduate school.

This chapter offers a broad narrative about my development as second-language learner of Chikashshanompa', including references to significant persons and program initiatives. During my early years I had no exposure to the language. I was not able to hear it until I was an adult. My situation is eerily familiar to many Chickasaw citizens at large who, having grown up far outside the Chickasaw Nation's geopolitical boundaries, had little access to cultural aspects of our society, the most integral of which is Chikashshanompa'. An Indian person without

²²⁷ 'He Sings for Them.'

grounding, a citizen without reference, a Chikashsha descendant who has never heard a Chikashshanompa' word spoken by an anomp<u>í</u>'shi'- that was me, and by extension, us.

It was not my mother's fault. Charla Sue Nichols Hinson was born in Gainesville, Texas, not terribly far from the Chickasaw Nation's territory. While she spent much time in the Chickasaw Nation as a child to visit her grandparents—my great-grandparents—no one in her extended family spoke Chikashshanompa'.

It was not my grandmother's fault. Faye Elizabeth Cox Nichols was born during a time when speaking Chickasaw was actively discouraged. She went to a neighborhood school with other Chickasaw children who, if they knew the language, were punished for speaking it. My grandmother passed away in 2016. I taught her some words in her twilight years, but I am not sure whether she remembered them.

Nor was it my great-grandmother's fault. Charlie Perkins Cox was born at Kale, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, in 1902. She, too, was sent off to boarding school at Bloomfield, where the language was forbidden. They taught her to be a good white girl—a good *American* girl—and to excel at home crafts like tatting, quilting and household management, to read Shakespeare and Homer, and to avoid all vestiges of tribal-ness. She understood the language to a limited degree, and certainly avoided teaching any of it to her daughter.

It was not really her mother's fault, either. Laura Moberly Perkins was born in the Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory, within a decade after the Civil War. While she was a native speaker of Chikashshanompa', she also was forced to attend Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, and taught to avoid the trappings of tribal life like her daughter would be.

Laura's mother, Frances Elizabeth Kemp Mead, should not have blame laid upon her, either. She was a fully proficient speaker of both Chikashshanompa' and English, Chikashshanompa' being her first language. She was knowledgeable about tribal medicines, native herbal remedies, and their applications for various illnesses. She was the daughter and granddaughter of prominent tribal leaders, and descended from a powerful matrilineal clan. But she, too, was sent to the Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females by her father, to ensure a better life for her. A member of the inaugural class of 1852, she, like all the Chickasaw girls that would follow her, was prevented from speaking her language and expressing her innermost self as a Chikashsha person.

The blame is too big to be pinned on any one person, time, place, thing, or institution. The government of the United States addressed its 'Indian Problem' through forced education and assimilation, while the tribal schools created and administered by the Chickasaw Nation followed suit for purposes of our survival. Some of our leaders believed that in order to remain Chikashsha in an increasingly wider and white-dominated world, our children needed to put aside aspects of their identity as Chikashsha and acquire knowledge of the naahollo world. Within a generation, in many cases, Chikashshanompa' left families never to return. It certainly appeared that might be the case for my family.

My grandmother Faye Elizabeth Cox Nichols, whom I called Meme, was the keeper of family lore while I was a child. She took it upon herself to ensure that I, my brother and our cousins knew we were Chikashsha, and that we descended from a long line of tribal leaders. We were taught to be proud of our heritage. Given our lack of proximity to the nation as a whole, our lived experience was more of descendants than citizens, more periphery than core. I was,

for all intents and purposes, a white American child who possessed Chikashsha ancestry, rather than a Chikashsha child who happened to be of mixed ancestry. That is not unusual in a way for many citizens at large, often called 'genealogy Indians' because they have well documented their tribal ancestry, know their Ancestors generations upon generations back, but have no real lived experience on tribal lands, contact with tribal people or cultural experiences that might draw them closer to their identities as Chikashsha. That was the life I was living: a white descendant of Chikashsha people, a member of a proud family of Chikashsha heritage living abroad in central and west Texas.

One Christmas I had my first encounter with the language that marked itself on my mind. Meme decided to, on behalf of her mother Charlie Perkins Cox, give decidedly tribal gifts to her family—examples of Chikashsha lacework created by her mother for the aunts and female cousins, and framed arrowheads with the Chickasaw seal and a hardback copy of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* for the uncles and male cousins.

I ripped the package open quickly (I was a young bibliophile, and knew a book when I felt one). The dictionary was modestly sized, with a smooth white dust jacket imprinted with the Chickasaw seal, written by the late Reverend Jess J. Humes and Vinnie May James Humes. The hard cover under the jacket was a lovely rust-red / maroon color with identical printing. I recall opening the book and thumbing through it, looking for entries that seemed interesting. The dictionary was alphabetized in English order, with a headword column, the entry in English, a part-of-speech designation (verb, noun, adjective, etc.), the word in Chikashshanompa Chikashshanompa', and a pronunciation column to the right.



Figure 17: The author with the dictionary gifted to him by his grandmother. Photograph by Ryan RedCorn (Osage).

I cherished this small volume, and connected to it in some ineffable way. I learned words and attempted to create sentences. My best friend, Ben Langford, and I decided to form what we called 'Indian Club,' and gave ourselves names. I am afraid I do not recall Ben's, but I wanted to be called 'White Wolf.' Although that is properly Nashoba Tohbi' in Chikashshanompa', I did not know any better, so I called myself Tohbi' Nashoba. I recall Indian Club was essentially about making pictures of Indian things and giving ourselves names. I had a fascination with all things Comanche as a child. I thought Chickasaws were actually rather boring. Who wanted to be a civilized corn eater when you could be a Lord of the Plains? Quanah Parker and Ten Bears were my idols. After all, I *was* living in their ancestral territory.

When my family and I went to a gourd dance in Comanche Nation one summer, I thought I had died and gone to heaven. In spite of my 'numunuu fever,' I did not take an

interest in their language, but I did in Chikashshanompa'. I am glad to report I eventually realized my ancestral tribes were far better than the Comanche (with apologies to my numunuu friends).²²⁸

Eventually I became the family historian, and the one most keenly interested in our native heritage. Meme took great pains to answer all my questions, showing me our genealogy, and talking about who each of my Ancestors were and what they did for our people. She kept a wall of photographs of my Chickasaw family dating back to the 1860s, many of whom were born before the Removal of 1837.²²⁹ She was the link to our tribal roots after my great-grandmother was taken by Alzheimer's. I regret being too young and naive to have known the rich legacy my Grandma Cox possessed, especially in her stories about growing up Chickasaw in the years following statehood, and in her experiences as a mixed-blood Indian during her boarding school years and following. Meme had much of this knowledge, and passed it to me. I was proud to have native heritage, and shared extensively about it during my school years. What I did not have was the language. All I had were often indecipherable words on a page.

²²⁸ Yakkookay to Kathryn Pewenofkit Briner, Comanche Nation Language Department, for the proper spelling of numunuu, and for all the horse-stealing jokes. numunuu and the Chikashsha have a long history of conflict following our forced removal from our homelands. I met numunuu native speaker Geneva Woomavoyah Navarro some years ago, at a conference. I apologized for the US Government having put us down in the middle of the numunuu hunting territories and she said, 'It's okay, honey. I'm sorry we had to kill you'—numunuu humor at its finest.

²²⁹ My family removed in June 1838. The process of Chickasaw removal was actually quite extended, not complete until the 1890s in some cases. Of course, some Chickasaws, mostly women married to non-Indians, remained behind, but they were a minority. Their descendants still live in Mississippi and Alabama, but they have not maintained a separate and unique tribal identity like those held by other remnant communities like the Mississippi Choctaw, the Jena Band of Choctaw Indians, the Louisiana Koushatta, and the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians.

Diné imissobinaachi' micha Chokfi' (Navajo saddle blankets and a Rabbit): 2000 - 2001

Through junior high and high school the greatest engagement I had with native culture other than my immediate family was in New Mexico. We had close friends in Taos and spent time with them, often at Taos Pueblo. We connected with a Southern Cheyenne art dealer who introduced us to Navajo weaving. My parents and I developed a small collection of Navajo textiles, and I ended up working for that dealer in the summer of 1999. While there I developed an exhibit of Navajo textiles that toured institutions like Southern Methodist University and the Grace Museum in Abilene, Texas.

I was not at all a serious student of Chikashshanompa'. Instead, I was developing a deep knowledge and appreciation of Navajo culture. I intended to pursue graduate studies at the University of New Mexico Department of Art History, and to work on a thesis about Navajo saddle blankets.

In summer 1999 my wife and I moved to Ranchos de Taos to work. One afternoon a Navajo jeweler named Howard Ration came into the gallery, where he and I talked for a good while. I mentioned my Chikashsha ancestry, and told Mr. Ration about my plans to write a thesis about historic Navajo saddle blankets. He asked, 'Why don't you study your own tribe? Then maybe you can come and study us.'²³⁰ I was young and naïve, and did not realize the

²³⁰ I actually gave Mr. Ration twenty dollars' worth of gas later that day to help him get back home. He had been unsuccessful at selling a large squash-blossom necklace. Years later I saw him in Albuquerque, and we recognized one another. He made me two silver bracelets with file-worked designs based on two 1860s Navajo examples. I wear at least one of them every day. During that conversation we talked about family, and I told him my wife was pregnant. He told me to make sure she didn't eat any rabbit or squirrel because the baby would have big eyes and be flighty. I would learn some years later that our Chikashsha elders hold the same beliefs. She did not eat either, and our first son has large, though perfectly normal eyes, like his mother's.

implications of his question until years later. It was prescient, in a way. I would quit working in historic American Indian art, produce a thesis at the University of New Mexico about Chikashsha stickball regalia, and return to my tribal homelands with my family to start a new life. But I am getting ahead of myself.

My wife and I found out we were expecting that summer. I felt strongly that the child should have a name that reflected both his tribal ancestry and our strong Christian heritage and personal faith. We named him Levi, after Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert and the third son of Jacob, the patriarch of the Israelites. Levi Colbert, whose honorific Chickasaw name means 'In the Woods Where It Was Raining,'²³¹ was the son of a Chikashsha woman of the Inkoni Homma' (Red Skunk) Clan and James Logan Colbert, a Carolinian raised from his youth among the Chikashsha. Levi and his brothers played an integral part in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century politics. He fought against removal and secured preferential treaty terms that saved a great many Chikashsha lives.²³² A year or so following his birth I did give my son a Chickasaw name: Chokfi', meaning 'rabbit.' As a baby he seemed always intensely aware of his surroundings, in the same way rabbits carefully observe their surroundings when they feel any sense of danger.

²³¹ Historically noted as Ittawamba, his name was translated by Chickasaw interpreter Malcolm McGee as 'Bench Chief.' Dr. John Dyson, noting the rainy conditions under which Levi Colbert, while a youth, turned back a Mvskoke Creek war party with only a handful of youth and aged warriors, suggested his name is more properly Itti' Aaomba', 'In the Woods Where It Was Raining.' John P. Dyson, 'Chickasaw War Names and Four Homeland Colberts,' *Ishtunowa: The Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture* 17, no. 2 (Fall 2015): 17-19. I have argued elsewhere that his name was possibly Itti' Aaombínni'li' Minko' 'Sits on the Bench Leader,' but as of this writing, I find Dr. Dyson's etymology more compelling.

²³² See Paige, Bumpers, and Littlefield, *Chickasaw Removal*.

At the time I was not a serious student of the language, nor was I meaningfully connected to the Chickasaw Nation beyond my extended family and knowledge of my ancestry. I was still a 'genealogy Indian.' I discussed my Chikashsha heritage with fellow students at the Art Department of Abilene Christian University—in particular, the reasons for naming our son Levi—but shied away from accessing this part of my heritage in my artwork. My subject matter in undergraduate studies was largely a re-imagining of traditional studio subjects including still life, portraiture, landscape, and wildlife art. Tribal visual language seemed inauthentic to me, as if I was a poser taking something that did not belong to me. I was asked at the opening of a Navajo saddle blanket exhibit about my interest in native art, so I shared a bit of my originalenrollee great-grandmother's life story and my Chikashsha ancestry as something of a motivation—but that was the extent of that. There was something about Levi being born that moved me toward more fully embracing my Chikashsha ancestry. However, it would not manifest until we moved to New Mexico.

Holissaapisa' chaaha' ayalihmat hattak api'ma' tobalittook (A College Onset Indian): 2001 -2003

I moved my young family to Albuquerque in the summer of 2001, soon after I graduated from Abilene Christian University with a Bachelor of Fine Arts degree in painting. I had been accepted into the Department of Art and Art History at the University of New Mexico, where I would work toward a Master of Arts degree in Native American art history. I had visited there the spring before, and flown out for a job interview with a well-known dealer of historic American Indian art in the city's Old Town district. I gained a position as an acquisitions consultant for over a year, wherein I did research and wrote object descriptions for the dealer's website, and handled sales. I left in 2002 as a result of the market downturn post-9/11 and my

need for a job that offered health insurance. I ended up working for a major bank as a credit card debt collector.²³³

Still, while at the gallery I encountered a book that marked a significant turn toward my Chikashsha identity. Because I also was in charge of acquiring books for the gallery's reference library, I regularly searched academic publishers' book catalogs for relevant titles. I came across a book from titled, *Listening to Our Grandmothers' Stories: The Bloomfield Academy for Chickasaw Females, 1852-1949*. Written by Dr. Amanda J. Cobb, a fellow Chikashsha, it was published by University of Oklahoma Press in 2000. I recalled my Meme's stories about a school called Bloomfield. I ordered a copy for myself.

I recall clearly the day the book arrived in the post. I sat on a wooden bench next to the gallery's front desk and scanned its text and numerous images, trying to get a sense of its scope. I noticed the names of several of my maternal Ancestors and became excited, and in turn struck by those feelings. My grandmother's family stories were here; my Ancestors' names were present, written on a page, by a fellow Chikashsha. That somehow provided verification that our family's oral history was legitimate, that we were Chikashsha, connected to a larger body of Chikashsha living and dead over time and space. I pointed out my Ancestor's names to a non-Indian co-worker, who joked, 'Well, shoot, looks like we got us a real Indian on staff.' Even that derisive remark rang like an affirmation of my quickly emerging Chikashsha identity, even if it seemed at the time an oddly amorphous, liminal one that comes of being a mixed-blood, non-phenotypical, outlander White Indian. We of that type can choose, moment to

²³³ My pseudonym was 'Mr. Abi'.' Abi' means 'killer' in Chikashshanompa'. I was a very good credit card debt collector.

moment, whether we are Indians are not, with a kind of agency not afforded to brown people, to 'real' Indians.

Dr. Cobb happened to be a professor in the American Studies department at the University of New Mexico's main Albuquerque campus. I reached out to her and introduced myself as a fellow Chikashsha.²³⁴ We met in her office one afternoon and talked about Chickasaw-ness, southern Oklahoma, and other things I cannot recall. We later met again over lunch with her husband, Steven Greetham, who, though a Yankee, is an important attorney who now handles water rights and gaming matters for the Chickasaw Nation. Amanda was one of the first non-family-member Chikashsha with whom I developed a meaningful friendship. She helped me greatly in Albuquerque, guiding my thesis research on a Chikashsha topic and helping make it more meaningfully Chikashsha. She would later join the tribe in Ada as the administrator over the Nation's Division of History, Research, and Scholarship, and later the Division of History and Culture. During her tenure she founded Chickasaw Press, helped open the Chickasaw Cultural Center in Sulphur, Oklahoma, and was the best professional mentor I will ever have.

Besides being where I gained meaningful relationships with non-family Chikashsha for the first time, Albuquerque also was where I made lasting friendships with people of diverse tribal nations and pueblos—Navajo, Taos, Zuni, Apache, Picuris, Jemez, Cherokee, San Juan, and San Ildefonso among them. As I learned a greater appreciation for my tribal roots, I also became aware of the rich and vibrant cultures of other tribal peoples and in turn, my

²³⁴ She later modified her last name to Cobb-Greetham, and I named her Foshhommak many years ago, based on her fondness for cardinals.

connections to them as a tribal person. I suppose that made me 'a college-onset Indian.' I participated in Indian community events like gourd dances, local powwows, pueblo feast days and of course, the annual Gathering of Nations powwow.

I also developed a different sense of responsibility toward my son Chokfi' (Levi Michael Hinson). I wanted him to have something more than I had—more than names and dates on a page, more than family history, more than a white card with a buffalo printed on it and some fraction to say how much Chickasaw he was, or was not.²³⁵ I wanted him to know the same rich history and living, vibrant culture that was unfolding for me. The first step was legal, but expected in our community: enrollment to become tribal citizens. I reconnected with relatives living in Oklahoma, and devoured every piece of Chickasaw literature I could get my hands on, as well as the Nation's monthly *Chickasaw Times* newsletter. I considered it a duty to participate in the political process, and registered to vote in Panola District, where my family first settled in the 1840s. I applied every effort to be informed about candidates. And I began to take seriously my language acquisition efforts.

Language Acquisition Strategies

I was at best Novice Low on The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) oral proficiency scale.²³⁶ I knew essentially nothing about the language beyond the

²³⁵ The CDIB, or Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood card, issued by the Bureau of Indian Affairs for all federally recognized Indian people and descendants.

²³⁶ ACTFL characterizes Novice Low as: 'Speakers at the Novice Low sublevel have no real functional ability and, because of their pronunciation, may be unintelligible. Given adequate time and familiar cues, they may be able to exchange greetings, give their identity, and name a number of familiar objects from their immediate environment. They are unable to perform functions or handle topics pertaining to the Intermediate level, and cannot therefore

material in *A Chickasaw Dictionary*, which I regularly referenced and slowly began to acquire a basic vocabulary. Also I had not settled on learning language as a life goal, let alone leading instruction of it.²³⁷

Ishto'la'chi, issobombiniili'? ('You gonna' play ball, cowboy?'): Visiting Indian Territory: 2003-2004

Thus spurred, I hit upon a Chikashsha-centric master's thesis topic about 2002. It was challenging, in part because I was particularly interested in post-contact material culture of the eighteen and nineteenth centuries, of which there is relatively little in existence. I decided to focus on contemporary stickball regalia, including kapochcha' (stickball sticks), and made plans to visit the Chickasaw Nation for the first time since childhood.

The art and art history program at the University of New Mexico had no protocol for human subjects research at the time.²³⁸ Nevertheless, I sought permission from the Chickasaw tribal government to conduct my research. I sent my letter to Governor Bill Anoatubby, Lieutenant Governor Jefferson Keel, and to the thirteen sitting Chickasaw Nation legislators. I received their grants of permission and was informed that my research contact would be Kirk Perry, then administrator of the Chickasaw Nation's Division of Heritage Preservation.²³⁹

I took my wife and son to Ada, Oklahoma, in June 2003 to begin my work at the Chikasha Ittafama, the Chickasaw Reunion held annually at Kullihoma, a tribal trust property

participate in a true conversational exchange.' https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelinesand-manuals/actfl-proficiency-guidelines-2012/english/speaking, accessed 17 October 2019. ²³⁷ Journal entries associated with each of these time periods are detailed in Chapter 6. ²³⁸ I asked a professor in the department why they did not work with living descendants of a particular tribal artist, because perhaps they might have something to add to their analysis. The reply: 'I work on art, not on people.'

²³⁹ Hinson, 'To'li',' 14,15.

about ten miles east of Ada. Formerly a Chickasaw community founded shortly after Removal, Kullihoma now hosts a senior site, a ceremonial ground, a single-pole stickball field, an east-west stickball field, softball fields, and extensive tribal land holdings for hunting and fishing for tribal citizens.

First, however, we drove south to visit the Chickasaw Nation Capitol Building and the Chickasaw Council House Museum at Tishomingo, Oklahoma. There I purchased my first pair of stickball sticks, made by Seminole artisan the late Kelly Bell, and a copy of *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary* by Dr. Pamela Munro and Catherine Willmond. That book would prove invaluable for years to come.

We returned to Kullihoma for Chikasha Ittafama, which ran from Friday through Sunday. Friday began with a social dance at dusk, which ended about 10 p.m. The following day began with a traditional meal followed by a mid-day stickball game between the Chickasaw and the Choctaw. The game was significant, in that it marked the one-hundredth anniversary of an illfated contest between our tribes that was broken up after a fight erupted, and never finished.²⁴⁰ That year's game was not a traditional east-west game—it did not involve traditional gambling, nor was it run by alikchi' (Indian doctors). It was nonetheless aggressively played. Several players suffered injuries.²⁴¹

I took part, first donning a T-shirt of the traditional red war color, screen-printed with an image of two crossed Chickasaw-Choctaw stickball sticks with pendant eagle feathers, with the

 ²⁴⁰ The ceremonial east-west games played near Kullihoma would cease following the 1903 game, until the completion of the 1903 game in 2003. Stanley Nelson, *Toli: Chickasaw Stickball Then and Now* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2016), 15-16.
 ²⁴¹ Hinson, 'To'li',' 88.

words 'CHI KA SHA STICKBALL 2003' above and below them. I wore cowboy boots and jeans not standard athletic wear—but got out there and roughed up some Choctaws. We were a small team, fifteen at most, some experienced and some not. Many would become good friends, including Wayne Walker, Matt Morgan, Bill Kirtley, Chiefy Greenwood, and Jason Carpenter. Our team captain was Tim Harjo (Chickasaw-Seminole). My close cousin Lanny North also played. Lanny's family had moved to California during the Dust Bowl, and returned to Chickasaw Nation not long before that day. We lost to the Choctaws, although all regarded the game a good one. We closed by dancing a Hilha' Falaa' (Long Dance) in the middle of the ball field.²⁴²

On this first trip back to the Chickasaw Nation I met JoAnn Brown Ellis, a native speaker who I would work closely with in years to come. She worked with the Nation's cultural resources department at the time under director Eddie Postoak, grandson of native speaker and cultural treasure, the late Pauline Walker. JoAnn is in some ways a typical conservative native speaker, always quiet and reserved in the company of those she does not know. We were introduced by someone—I cannot recall who—but I immediately began to pepper her with questions about the language. She has been patiently answering me for more than fifteen years as of this writing.

I also attended my first all-night stomp dance and was coached (or cajoled) into leading the Ishkobo' Toklo' 'Double Header' social song by Tim Harjo, also employed by cultural resources at the time. Tim and I would spend a great deal of time together in the coming years.

²⁴² Ibid.

He taught me many songs, and how to make a horsehair roach for a stomp dance hat. He is an exceptionally skilled storyteller, and can tell stories for days.

When I returned for the following year's Chikasha Ittafama stickball game, I walked out on the field again wearing boots, Wranglers, and that year's team jersey. A member of the opposing team, a large, imposing young Indian man, sized me up and asked, 'You gonna play ball, cowboy?' I replied I indeed was going to play ball, and made a mental note to rough him up a little. He returned that favor by splitting my scalp with his ballsticks. Robbie and I became fine friends.²⁴³ We beat the Choctaws that year.

These experiences and others like them defined my research trips during 2003-2004. I instinctively knew if I participated, observed, and sat quietly, what I looked for would reveal itself. My research was principally about Chikashsha stickball, the ceremonial practices surrounding it, its history in our community, and ultimately, the material culture in and around it. What emerged in my research were experiences with native speakers who would become my teachers. They included JoAnn Ellis, the late Martin Stick Jr., Carlin Thompson, the late Emily Dickerson, Pauline Brown, and Stan Smith, all of whom contributed a great deal to the research, and put up with my constant language-oriented questions. I took those experiences back to Albuquerque, carrying new words in my mind, and began to actively teach myself to speak Chikashshanompa', though far from the Chickasaw Nation.

²⁴³ Robbie Boston is Chickasaw-Choctaw and a longstanding member of Young Buffalo Horse, a southern drum group. He is an intimidating fellow, but really a softie when it comes down to it.

Language Acquisition Strategies

I was at best novice-mid on The American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) oral proficiency scale.²⁴⁴ I had few materials to work with beyond two dictionaries, and at best only annual contact with native speakers. I learned what I could, when I could, increasingly focusing on communicative phrases more so than vocabulary development.

Chikashsha anompolila'chi! (I am going to speak Chikashsha!): Distance learning and a significant move

Never the less, many native speakers played significant parts in my early acquisition of Chikashshanompa', if not quite in the ways one might expect. Given that I was hundreds of miles from the Chickasaw Nation where most of them lived, the speaker interactions I had were through their voices captured on audio recordings. I also had many of their words in print. My primary reference was *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary*. I leafed through it during breaks on my job as a debt collector, gleaning phrases I thought significant. I added them to the first of many language notebooks and copied them to Post-It notes I stuck to the walls of my callcenter cubicle. I compulsively shared what I learned with whoever sat in the cubicle closest to mine. I kept one note for the longest time, but now it is long lost. Written on it was

²⁴⁴ ACTFL characterizes Novice Mid as: 'Speakers at the Novice Mid sublevel communicate minimally by using a number of isolated words and memorized phrases limited by the particular context in which the language has been learned. When responding to direct questions, they may say only two or three words at a time or give an occasional stock answer. They pause frequently as they search for simple vocabulary or attempt to recycle their own and their interlocutor's words. Novice Mid speakers may be understood with difficulty even by sympathetic interlocutors accustomed to dealing with non-natives. When called on to handle topics and perform functions associated with the Intermediate level, they frequently resort to repetition, words from their native language, or silence.'

https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actfl-proficiency-guidelines-2012/english/speaking, accessed 17 October 2019.

'Chihoowaat satobachittook.'²⁴⁵ I worked with a number of other native people, including a Jemez woman, an elderly Navajo woman who adopted me while we lived in Albuquerque, and a young Wyandotte woman. I impulsively shared new words and phrases with them, a habit that surely must have struck them as odd. The analytical dictionary was difficult to use for a new learner not familiar with the jargon of linguistics, but proved invaluable. Once I figured out the ins and outs of its structure and its systematic approach to orthography, it became second nature. To this day I find it difficult to write a Chickasaw word in any other manner than a Munro-Willmond spelling.²⁴⁶

A second significant resource was *Introduction to Chickasaw*, co-developed with Various Indian Peoples Publishing Company and the Chickasaw Nation. *Introduction to Chickasaw* was published in 1994, authored by Greg Howard with native speakers the late Yvonne Alberson, the late Jerry Imotichey, and Carlin Thompson. Published originally as a three-ring bound notebook with two cassette tapes later updated to a compact disc, *Introduction to Chickasaw* is a basic introductory language text, organized thematically with concise vocabulary and a selection of exercises for each chapter.

For me the beauty of that text was not its organization, its approach to writing Chikashshanompa' or its use of speakers from northern and southern parts of the nation, but its inclusion of audio recordings. Before my visit to the nation in summer 2003, I had never before

²⁴⁵ 'God made me.'

²⁴⁶ There are some cases wherein community preference is to use the Humes system in public places, including the Chickasaw Cultural Center and the Koi Ishto ('Big Cat,' or 'Tiger') Stadium located on the campus of East Central University. Almost all speakers use a personalized version of the Humes system, which is more intuitive than rule-bound and prescriptive. It is not without its problems, and neither is the Munro-Willmond system.

heard Chikashshanompa' spoken by a native speaker. I am sure my great-grandmother knew some basic vocabulary—food and kitchen words, greetings and so forth, terms many Chikashsha people know. However, I never heard her speak them, and she was not a native speaker. It was a remarkable and revelatory experience to hear the late Yvonne Alberson say, Chikashshanompa' ithana sabanna, 'I want to learn Chickasaw.' Her brother the late Jerry Imotichey said, Chokma, 'hello'; Sala'ha'si anompoli, 'Speak slowly'; and Aachi an<u>o</u>wa', 'Say it again.' Carlin Thompson spoke eloquently, and seemingly directly to me, 'You're missing something when you can't even speak your own language.' I did not know any of these speakers then, but several would become my first teachers.

The late Yvonne Alberson passed away before I began to return regularly to the Chickasaw Nation. She was instrumental in crafting early language curriculum, taught the language at Tishomingo and later contributed to *Introduction to Chickasaw*.

I first met her brother, the late Jerry Imotichey, in November 2007. He was an excellent speaker but had decided at some point not to participate in language revitalization activities. He believed that if you had not learned Chikashshanompa' in the home, then perhaps you should not, at all. However, after some persuasion, he came to a fluent speaker appreciation day. The first thing he asked me was, 'Naaloshi'—nanta chiholhchifoat?' 'White kid—what is your name?' I responded in Chickasaw, to his surprise. (He asked another white-presenting Chikashsha man there the same thing; he did not pass the test). We chatted a bit about the possibility of him working with us, although he remained reluctant. Sometime after he called me, and we agreed on what work he might do, and his rate of pay. From then we worked closely, and he became one of my dearest and most treasured language teachers. He cared

deeply about the language, and came to believe we could bring it back to health. He passed on 14 October 2016. Governor Bill Anoatubby, linguist Dr. John Dyson and I were the honorary pallbearers at his funeral. We buried him by hand the old way, and sent him on with Choctaw hymns. I still find myself crying when I think too hard about Shawi'. He was a good man.

I met Carlin Thompson in 2004, after my family moved to Ada. He was good friends with my then-director Kelley Lunsford, who is a keen shell shaker and traditional weaver. I was seeking out speakers, and she suggested Carlin. He is one of the fastest Indians around, and grew up traditionally at Kullihoma. Carlin is one of the younger speakers of the language, using a Chickasaw idiolect particular to the communities near Happyland, Steedman, and Kullihoma. His grandmother, who raised him, was an alikchi¹²⁴⁷ and Carlin recalls much of her traditional knowledge. He has a keen sense of humor, and works at Kullihoma as a Chickasaw Ranger, looking after the land and life there.

Our move to Ada in August 2004 came after Lunsford and I worked together on a calendar of Chickasaw art, including mine (see Chapter 6). She subsequently offered me a position as a photographic archives manager, working in an office in the basement of the Miko Building.

Once in Ada, I dove into the culture, head first. I joined the Chickasaw Dance Troupe, and learned how to sing. I sought out speakers as often as possible, continued self-directed learning, and took formal classes for the first time with JoAnn Ellis at the Cultural Resources Department offices. It was then I met Carlin, who sat with me for some time, answered questions while I took notes, and recorded a story about the origins of our people and our

²⁴⁷ 'Indian doctor.'

relationships to other related tribes.²⁴⁸ Carlin was and remains keenly aware of the slight dialectical / ideolectical differences between speakers. And like most speakers, he considers his speech to be good, proper Chikashshanompa'. Carlin, as a traditionally raised Chikashsha man, spoke often about the changes he had seen take place in his life in the tribe, and the need to keep our traditional ways alive, including the language in that category.

In one instance I was working on learning the Nani' Kallo' Hilha',²⁴⁹ the only remaining purely Chikashsha dance. I struggled to adapt some Mashkooki' garfish dance lyrics as a tag on my own version of the song. Tribal librarian Suzanne Russell, herself the daughter of a monolingual speaker and later a participant in the Master-Apprentice program, suggested I speak with Vera Tims, a native speaker who teaches language to tribal youth in the education department. She came down to the tribal library to help me complete my translation of the Mashkooki' lyrics. Vera is wryly funny, quiet and soft-spoken. She would go on to be a master speaker in the first round of our Chickasaw Master-Apprentice program, working with Valorie Walters and Michelle Wilson.

In 2004 I was promoted to curator and manager of the Chickasaw Council House Museum in Tishomingo, Oklahoma. The new position was owed to my background in gallery management and my Master of Arts degree in Native American art history. The focus of my initial work there was updating the various displays and incorporating language anywhere possible. I also managed employees there, which was a new experience for me.

²⁴⁸ Hinson, 'To'li',' 29-30.

²⁴⁹ 'Hard Fish (Garfish) Dance.'

During this period of time I met Hannah Pitman, who grew up in Fillmore near the late Jerry Imotichey , moved to California in the 1960s, and had only recently returned to Tishomingo. We struck up a conversation at my desk in the tribal library, and I learned she was a native speaker. I asked if she might consider working at the museum in Tishomingo as a language specialist. Hannah has suffered crippling arthritis since she was young, and had not been able to work outside her home. Thus she began a career in her mid-sixties, with her language. She still works for the Chickasaw Nation as a language instructor teaching community classes in Tishomingo and Sulphur, and until recently, as an instructor in the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program in Ada.

I was again promoted through appointment by Governor Anoatubby to be director over Museums and Historic Sites within the Division of History and Culture. I continued to oversee the Chickasaw Council House Museum with the Chickasaw National Capitol Museum and the Chickasaw White House as added responsibilities. The design and construction of the Chickasaw Cultural Center (CCC) also was under way, and the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program (CLRP) was organized under the CCC. Its several employees included Chickasaw educator Vicki Penner and native speakers Stanley Smith and JoAnn Ellis.

Early CLRP offerings included teacher training with linguist William Pulte and Chikashshanompa' community classes taught by native speakers, aided by non-native speaker facilitators. I attended a popular community class taught by native speaker Pauline Brown with the help of a facilitator from East Central University whose name I cannot recall. The class was organized around themes like animals, colors, numbers, introductions, and so forth. I later cotaught a community class with Mrs. Brown in a smaller group setting.

Pauline Brown is a native speaker from Hardin City, Oklahoma. She was a licensed practical nurse in the Indian Health Service and later the Chickasaw Nation for years, and used her language therein to help interpret for Chickasaw and Choctaw monolingual speakers who sought medical care. She is now semi-retired and works closely with the language program as a member of the Chickasaw Language Committee and the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw subcommittee. She has a keen sense of humor, a bit of a temper, and is a trove of traditional stories called shikonno'pa', 'possum stories.' She is also a fine seamstress, and crafts traditional regalia and dolls for many of our people.

Language Acquisition Strategies

I would consider myself a Novice Mid-level speaker during this period of time, but rapidly progressing to Novice High, leaning on memorized material and pattern substitution to make myself understood.²⁵⁰ My acquisition focused on need-to-know phrases elicited from native speakers, as well as devouring whatever materials I could find.

²⁵⁰ ACTFL characterizes Novice High as: 'Speakers at the Novice High sublevel are able to handle a variety of tasks pertaining to the Intermediate level, but are unable to sustain performance at that level. They are able to manage successfully a number of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations. Conversation is restricted to a few of the predict able topics necessary for survival in the target language culture, such as basic personal information, basic objects, and a limited number of activities, preferences, and immediate needs. Novice High speakers respond to simple, direct questions or requests for information. They are also able to ask a few formulaic questions. Novice High speakers are able to express personal meaning by relying heavily on learned phrases or recombinations of these and what they hear from their interlocutor. Their language consists primarily of short and some times incomplete sentences in the present, and may be hesitant or inaccurate. On the other hand, since their language often consists of expansions of learned material and stock phrases, they may sometimes sound surprisingly fluent and accurate. Pronunciation, vocabulary, and syntax may be strongly influenced by the first language. Frequent misunderstandings may arise but, with repetition or rephrasing, Novice High speakers can generally be understood by sympathetic interlocutors used to non-natives. When called on to handle a variety of topics and perform

Ba' nanta katihmila'chi? (What am I going to do?): Master-Apprentice, program development, and a high school class

I learned at the time that we would have a Chickasaw language Master-Apprentice program and of course, I was immediately interested. Who does not want to spend ten hours a week with a native speaker and be compensated, to boot? I attended a native speaker appreciation event and met Stan Smith, who I found again later at a Master-Apprentice information event. I thereupon asked in Chikashshanompa' if he would teach me, and he agreed. At that time I was still the director of Museums and Historic Sites, until just before the first day of Master-Apprentice training, when I was notified that some internal reorganizing had taken place. I was promoted, and would direct not only the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, but also the Chickasaw Cultural Center. The story of the cultural center's development is fascinating, but beyond the scope of this dissertation.²⁵¹

The internal changes did not significantly affect the planned Chickasaw Master-Apprentice program. We had learned Total Physical Response from Bo Taylor of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. Dr. Leann Hinton of the University of California at Berkeley also came to the Chickasaw Nation to conduct a two-day training. And I began intense work with Stan Smith in the mornings and over the noon hours. Because I was his newly appointed director and working daily with him, I was able to progress at a better rate than other learners. I also had

functions pertaining to the Intermediate level, a Novice High speaker can sometimes respond in intelligible sentences, but will not be able to sustain sentence-level discourse.' https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actfl-proficiency-guidelines-2012/english/speaking, accessed 17 October 2019.

²⁵¹ See Joshua M. Gorman, *Building a Nation: Chickasaw Museums and the Construction of History and Heritage* (Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press, 2011).

entered the program with significant experience with the language after seven years of self-learning.²⁵²

My master Stan Smith, called Imoshi¹²⁵³ in the immersion environment, was born and raised near Allen, Oklahoma, north and east of Ada. He is eldest of a large family, raised by his grandparents just up the hill from his parent's house. Unlike his brothers and sisters, he maintained his language. He entered school knowing no English at all, but became fully proficient without losing Chikashshanompa'. He is a fine singer of Choctaw hymns and a lay minister who preaches at Boiling Springs United Methodist Church, near Lula, Oklahoma. He loves old country music and nipi' hapayyima',²⁵⁴and is a talented speaker and a generous, usually patient teacher.

We got well into Master-Apprentice during this time, and graduated our first class in 2009, all speaking at least better than when they began. The program continued in a traditional one-on-one model throughout this time.²⁵⁵ Stan and I had spent hours together, so naturally I adopted his speaking patterns, and incorporated them into my mental bank of how different speakers speak. Such mental cataloguing is a real phenomenon among learners. One figures out how different speakers speak and accommodates his or her speech to theirs. Jerry said, chokoshmo,²⁵⁶ so I say that, too. Virginia says milla and mi',²⁵⁷ and I say the same. Hannah

²⁵² See Chapter 8 for a full discussion of the Chickasaw Master-Apprentice Program and the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program.

²⁵³ 'Uncle.'

²⁵⁴ 'Salt meat.'

²⁵⁵ See Chapter 8.

²⁵⁶ 'Play.'

²⁵⁷ 'That's it,' affirmative / 'yes.'

prefers hallito to chokma,²⁵⁸ and almost everyone prefers yakkookay / yakkooki to chokma'shki²⁵⁹—except Vera, JoAnn, and Carlin.

In 2007-2008 we did some work with Thornton Media Incorporated on handy devices called Phraselators, adapted from a military technology. They could be programmed to any language. By the time we got the content recorded and ready to go on the devices, iPhones, iPods and iPads took the world by storm. We mothballed the Phraselators and developed an iPhone app called 'ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic.' Recorded with native speakers including Rose Shields Jefferson, Pauline Walker, Jerry Imotichey, and JoAnn Ellis, it is available on the iTunes store and actively used by quite a few learners. Its content is also housed online at http://chickasaw.net/anompa.

We also hired Cedric Sunray, a citizen of the Mowa Band of Choctaw Indians. Formerly of the Sauk Language Program, Cedric brought a great deal of energy to our program. He developed training for our community class teachers, and assisted in the creations of Himitta' Alhihaat Hoochokoshkomo: The Youth Are Playing Sports Language Camp, and Chokka-chaffa'at Albinachi: Family Language Camp. Cedric also helped create our college courses at East Central University, and co-taught the first two semesters with native speaker JoAnn Ellis. He also began the process that led to a pilot Chikashshanompa' class at Byng High School, north of Ada.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁸ 'Hello.'

²⁵⁹ 'Thank you.'

²⁶⁰ See Chapter 1. The Byng High School Chikashshanompa' classes ran for seven years, graduating over 90 students and fulfiling their world language credit requirements. I taught during the 2009—2010 and 2010—2011 school years, and Merry Monroe taught from 2011 through her retirement in 2017. The classes were challenging and fulfilling, and while I do not treat them in any great detail in this dissertation, somebody should look into what we did there and how we did it.

Cedric is a long-time advocate for native language and for non-federally recognized tribal communities throughout the United States.²⁶¹

Throughout the above developments, we attempted to document our native speakers as often as possible. Whether we did that by straight elicitation, Master-Apprentice recordings, or biographical interviews conducted in the language, we knew instinctively that the creation of a language archive of audio and video recordings would prove invaluable. Much of my personal documentary materials were journals and iPhone recordings.²⁶² Such focused documentation work—not as a linguist, but as a learner—was instrumental in developing the deep relationships with speakers that prove critical to effective language work.

In 2008 a significant text was produced by Dr. Pam Munro and Catherine Willmond. Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli', was published by University of Oklahoma Press in conjunction with the Chickasaw Nation. Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli' was built on Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary. It offers structured lessons on key grammatical components of the language, exercises, traditional narratives and passages on Chickasaw history and culture, as well as insights into related languages including Choctaw.

I had seen portions of developmental chapters, but having its entire text available was amazing. I had spent years developing skills as a user of Chikashshanompa', but commanded little ability to understand or explain its overt grammar, especially to others. *Chikashshanompa*'

²⁶¹ As of this writing, Cedric is again working for the Sac and Fox language department. If you are at all involved in language work in Oklahoma, you cannot help but know Cedric. We worked together most recently in crafting the language wherein the State Department of Education defers to tribal nations concerning teaching proficiency and certification for purposes of world language accredited programs in Oklahoma public schools.
²⁶² See Chapter 6.

Kilanompoli' allowed me to more effectively understand the structures of the language, and to qualify my learning and resultant speech with not only the 'what,' but also the 'why.' Such overt grammatical knowledge is not necessary for speech. However, it helped me to expand mine in substantial ways, and helped me to more effectively show other learners a path toward fluency and grammatical proficiency. The book would become our main text for East Central University classes, and I used it while co-teaching leadership language classes for appointed employees of the Chickasaw Nation with the late Dr. John Dyson. We still use it for these weekly language classes.²⁶³ Those classes focus on the language's overt grammatical structure, with historical and cultural information thrown in for variety.

Dr. Munro and Mrs. Willmond had not yet worked with the nation or the program in any formal capacity, so we decided to offer a series of public lectures and classes, and to conduct a book signing in conjunction with the release of *Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli'*. Their visit in the summer of 2009 led to more events including a series of lectures titled, 'Chickasaw: The World's Best Language.' Dr. Munro and Mrs. Willmond have become treasured collaborators, contributing to several Chickasaw Press texts including a Chickasaw prayer book and *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*.²⁶⁴

Other initiatives then included classes focused on language for employees, as well as a smattering of outreach classes for at-large citizens through the nation's community connection program. We also began www.chickasaw.tv, a major online initiative, with help from Oklahoma

²⁶³ The late Dr. Dyson retired and returned to Indiana, where he continued to write for Chickasaw Press and Ishtunowa: The Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture, largely on topics related to historical linguistics and Chikashshanompa'. He passed on 23 February 2019. He was a great friend of the Chickasaws and is sorely missed. ²⁶⁴ See Chapter 5.

City advertising agency Ackerman McQueen. An internet portal to all things Chikashsha, it offers high-quality video and engaging content. Its language page at https://www.chickasaw.tv/language offers video, interactive features, the Chickasaw language app content, and information about Rosetta Stone Chickasaw. The bulk of our work currently with Ackerman McQueen is the video component of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw (see Chapter 5).

We also worked closely with Chickasaw Press in its efforts to share Chickasaw history and culture with the world. At first I contributed translations and some creative direction on projects including the Press's first book, *Chickasaw: Unconquered and Unconquerable*, and the 2010 title *Chickasaw Renaissance*, as well as covers and illustrations for a series of books titled *Chickasaw Lives*, written by historian Richard Green. The late Jerry Imotichey, JoAnn Ellis, the late Dr. John Dyson and I contributed the Chickasaw translations for Glenda Galvan's *Chikasha Stories* series based on traditional possum tales published in 2011, 2012, and 2013. In 2012, in response to citizen requests, the Chickasaw Language Committee, with Dr. Dyson, Dr. Munro, and myself as co-editors, authored *Anompilbashsha' Asilhlha' Holisso: A Chickasaw Prayer Book*. In 2014, I authored *Chikasha: The Chickasaw Collection at the National Museum of the American Indian*.

In 2015 I edited a volume titled *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*, which is essentially a second edition of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* by the Reverend and Mrs. Humes. Since then, our program has assisted in publication of bilingual children's books which produced by Chickasaw Press's Holisso Ikbi children's book camp. We also helped with a series of *Chickasaw Basic Language* workbooks written by Press senior staff writer Michelle Cooke, who worked with the Chickasaw Language Committee (See Chapter 5).

Language Acquisition Strategies

At that time, I was roughly an Intermediate Mid-High speaker.²⁶⁵ I was capable of sustained conversation with native speakers, but had to resort to code switching for clarification when things got difficult. During my Master-Apprentice time with Stan Smith, I followed the program protocol and did very little notetaking. However, I had kept copious journal notes and illustrations about the language, developing a journaling technique I discuss in detail in Chapter 6. Most efforts were practical. New-words acquisition was spurred largely

²⁶⁵ ACTFL characterizes these levels as follows: 'Speakers at the Intermediate Mid sublevel are able to handle successfully a variety of uncomplicated communicative tasks in straightforward social situations. Conversation is generally limited to those predictable and concrete exchanges necessary for survival in the target culture. These include personal information related to self, family, home, daily activities, interests and personal preferences, as well as physical and social needs, such as food, shopping, travel, and lodging. Intermediate Mid speakers are able to express personal meaning by creating with the language, in part by combining and recombining known elements and conversational input to produce responses typically consisting of sentences and strings of sentences. Their speech may contain pauses, reformulations, and selfcorrections as they search for adequate vocabulary and appropriate language forms to express themselves. In spite of the limitations in their vocabulary and/or pronunciation and/or grammar and/or syntax, Intermediate Mid speakers are generally understood by sympathetic interlocutors accustomed to dealing with non-natives. Intermediate High speakers can handle a substantial number of tasks associated with the Advanced level, but they are unable to sustain performance of all of these tasks all of the time. Intermediate High speakers can narrate and describe in all major time frames using connected discourse of paragraph length, but not all the time. Typically, when Intermediate High speakers attempt to perform Advanced-level tasks, their speech exhibits one or more features of breakdown, such as the failure to carry out fully the narration or description in the appropriate major time frame, an inability to maintain paragraph-length discourse, or a reduction in breadth and appropriateness of vocabulary. Intermediate High speakers can generally be understood by native speakers unaccustomed to dealing with non-natives, although interference from another language may be evident (e.g., use of code-switching, false cognates, literal translations), and a pattern of gaps in communication may occur.' https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actflproficiency-guidelines-2012/english/speaking, accessed 17 October 2019.

by needs arising from program design, writing projects, general translations, and so forth. The grammar book and sessions with anomp<u>í</u>'shi' played a significant part in my ongoing acquisition. Chikashsha ilanompoli'! (Let's Speak Chickasaw!): Rosetta Stone and the Chikasha Academy

Over the past four years we have devoted ourselves to two initiatives detailed in other chapters: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw and the Chikasha Academy. The Chikasha Academy grew out of challenges posed by the traditional, one-on-one Master-Apprentice model. We looked closely at what the Sac and Fox and the Cherokee were doing, and figured we could do better than produce only Novice Mid/High speakers in two years. We needed to produce Advanced Low-conversational speakers who would remain with the program as teachers. So we moved on the reorganization of the program from traditional Master-Apprentice to the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program. As of this writing we have three current students and are looking to hire one more (see Chapter 8).

Rosetta Stone Chickasaw is, in brief, a technological solution to a very human problem. We have too few speakers, and too many citizens to reach effectively without using technology, particularly outside our service area of thirteen counties in south central Oklahoma. As of summer 2019 we were completing Level 3, and had mostly finished with video production on Level 4, which will add forty lessons to the existing one hundred and twenty. We now have over 6,100 users, primarily Chickasaw citizens. The project has demanded a great deal of money, time, and energy. While not a panacea, it has proven useful.

Language Acquisition Strategies

During this four-year period I have functioned at an Advanced Mid oral proficiency level.²⁶⁶ I am fully communicative, but still make mistakes, as do all learners. My focused personal acquisition time usually focuses on acquisitions of new words and applying them in conversation, and journaling. My efforts are limited, however.

My acquisition has been plateaued for some time. I am not certain I have an attrition, given the environment in which I work, but I have not made any gains. I attribute that plateau to a variety of factors. I have been dedicated to intensive writing projects since 2014. The addition of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw to my workload essentially removed me from the

²⁶⁶ ACTFL characterizes Advanced-Mid: 'Speakers at the Advanced Mid sublevel are able to handle with ease and confidence a large number of communicative tasks. They participate actively in most informal and some formal exchanges on a variety of concrete topics relating to work, school, home, and leisure activities, as well as topics relating to events of current, public, and personal interest or individual relevance. Advanced Mid speakers demonstrate the ability to narrate and describe in the major time frames of past, present, and future by providing a full account, with good control of aspect. Narration and description tend to be combined and interwoven to relate relevant and supporting facts in connected, paragraph-length discourse. Advanced Mid speakers can handle successfully and with relative ease the linguistic challenges presented by a complication or unexpected turn of events that occurs within the context of a routine situation or communicative task with which they are otherwise familiar. Communicative strategies such as circumlocution or rephrasing are often employed for this purpose. The speech of Advanced Mid speakers performing Advanced-level tasks is marked by substantial flow. Their vocabulary is fairly extensive although primarily generic in nature, except in the case of a particular area of specialization or interest. Their discourse may still reflect the oral paragraph structure of their own language rather than that of the target language. Advanced Mid speakers contribute to conversations on a variety of familiar topics, dealt with concretely, with much accuracy, clarity and precision, and they convey their intended message without misrepresentation or confusion. They are readily understood by native speakers unaccustomed to dealing with non-natives. When called on to perform functions or handle topics associated with the Superior level, the quality and/or quantity of their speech will generally decline.' https://www.actfl.org/publications/guidelines-and-manuals/actflproficiency-guidelines-2012/english/speaking, accessed 17 October 2019.

immersion environment. More than eighty percent of my productive time is dedicated to project development and ongoing maintenance. I have also spent a great deal of time reading for, thinking about, and writing this dissertation. One of the greatest reasons for my lack of progress was the loss of my friend and mentor, the late Jerry Imotichey. It is almost obscenely ironic that the loss of a man so invested in our success—so full of belief that we could accomplish our goals of revitalization—could affect me so. Grief and loss is so much a part of collaborative language work, particularly for those of us working in our own tribal communities, that I should not have been surprised at the degree to which Jerry's death affected me. Yammat yahmi.²⁶⁷

When Jerry died, I participated in his wake and funeral in the ways expected among our community, as did all who work in the program. But afterward, the loss took the wind out of my sails. The lack of desire to speak, to push myself, to do anything related to the language proved difficult. I did my time dutifully in the office, to the best of my ability, but my heart was far from it. I threw myself into hobbies—hunting, artwork, or zoning out on Netflix—anything but trying to become a better speaker. I still struggle with Jerry's absence. But I know he would not approve of me slacking, nor would he want me to mourn him excessively. He was an amazing man, and cared deeply for me, my co-workers, the work of the language program, and the Chickasaw people. So, I write these pages, and reflect on what we have done, and think about what we ought to be doing.

²⁶⁷ 'That's how it is.' Racquel-María Sapién and Tim Thornes. 'Losing a Vital Voice: Grief and Language Work.' (*Language Documentation & Conservation*, 11, 2017): 256-274. http://hdl.handle.net/10125/24735

Chapter Five - Tibi kolofa' onchololi (New growth is emerging from the stump): New Forms of Life for Chikashshanompa'

As I outlined in Chapter 3, a significant operative theory of Mediated Language Change concerns mediation in pursuit of survivance. What follows this mediated survivance is mediated change as a form of perseverance. In mediating and changing we remain Chikashsha, and ensure our descendants also could say the same—Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihma.²⁶⁸ Our nation has been working through Mediated Language Change since the nadir of Chikashshanompa' in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As noted in Chapter 2, I position this nadir and the beginning of our modern revitalization movement during the ascendancy of Governor Overton James in 1971, the first popularly elected governor since statehood, and the publication of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* in 1973.

Since 2007 our efforts in revitalization have followed in the spirit of Chikashsha poya in terms of philosophy, and have utilized MLC in terms of strategy. The choices we have made concerning which offshoots of tibi kolofa' we would 'cultivate and improve . . . in order [to] bring forth good fruit,'²⁶⁹ have been purposeful in some instances. In others, the offshoots have been wild and untended, growing into promising matters with little mediation.²⁷⁰ That is the nature of tibi kolofa', particularly from a species like chishanko' toba'²⁷¹ which will, when cut back sharply, resprout in an explosion of new growth, often from connected rootstock far from the trunk. Some work of ittonchololi' has been citizen-led rather than tribal government-led. In

²⁶⁸ 'We are Chickasaw and we are still here.'

²⁶⁹ 'Refusal of the Chickasaws.'

²⁷⁰ I am thinking specifically of Chikashshanompa' presence on Facebook and the online language courses started by Fani' Iskanno'si' (Sherrie Begay), as well as community discussion groups held by elders including Osto (Luther John).
²⁷¹ 'Willow.'

fact, most work within the department is motivated by citizen requests, either directly to us or to Governor Anoatubby. Regarding the work of ittonchololi' tended by the program, we balance the needs of the majority with the pressing needs of a few, with thought toward each form of life Chikashshanompa' has taken on.

Its most tenuous form of life is as a daily, spoken mode of communication between people, which was the very reason Aba' Bínni'li' gave us the language at creation. The effort to keep that form of life active is also the most difficult and perhaps most important form of ittonchololi'. We have tried to balance the pressing needs of a few to be fully communicative in Chikashshanompa' with the needs of countless more who simply desire access to their heritage language.

In this chapter I will not address the Chikasha Academy approach that forms our core immersion efforts (See Chapter 8). I will focus rather on selected programs and products we have developed since 2007. I want to position the products of the past twelve years of language work in two related, complementary, and often co-occurring categories: enrichment products and learning-focused products. Enrichment products are designed to create positive experiences around Chikashshanompa'. While they may have applications in learning environments, they are principally designed for the learner who may have no interest in becoming communicative in Chikashshanompa', yet who seeks to engage with the language as a matter of identity and cultural pride. Learning products are more focused to help our people acquire their heritage language to communicate with other citizens of our nation. They also offer significant positive effects for Chikashsha identity and cultural pride.

In earlier chapters I discussed early work devoted to enrichment activities designed to return the language to our people's attention. None of those efforts began because average Chickasaws loved the language. Neither did they hate it. In truth, they had 'nothinged' it. They thought, and often knew, nothing of it. That was another consequence of removal and the decisions our Ancestors were forced to make in service to lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi. In many cases Chickasaw citizens had had no speakers in their families for generations. The overwhelming majority did not know Chikashshanompa', had no contact with native speakers, and often were not consciously aware we still had a living language.

I will address both enrichment and language-learning ittonchololi' efforts not chronologically, but as types. First I will discuss enrichment efforts beginning with marketing and branding materials, including our department logo and program t-shirt designs, and going on to products including flashcards and finally, the language channel housed at www.chickasaw.tv/language. I will then address products designed to assist in learning Chikashshanompa', beginning with the ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic Apple application and its web-based counterpoint housed at www.chickasaw.net/anompa. I will also discuss the development of Chikashsha literature including learner-focused language texts, and Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, the computer-assisted language learning product designed principally for Chickasaw citizens who do not have access to native speakers. While not exhaustive, this survey of enrichment and language education efforts since 2007 offers insight into the processes of Mediated Language Change at work in our ittonchololi'.

Branding and marketing tools

Some of our earliest enrichment efforts were designed to raise community awareness of Chikashshanompa' and the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program. In 2010 we worked with Ryan RedCorn, an Osage graphic designer based out of the Osage Nation in Pawhuska, Oklahoma, to develop a department logo (Figure 18):



Figure 18: ANOMPA logo by Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010. Designed to be used horizontally or vertically, the logo incorporates the Chikashshanompa' word for 'word, language,' ANOMPA, and a spiral adapted from ancestral Chikashsha pottery patterns. The color palette also was drawn from ancestral Chikashsha sources. For our eighteenth-century Ancestors, homma²⁷² was a color associated with men, war, and medicine, while tohbi²⁷³ was associated with women and peace. Losa²⁷⁴ was associated with war and death.²⁷⁵ This palette was repeated in many of our early branding efforts.

^{272 &#}x27;Red.'

^{273 &#}x27;White.'

²⁷⁴ 'Black.'

²⁷⁵ Hinson, 'To'li',' 190-192.

After the logo was approved, we first used it on bumper stickers (Figure 19), cloisonné pins (Figure 20), and on a fitted ball cap given only to language workers, native speakers, and active language program volunteers (Figure 21). The original cap used the same color palette as the logo itself, and featured the phrase Chikashshanompolili, 'I speak Chickasaw' on the back. A recent version of this fitted ballcap was produced in black, white, and gray. Figure 22 is my oldest biological son, Chokfi', wearing one of our hats and a family language camp T-shirt.

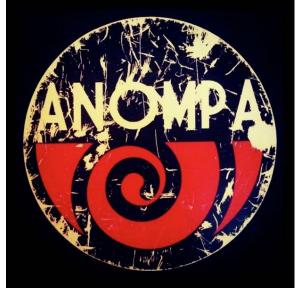


Figure 19: ANOMPA logo bumper sticker. Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.



Figure 20: ANOMPA logo pin. Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.



Figure 21: ANOMPA logo hat. Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.



Figure 22: ANOMPA logo hat and family camp t-shirt. Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.

We also produced a language-themed t-shirt for participants in camps, clubs, and a

Chickasaw language class pilot program at Byng High School (Figure 23). The front of the shirt

features ANOMPA prominently at the top. A male figure appears to the wearer's right, wearing

a western, broad-brimmed hat of the type commonly worn by Southeastern Indian men at

ceremonial grounds. A single line across his chest lends the impression of a ribbon vest. A female figure stands opposite, wearing a traditional comb at the crown of her head. Two horizontal lines signifying a typical one-piece naafokha', worn by women on ceremonial occasions including dances. In the background is an abstracted building representing Byng Schools, with woodlands designs above and below, and a single spiral in the middle. The color palette is again homma, tohbi, and losa. On the back of the shirt is a cross pattern formed by four homma-and-losa spiral elements, referencing the sacred number oshta, the four directions, and the four arbors of our ceremonial ground. The text reads, BYNG CHIKASHSHANOMPA' HOLISSAAPISA', 'Byng Chickasaw Language School.'

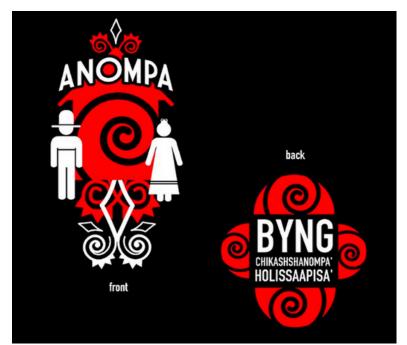


Figure 23: Byng Chikashshanompa' Holissaapisa' 'Byng Chickasaw Language School,' Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.

We later modified that design for a shirt for our Chikashsha Poya language immersion

clinic for teenagers (Figure 24):



Figure 24: Chikasha Poya 'We are Chikasha,' Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2019.

Another shirt inspired by the ANOMPA logo was designed for our summer family immersion camp (Figure 25). Its front includes the logo in the center of a white turtle design that recalls Southeastern effigy pottery, many examples of which resemble turtles. Its rear design looks the same as the Byng High School shirt, with a cross pattern formed by four homma-and-losa spiral elements. The interior text reads CHOKKA-CHAFFA' CHIKASHSHANOMPOLI ALBINACHI, 'Families speaking Chickasaw camp.' Shown is a later version in black, white, and green. The original was in the traditional Chikashsha color triad.



Figure 25: CHOKKA-CHAFFA' CHIKASHSHANOMPOLI ALBINACHI, 'Families speaking Chickasaw camp,' Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2011.

The next shirt design was created for our youth sports language camp, Himitta Alhiha Hoochokoshkomo, 'The Youth Are Playing' (Figure 26). The title actually is a noun phrase, 'All the Playing Youth.' In this design, the ANOMPA logo is again pulled apart to create four cardinal points with its black-and-red spiral portion. The ANOMPA wording itself is pulled apart from the logo and repositioned below the basketball hoop and netting, positioned between two horizontal white and red bars. Multiple sports are represented, including our traditional ball game of to'li', basketball, soccer, and volleyball. The camp taught language through sports activities. It has since become a to'li' and lacrosse camp where tribal youth can participate in both sports, enabling them to transfer their skills in to'li' to lacrosse, which offers opportunities for college play in Division One schools.



Figure 26: Himitta Alhiha Hoochokoshkomo: 'The Youth are Playing' Language Sports Camp tshirt design. Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2012.

Another T-shirt design (Figure 27) created by Ryan RedCorn was for the Chickasaw Challenge Bowl held each fall at the Chickasaw Cultural Center. The competition is sponsored by the CLRP and uses language and cultural content from materials created by Department of Culture and Humanities employees. The design follows the traditional Chikashsha color triad and incorporates significant persons, place names, and Chikashshanompa' words and phrases swirling in a spiral pattern around an abstracted male figure wearing a flat brim cowboy hat with a yaatala.²⁷⁶ The interior of the figure is defined with a tessellated field of elements

²⁷⁶ A feathered hair or hat ornament.

spiraling counterclockwise, the direction in which we perform all our social and ceremonial dances. The lower text is a phrase that can be translated, 'Speak Chikashsha' or 'S/he/it/they are speaking Chikashsha.'

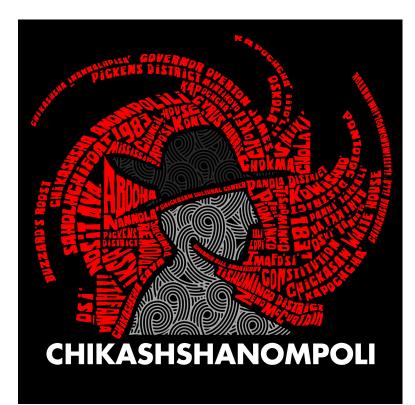


Figure 27: Chickasaw Challenge Bowl t-shirt design. Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2014

Another t-shirt the CLRP used was for a color run hosted by the Division of History and Culture and the Chickasaw Native Explorers Foundation. Again designed by Ryan RedCorn of Buffalo Nickel Creative, it features a silhouette of a Lhofa' (Bigfoot) wearing a flat-brimmed stomp dance hat with yaatala (Figure 28). The bold blue foreground Lhofa' is placed within a circle formed by Southeastern native designs over a background of tessellated Lhofa' figures in lighter blue. The color comprises the 'modern-traditional' colors okchamali, lakna, and homma.²⁷⁷ The Chikashshanompa' text below 'BIGFOOT COLOR RUN' reads LHOFA' LHIYOHLI!.²⁷⁸



Figure 28: Bigfoot Color Run t-shirt design, Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2015.

Chikashsha scholar Jenny Davis (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign) discusses these Chikashshanompa' T-shirts, and by extension the ANOMPA logo, and describes three significant effects: 1. advertise and promote CLRP activities, 2. exposure to Chikashshanompa' and its features, and 3. allow what Davis terms 'language affiliates' to 'demonstrate their position as ethnolinguistically core members of the Chickasaw community.'²⁷⁹ She further

²⁷⁷ 'Blue, yellow, and red.' The palette emerged as the preferred regalia colors in our community some time in the 1990s. This is not to say people feel constrained or compelled to use these colors. Our regalia is as diverse as our people are. I personally have two ribbon vests in this color palette and another in homma / tohbi / losa, and two askoffa (yarn belts), one in each color palette. My hatband is beaded with homma, lakna, and okchamali beads, like the matching feather base beading.

²⁷⁸ 'Chase the Bigfoot!' Some families have a taboo against saying Lhofa's name aloud, lest he hear, and come to take you away. There are two types of wild men in our tradition: lhofa', 'the skinned one [or] the one that removes the skin,' and tibo'li' (itti' bo'li') 'the one that beats trees.' Pauline Brown, personal communication, July 2019; Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs,' 77-78. Another word for Bigfoot was ishkin homma' 'the one with red eyes,' Allen Beck, Facebook post on 'We Speak Chickasaw' group page, 16 August 2019. ²⁷⁹ Davis, *Talking Indian*, 97.

positions these ittonchololi' products as enhancers of language affiliation and as tools of language that spread directly and daily within the community.²⁸⁰

We chose to mediate the negative effects of language loss by planting and tending to this new form of life for Chikashshanompa' that, if new in medium, was not new in theory. For our Ancestors, dressing conveyed significant messages, whether to Chikashsha or people of other nations, native or European. One example is dress for to'li', the traditional stickball game. The red-and-black regalia chosen by our Ancestors conveyed the tanap²⁸¹ intentions of the players, signifying they were tashka,²⁸² fully prepared to fight. Similarly, our ANOMPA approach conveys messages of the importance of Chikashshanompa', and its prestige, necessity, and eternal value in our community. The compelling, mobile visual messages convey the spirit of Chikashsha poya in its fullness. We are tashka.

Flash Cards

Flash cards have been an excellent tool for our enrichment efforts. They are principally learning tools, but also work for marketing, thus expanding our citizens' awareness of Chikashshanompa' and the language program. The program has produced a new set at least every other year since 2008. Families and individuals use them for reference while they seek to incorporate simple words and phrases into their daily lives. We were, and remain, well aware of the power of language realia in the workplace and in our Chikashsha homes worldwide.

²⁸⁰ Ibid. 97-8.

²⁸¹ 'War.'

²⁸² 'Warriors.'

The first set, produced by the Chickasaw Nation Department of Cultural Resources around 2003, featured colors, numbers, and animals. Their artwork was taken from commercially available sources, they were printed in large quantities and have been widely distributed.

The second set, produced in 2005-2006, was drawn and colored by local artist and Chickasaw Nation employee James Blackburn. They feature Indian characters in Blackburn's distinctive illustration style, which is heavily influenced by comic books. The set's language content is broadly cultural, and includes food, drumming, emotions, and other scenarios and ideas (Figure 29).

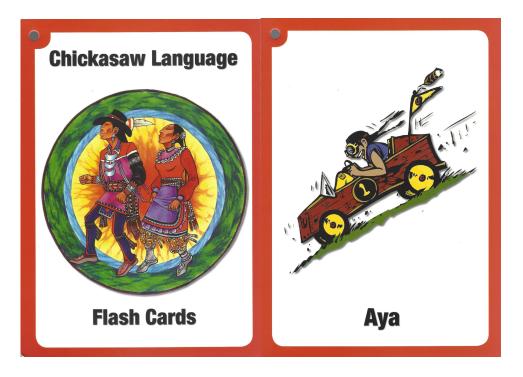


Figure 29: Chickasaw Language Flash Cards, James Blackburn, Chickasaw Nation Multimedia, 2005-2006.

The third set was produced in 2009, again illustrated by Blackburn with bold, gestural

coloring by RedCorn. They feature black borders with language content centered around family

terms and careers. This was the first set of flash cards wherein we incorporated both Humes and Munro-Willmond spellings (Figure 30 and 31).



Figure 30: Chickasaw Language Flash Cards, James Blackburn, Chickasaw Nation Multimedia, color by Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.

louse

Aboa

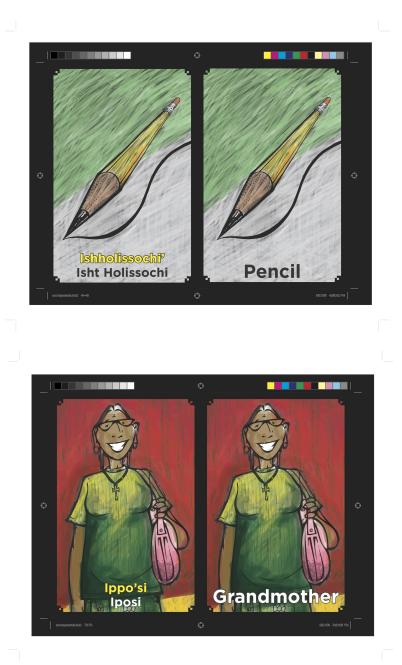


Figure 31: Chickasaw Language Flash Cards, James Blackburn, Chickasaw Nation Multimedia, color by Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2010.

It was the first we developed in conjunction with the Chickasaw Language Committee.

They were an outgrowth of the committee's work in lexical innovation, so they included newly

translated terms for sports including football, soccer, and volleyball. The visual aesthetic is bold,

with strong color and an art deco feel. The set came with a companion CD of vocabulary recordings (Figure 32).

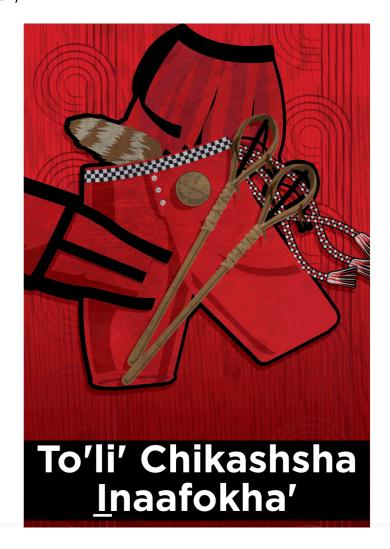


Figure 32: Sports Terms Flash Cards, Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2011. In 2012 we produced a new words set, again designed by RedCorn. We culled the vocabulary for this new set from the master Anompa Himitta' document, which consists of all terms interpreted by the Chickasaw Language Committee since 2008. The majority of anompa himitta' are nouns, including translations for nani' imponna', 'dolphin'; and hattak shawi' ishto', 'gorilla.' The designs are bold and decorative, with elements incorporated from Southeastern native art sources (Figure 33).



Figure 33: Anompa Himitta' Flash Cards, Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2012.
For 2013 we decided to take the flash cards in a different direction. We had been asked
by citizens to reissue the 2003 colors-numbers-animals set, but could not find the original files.
Also, we frankly wanted to take a more creative spin with the topic.²⁸³ We worked again with
RedCorn and Buffalo Nickel Press to develop a standard deck of playing cards as a languagelearning product. We reproduced a shikonno'pa' on a card insert and substituted animals

²⁸³ Colors, numbers, and animals are often lowest-common-denominator topics in Indigenous language revitalization across the United States and Canada. We call them 'CNA' (colors, numbers, and animals) in the program. Coincidentally, CNA is also the acronym for the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma. We can do better—stop teaching colors, numbers, and animals, and teach whole language, in communicative settings.

significant to our Chikashsha Ancestors for the king, queen, jack, and ace cards, as well as using southeastern ceremonial imagery in place of standard spade, club, hearts, and diamonds for the suits. The color palette was homma, losa, and tohbi. We quickly gave away all 5,000 decks we produced (Figure 34):



Figure 34: Chikashshanompa' playing cards, Ryan RedCorn (Osage), Buffalo Nickel Creative, 2012.

Our most recent cards were co-produced by Mahli (Sheina Wind),²⁸⁴ an employee of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, and I. Our citizens were again asking for a colors, numbers, and animals set, but Mahli wanted something more out of it than basic vocabulary. She and I developed a set that presented what citizens wanted, but included several basic verbs and a subject marker card, along with instructions on how to create sentences using the cards. It has been used in multiple contexts including our high school language class that Mahli teaches, as well as the Ardmore Chipota Chikashshanompoli: Children Speaking Chickasaw Language Club taught by Iknokchi'to' (Kendra Farve).²⁸⁵

²⁸⁴ 'Wind.'

²⁸⁵ 'She does not behave.'

www.chickasawlanguage.com / www.chickasaw.tv/language

The chickasaw.tv video network was established by Governor Anoatubby in 2011. The Governor was motivated by a desire to share Chickasaw history, language, and culture with Chikashsha people who live abroad, our Oklahoma neighbors and the broader, non-Indian world. He asked advertising agency Ackerman McQueen to spearhead the effort, and many of the first spots filmed were language-specific. Since 2011 we have produced, in concert with Ackerman McQueen, about 240 videos directly related to language.²⁸⁶ Chickasaw.tv has proven to be perhaps our most utilized language enrichment resource. Since October 2018, nearly 3,900 unique users have visited online language resources at www.chickasaw.tv/language/ and www.chickasawlanguage.com.

An individual who navigates to the language channel on chickasaw.tv encounters a landing page branded 'LANGUAGE-ANOMPA' over an image of the original Humes dictionary. Below are selected videos from the four drop-down categories under 'LANGUAGE' on the navigation bar: 'Rosetta Stone Chickasaw,' 'Preservation,' 'Fluent Speakers' and 'Resources' (Figure 35). Navigating to any of these opens a subpage with multiple video options and links to various resources.

The Rosetta Stone Chickasaw subpage serves as a clearinghouse for all persons interested in that teaching facility. As of this writing, three levels are live with 120 video-based lessons, and level four slated for release in spring 2020. The landing page offers a behind-thescenes video shot from Level 1, a link to apply for the product, a FAQ page, a portal for

²⁸⁶ Barbara Johnston, Ackerman-McQueen, email communication, 19 August 2019.

registered users to access the product, and links to all the product videos with English subtitles (Figure 36).

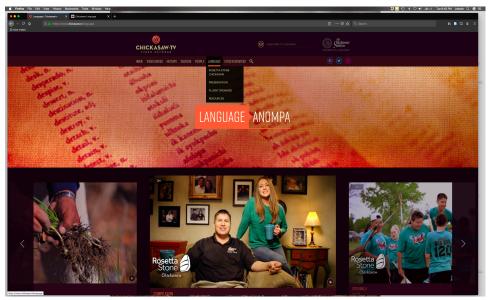


Figure 35: chickasaw.tv/language landing page. www.chickasawlanguage.com / www.chickasaw.tv/language, chickasaw.tv/language landing page.



Figure 36: Chickasaw.tv/language Rosetta Stone landing page, episode 24. https://www.chickasaw.tv/episodes/rosetta-stone-chickasaw-season-1-episode-24-texting The 'Preservation' subpage is devoted to profiles of native speaker-teachers, language activists and our linguist partners, all of whom collaborate to ensure Chikashshanompa' continues as a language of daily communication. Some spots are culturally motivated, two pieces on foodways in particular. One is about making pishofa²⁸⁷ and the other concerns harvesting at<u>o</u>falaa' imilhlha'.²⁸⁸ Other pieces focus on our language revitalization process, neologisms (See Chapter 7), the significance of language in the daily life of our people, and the Chickasaw Language Committee (Figure 37).



Figure 37: Chickasaw.tv/language Preservation landing page. https://www.chickasaw.tv/lists/preservation

²⁸⁷ Corn and pork stew, the national dish of Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni.
²⁸⁸ 'Wild onion.'

The 'Fluent Speaker' subpage is devoted to profiles of native speakers who actively worked or are working with the CLRP, including the late Jerry Imotichey, Stanley Smith, JoAnn Ellis, Rose Shields Jefferson, Pauline Brown, Catherine Willmond, Virginia Boland, Hannah Pitman, Emma McLeod, and Ellen Chapman. The spots are primarily conducted in English, and feature speakers commenting on the nature of our work and their contributions to it (Figure 38).

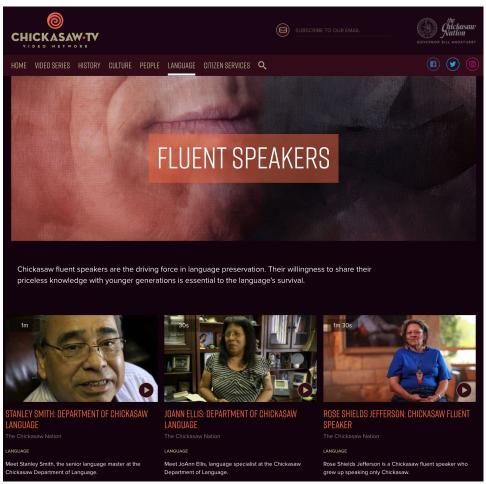


Figure 38: Chickasaw.tv/language Fluent Speakers landing page. https://www.chickasaw.tv/lists/fluent-speakers

The last subpage on the language channel, 'Resources,' features three subpages: 'Listen

and Learn,' 'Programs' and 'Language App.' The 'Language App' link takes you to

www.chickasaw.net/anompa, which hosts the web version of the ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic

language learning application (see below). 'Listen and Learn' features twenty-three videos designed to make Chikashshanompa' accessible in short, manageable chunks of whole language. Their subjects include body parts, greetings and introductions, colors, and a sevenvideo series about animals speaking Chikashshanompa' (Figure 39):

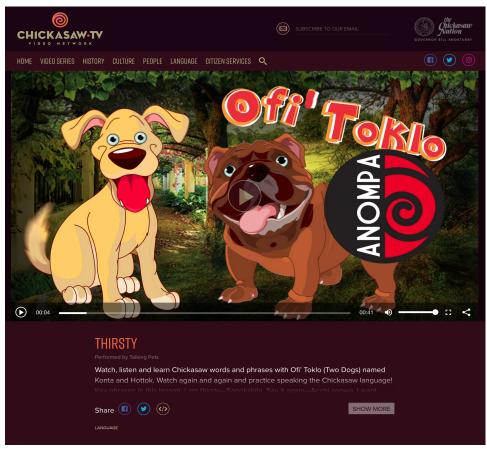


Figure 39: Chickasaw.tv/language Ofi' Toklo 'Thirsty' video. https://www.chickasaw.tv/videos/lesson-1-thirsty

iOS ANOMPA CHICKASAW BASIC application

The iPhone was released in the United States in 2007, and quickly thereafter citizens

expressed desire for a mobile application for it to help them learn Chikashshanompa'.

Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program employee Cedric Sunray (Mowa Band of Choctaw

Indians) brought Thornton Media Inc. (TMI) to our attention. TMI (www.ndndlanguage.com) is

owned by Kara and Don Thornton (Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma). Since 1995 they have

worked with more than two hundred tribal communities to bring their languages to life on Apple and Android devices.²⁸⁹

The ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic application, available on the iTunes store and as a web version at www.chickasaw.net/anompa, is organized thematically, with useful daily phrases, basic vocabulary, a selection of Choctaw hymns (which we labeled Chickasaw hymns because we were feeling salty), and two videos recorded with our Chipota Chikashshanompoli Children Speaking Chickasaw Language Club (Figure 40). We had worked with Don and Kara Thornton before to develop content for the Phraselator device made obsolete after the release of the iPhone. We added content for the iOS app, all modified for our purposes from a template the Thorntons developed. Native speakers JoAnn Ellis, the late Jerry Imotichey, Rose Shields Jefferson and I recorded the content, with the native speakers recording the language content, and myself handling the introductory material.

²⁸⁹ http://www.ndnlanguage.com/, accessed 5 August 2019.

	Essential Words & Phrases
Velcome	Who
Chickasaw Alphabet	kata
Greeting Phrases	Whose kata
Essential Words &	
Phrases	What nanta
Kid's Phrases	
Forming Sentences	What color pisa-katihmi
Daily Phrases	
About Food	What time hashi' kanalli nanta
luman Body	
Animals	When (present tense) kat <u>i</u> hkmak
Kinship Terms	
Numbers	When (past tense) _{katihkaash}
Colors	
Commands	Where katiyakta
People	
Career	Where ismano
ſechnology	
Weather & Seasons	Why katihmihta
lime	
hato.mp3	♀ Self Study Online Workbook Chickasaw.net

Figure 40: ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic application, www.chickasaw.net/anompa, Chickasaw Basic application

The ANOMPA app, free on the iTunes store since its launch in 2009, has been downloaded more than 6,000 times. It has proven popular with our tribal citizens and other people with interest in Chikashshanompa'. We have expanded its original purpose as a selfstudy tool to include it in Chickasaw employee's annual cultural education, a portion of their Individual Development Plan that when completed qualifies employees for bonuses awarded each year. The study guide and test are found in the web app footer at www.chickasaw.net/anompa, as is a PDF version of the self-study content. Currently the app is being used in a more formal capacity by employees of our Homeland Affairs Program, who extensively incorporate Chikashshanompa' in their homelands programs in and near Tupelo, Mississippi.

Nannan<u>o</u>li' Chikashsha and cultivating an emerging Chikashsha literature

As a Chikashsha person active in cultivating the ittonchololi' of the spoken and written word in Chikashshanompa', I have struggled with confining the vastness of our traditional oratory within English terms like 'verbal arts' and 'oral literature.' Though I have used the term 'Chickasaw Oral Literature' in previous work, I think a more culturally grounded and relevant approach would be to use terms taken from the language itself.²⁹⁰ So, I use the term Chikashsha anompoli²⁹¹ as an overarching chishanko²⁹² under which all forms we might otherwise call verbal arts or oral literature might rest. Under the chishanko' of Chikashsha anompoli would be public ceremonial speech, medicine language, the many varieties of nannanoli' Chikashsha²⁹³ and other forms of Chikashshanompa' like prophecy and teachings. I could make an argument that a separate category should exist for written texts—Chikashsha holissochi.²⁹⁴ However, all Chikashshanompa' language texts emerge from the oral tradition, so perhaps they should be seen as simply a new form of life under Chikashsha anompoli rather than an as independent manifestation of ittonchololi'. I will argue that it is a new form of life under ittonchololi', but I will not treat it as a something wholly separate from its forebears. I will begin with further exploring the many genres of Chikashsha anompoli, an examination of the emerging Chikashsha

²⁹⁰ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). 'Chickasaw Oral Literature.' In *A Listening Wind: Native Literature from the Southeast*, edited by Marcia Haag, 115-118. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016.

²⁹¹ 'Chikashsha speech.'

²⁹² 'Arbor.'

²⁹³ 'Chickasaw stories.'

²⁹⁴ 'Chickasaw writing.'

literature since the early twentieth century, and will conclude by examining specific ittonchololi' of spoken and written language in our MLC context.²⁹⁵

We have a long tradition of tribal oratory, as do other Muskogean tribes in the Southeast. One genre of oral literature was public ceremonial speech, in which minko¹²⁹⁶ and clan leaders ruled not by force, but by artfully crafted public speeches designed to influence the decisions of fellow tribal citizens. Those were critical to our ancestral society, where no person was beholden to another, and all were free to choose for themselves. The tishohminko^{1,297} in a manner similar to later Chikashsha preachers, gave ceremonial speeches on right living, avoidance of bad behavior or breaking of taboo. In the past, tribal religious leaders called hopayi¹²⁹⁸ also taught in a ceremonial genre called 'the beloved speech.²⁹⁹

Alikchi', 'Indian doctors,' also practiced ritual speech. Their medicinal formulas were spoken over alba itt<u>i</u>sh, 'medicine plants,' while gathering them, in the preparation of healing itt<u>i</u>sh, and in its application on persons who were physically and spiritually ill. This ritual speech was also manifest in songs as medicinal formulas and speeches were sung over and for the ill. A genre of pishofa songs were performed for a seriously ill person in conjunction with a ritual meal of the 'corn and pork stew,' along with a series of dances. These medicinal speeches and songs were lost when the last Chikashsha alikchi' passed away in the 1970s.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁵ The following material on Chickasaw oral literature first appeared in Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). 'Chickasaw Oral Literature.' In *A Listening Wind: Native Literature from the Southeast*, edited by Marcia Haag, (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 105-114.
²⁹⁶ 'Chief, leader.'

²⁹⁷ 'Assistant to the chief, leader.'

²⁹⁸ 'Prophet.'

²⁹⁹ Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 109.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

Another genre of tribal oratory was traditional storytelling. Its stories were often told during winter by elders or parents to children, or among adults in settings like large communal houses. They cover a broad range of topics and motivations, from moral instruction to simple humor. The stories are pervasive throughout the Muskogean nations, as well as the Cherokee and other tribes.³⁰¹ Traditional storytelling continues in earnest in the present day, in English and Chikashshanompa'.³⁰²

Chikashsha naaikbi' an<u>o</u>li' 'Creation-origin Stories'

In Chikashsha naaikbi' an<u>o</u>li', Chikashsha storytellers relate their understanding of the creation of the Earth and the origins of the Chikashsha people and of related tribes. Included in this genre are our sacred tribal migration stories, and a world flood story. Most stories are marked by the straightforward matter-of-factness that accompanies true stories, even if some speakers do not consider them to be true in the way they consider the creation accounts of the Bible to be infallibly <u>á</u>lhlhi.³⁰³ Unlike other story genres, many of which are understood as fanciful at their core, creation stories, in particular the tribal migration stories, are true. They

 ³⁰¹ See James Mooney, *History, Myths, and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees: Containing the Full Texts of Myths of the Cherokee (1900), and the Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees (1891) As Published by the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Asheville, NC: Historical Images, 1992);
 Speck 1907; John R. Swanton, 'Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors,'in *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 73. (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1922), 639-670; Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs'; Swanton, 'Social Organization and the Social Usages of the Indians of the Creek Confederacy,' in *Forty-Second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the Years 1924–1925* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office), 279–325; Swanton, 'Myths & Tales of the Southeastern Indians,' in *Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin*, No. 88, Smithsonian Institution (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1929); Tuggle 1973; Jack B. Martin, Margaret McKane Mauldin and Juanita McGirt, eds, Totkv Mocvse / New Fire: Creek Folktales (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).
 ³⁰² Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 110.

are told without the hearsay evidential markers and third-person attributions of other story genres. The world creation story recounted in Chapter 1 was told by the late Juanita Byars, who was born and raised near Tishomingo, Oklahoma. It describes the creation of the world from a primordial flood, when Shakchi³⁰⁴ brought up earth from the deep to be shaped into mountains and valleys by Fala Ishto'.³⁰⁵ From this earth humans were made, to stoke the town fires that represent Aba' Bínni'li' among us.³⁰⁶

Shikonno'pa' 'Possum Stories'

Shikonno'pa' are animal tales from long ago, when nannimilhlha^{'307} and hattak³⁰⁸ could talk together. They feature often mischievous, vain or conceited animals like Chokfi^{'309}, Chakwihili^{'310}, or Loksi^{'311}, who get into a lot of trouble. Although not overly didactic, the stories impart a certain moral instruction.³¹² Some possum stories offer explanations for natural phenomena, like why Chakwihili' grins, why Loksi' has a cracked shell, or how Hach<u>o</u>'chaba'³¹³ came to have rough skin. Still others describe how essential elements like lowak³¹⁴, ittish³¹⁵, or

³¹⁴ 'Fire.'

³⁰⁴ 'Crayfish.'

³⁰⁵ 'Raven.'

³⁰⁶ Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 110.

³⁰⁷ 'Animals.'

^{308 &#}x27;People.'

³⁰⁹ 'Rabbit.'

³¹⁰ 'Possum.'

³¹¹ 'Turtle.'

³¹² Some contemporary anomp<u>í</u>'shi' will include an overt moral teaching at the end of a retelling, but that seems to be a contemporary adaptation.

³¹³ 'Alligator.'

³¹⁵ 'Medicine.'

tanchi^{'316}, came to the people. Some speakers consider them creation stories of a sort, rather than merely shikonno'pa'.³¹⁷

Iksa' Nannanoli' 'Clan Stories'

Clan stories deal with general knowledge and characteristics of particular clans and house groups, and include true stories of things that happened to their members.³¹⁸ A number were collected for anthropologist John Swanton by Chickasaw citizen Zeno McCurtain in the 1910s, and translated and published in Swanton (1928). One story involves a member of the Kowimilhlha' Iksa¹³¹⁹ who encountered a Lh<u>o</u>fa¹³²⁰ while on a hunting trip (Figure 41).³²¹

³¹⁶ 'Corn.'

³¹⁷ Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 110-111.

³¹⁸ A house group is a sub-group of the Chickasaw clan system. The author's clan is Kowishto' Iksa' (Panther Clan) and house group is Imatapo / Imalhtipo' ('Their Lean-to / Tent People'). See Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs.'

³¹⁹ 'Wildcat Clan.'

³²⁰ 'Bigfoot.'

³²¹ Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 111.



Figure 41: Kowimilhlha' hattakat Lh<u>o</u>fa' ittafama 'Wildcat man meets Bigfoot.' Mixed Media on canvas, Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 2017.

Chokoshpa' Nannan<u>o</u>li' 'Humor Stories'

Humor stories are a vital sub-genre of traditional storytelling. Such stories are retold over and over because they are truly funny and entertaining, with elements of truth intermixed with outright lies, created for the amusement of the teller and audience. A story retold by the late Jerry Imotichey was first told by the late John Puller, a Chickasaw veteran and well-known storyteller from Madill, Oklahoma. It was based on a group of shiiki³²² and a fala³²³ that John saw on the road, and many of its details were clearly exaggerated. Almost any traditionalist from the southern part of the nation will know a John Puller story.³²⁴

^{322 &#}x27;Buzzard.'

³²³ 'Crow.'

³²⁴ Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 111.

Stories are an essential and vital part of tribal identity, so much that even amid language loss and attrition of cultural practices, they remain a vital part of cultural life. Contemporary storytellers, including Glenda Galvan, Stephanie Scott and Lorie Robins Carmichael, share creation, origin, tribal history and shikonno'pa' stories with contemporary audiences in English. Our native speakers continue to talk with each other the way they always have, relating humorous stories of days gone by, and sharing the happenings of the present. Even now, second-language learners are learning and retelling the old stories, while creating new ones of their own.³²⁵

The Chickasaw Verb

The Chickasaw Verb, a federally funded Documenting Endangered Languages grant from the National Science Foundation (BCS-1263699 and BCS-1263698), grew from our commitment to document as many forms of Chikashsha anompoli as possible from the last generations of anomp<u>í</u>'shi'. Co-principal investigators Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald and I wrote the grant, which was awarded in 2013 to the Chickasaw Nation and the University of Texas at Arlington. The multiyear project, to be completed in September 2020, attempts to examine verbal structures of Chikashshanompa' through the medium of oral narratives and conversation documented from our living native speakers. The Chickasaw Verb is, like other forms of life sprouting from tibi kolofa', an extension of MLC practices and an ittonchololi' effort, and its products are new forms of life for Chikashshanompa' under the arbor of Chikashsha anompoli.

³²⁵ Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature,' 111-112. The narrative-based Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program approach is detailed in Chapter 8.

This form of ittonchololi' sprouts from the ancestral oratory described in the previous section. The grant projects and products were initiated in response to the collapse of the intergenerational transmission of Chikashshanompa', which as affected all forms of Chikashsha anompoli. The linguistic literature through 2013 held relatively few examples of shikonno'pa', nannan<u>o</u>li' <u>á</u>lhlhi', conversations, or other significant Chikashsha anompoli narratives, save examples from Munro and Willmond and a single dissertation on Chickasaw conversation.³²⁶ In response to that scarcity we pursued and were awarded the grant, and through a narrative-collection boot-camp model we have amassed over 250 stories and four conversation sessions since 2013.

We described what we termed the Chickasaw Narrative Bootcamp in 2016, outlining the general structure of these workshops and our three primary goals:

1. collection of native speaker texts,

2. process texts through segmentation, transcription, and translation, and

3. train (generally non-native) linguistic students and the staff of the CLRP (currently all but one of which are Chickasaw citizens) in the collection of texts and the process of

language research in service to revitalization efforts in an Indigenous language

community.³²⁷

The structure generally paired an anomp<u>í</u>'shi' with a student or second-language learner who worked to collect narratives on site, and collaboratively transcribed and translated the

³²⁶ Pamela Munro and Catherine Willmond, *Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli'* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008); Cynthia Ann Walker, 'Chickasaw conversation' (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2000).

³²⁷ Fitzgerald and Hinson, 'Approaches to Collecting Texts,' 531.

narratives with an anomp<u>i</u>'shi'. The program pilot was conducted as a workshop over two days in August 2013 at the Chickasaw Cultural Center in Sulphur, Oklahoma. Five native speakers were paired with four linguistics students and two second-language learners including the author, along with Dr. Pamela Munro (University of California, Los Angeles) and Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald (Texas A&M University - Corpus Christi; formerly of the University of Texas at Arlington). The workshop began with a general discussion of narrative collection, followed by two examples Dr. Fitzgerald and the author had collected from native speakers Weldon Fulsom and the late Jerry Imotichey (displayed on a screen in the ELAN software environment, with transcriptions and translations displayed side by side), followed by narrative collection,

Later bootcamps followed roughly the same model, although some sessions focused more on capturing new narratives and others on working with native speakers to transcribe and translate existing narratives. On other occasions we created environments consisting of multiple native speakers in single, studio-located recording sessions to capture conversation, interactive storytelling, turn-taking, repair, and other conversational features.³²⁹ The sessions were moderated by a native speaker who was provided a sheet of conversational prompts. Several sessions were mixed-gender, although at least one was divided into male and female, with Luther John and Rose Shields Jefferson leading their respective breakouts. These conversational sessions promise to be a rich resource for our second-language learners and for

³²⁸ Ibid. 532.

³²⁹ See Walker, 'Chickasaw Conversation.'

future revitalizationists. Chikashsha conversation remains the most under-documented aspect of Chikashsha anompoli.

To allow the amazing products gleaned through this process to rest unused and unexplored on computer hard drives and filing cabinets would be unconscionable. We are actively using these grant products for learner enrichment; the creation of leveled, targeted narratives for the Chikasha Academy (see Chapter 8); and the creation of bilingual language texts for publication through Chickasaw Press. We tend this form of ittonchololi' so it will be fully fruitful for our descendants seven generations removed.

Poshnaakoot Chikashsha ishtiiholissochi (We are the ones that are writing about the Chikashsha): Chickasaw Press

Chickasaw Press was established in 2006 by Governor Bill Anoatubby out of his desire

for intellectual sovereignty, in this case for Chickasaws to tell our stories in culturally grounded

and academically rigorous ways. Its goals statement speaks to that idea:

The goal of Chickasaw Press is to preserve, perpetuate, and provide an awareness of Chickasaw history and culture by: generating and publishing research and scholarship about Chickasaw history and culture; making such scholarship accessible to Chickasaw people; exercising 'cultural and intellectual sovereignty' by adhering to ethical and culturally appropriate research and publication practices; providing an outlet for Chickasaw authors and scholars.³³⁰

Founded under Foshhommak (Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham), its first director was

Chikashsha author and artist Jeannie Barbour. The second and current director of Chickasaw

Press is Chikashsha author and book publishing expert Wiley Barnes.

Since the inaugural title of 2007, Chickasaw: Unconquered and Unconquerable, the CLRP

has been involved in almost every Chickasaw Press project in some way, from research, writing,

³³⁰ https://chickasawpress.com/About/Chickasaw-Press.aspx

and publication to editorial review. The Press's language-specific titles are the form of ittonchololi' I wish to trace here.

Chikashsha holissochi, 'Chikashsha writing,' is a powerful expression of Chikashsha poya under the arbor of Chikashsha anompoli. The active work of mediating language change—in this case, the transition of an exclusively oral tradition to a written one—is in service to lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi, 'we survive.' Embracing such change in service to ilachónna'chi, 'we persevere,' is emblematic of our deeply held cultural tenacity as seen in our willingness to adapt to change to ensure we remain Chikashsha—Chikashsha poya. The process is not without tension and challenge while we translate Chikashshanompa''s rich tradition of all its forms of speech under Chikashsha anompoli. Some surface conditions like orthography, which seems a matter of choice, are in fact loaded with explicit and implicit tensions. We are committed to many forms of life for our language through the processes of MLC operating within and through ittonchololi', and the printed word is but one. But it is a new and strange one for Chikashshanompa'.

The first known manifestations of Chikashshanompa' in written form were language lists compiled by early traders to the Chikashsha people including Thomas Nairne and James Adair, then Jeffersonian word lists, and a variety of travelers' journals.³³¹ Linguist Albert Gatschet collaborated with Chickasaw delegate to the United States and native speaker J.D. Collins in

³³¹ Nairne, *Journals*; Adair, *History*; Benjamin Hawkins, 'A comparative vocabulary of the Muskoges, or Creek, Chickasaw, Chocktaw, and Cherokee languages' (handwritten manuscript dated 1800) Viewable at

https://diglib.amphilsoc.org/islandora/object/islandora:7034#page/1/mode/1up1800.

1889 and 1890 at Stonewall, Chickasaw Nation, Indian Territory.³³² A decade and a half later, Zeno McCurtain would capture Chikashsha clan and house group stories for John Swanton, who worked with several other Chikashsha consultants including Atchison Anoatubby and George Wilson.³³³

The Chickasaw Nation's Constitution and laws were first published in Choctaw and later in English. Preceding those were liturgical materials including the Bible and the hymnody created by, with, and for the Choctaw people and later used for Chikashsha naayimmi¹³³⁴ converts. Chikashsha churches embraced Choctaw religious materials because they were relatively intelligible, and Chikashsha pastors could switch freely between the two languages. The scriptures, and in particular the Choctaw hymn tradition, became deeply ingrained in Chikashsha naayimmi' traditions and remain so.³³⁵

Scant language material exists that predates the mid-twentieth century. They include a smattering of letters, a prayer written by Nelson Wolfe for the dedication of a monument as tribute to the late Chickasaw Nation Governor Douglas Johnston, and church records like those of Okchamali Baptist Church,³³⁶ in Choctaw and Chickasaw. Recently the front matter of a 1930

³³² Albert S. Gatschet, Words, Phrases and Grammatic Elements of the Chicasa Language Obtained from Judson Dwight Collins, Delegate of the Tribe to the U. S. Government (Fayetteville, AR: Various Indian Peoples Publishing Co., 1994). The title is a transcription of Gatschet's previously unpublished manuscript, 'Chicasa: Lexical and Syntactical Collection Obtained from J. D. Collins, Postoffice Stonewall, Chickasaw Nation, February 1889,' Archives of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Smithsonian Institution, no. 588-a.

³³³ Swanton, 'Social and Religious Beliefs,' 16. McCurtain's work deserves significant analysis beyond the scope of this dissertation. I hope a graduate student interested in emergent literacies in Muskogean languages will examine his work in the future.

³³⁴ Chikashsha Christians

 ³³⁵ Choctaw hymns are an integral aspect of the Chikasha Academy program. CLRP staff regularly serve at Chikashsha funerals by singing for the dead and the survivors.
 ³³⁶ 'Blue' Baptist Church.

Chickasaw dictionary produced by native Chickasaw speaker Alice James Keel and native Choctaw speaker Peter J. Hudson under the direction of Chahta anthropologist Muriel H. Wright was discovered by Chikashsha author Michelle Cooke in the archives of the Oklahoma Historical Society.³³⁷ Those scattered examples amount to far less than even the limited body of liturgical literature, journals, political writings, advertisements and other realia of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma; the extensive literary tradition of the Mvskoke Creek people; and certainly nothing to approach the literary achievements of the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.

I position *A Chickasaw Dictionary* of 1973 as the first example of an emerging Chikashsha holissochi, created by Chikashsha people and motivated by the Humes' clear recognition of language shift and loss among our people. Though orthographically influenced by Choctaw writing, the late Reverend and Mrs. Humes developed an approach to our language, and created a powerful document that serves not only as the birth of our ittonchololi' efforts, but also the beginning of a Chikashsha holissochi movement that would come to fruition four decades later with the founding of Chickasaw Press.

Some Chikashshanompa' materials were developed between these two points in time. While I regard them as new forms of life for Chikashshanompa', they were largely produced, as was Gatschet's, by linguists in association with native speaker consultants. These forms of Chikashshanompa' rest firmly under the arbor of Chikashsha anompoli, and have become vital elements of our ittonchololi'. Their extensive documentary materials compose a secure archive

³³⁷ Alice James Keel, Peter J. Hudson, and Muriel H. Wright, *A Dictionary of the Chickasaw Dialect*. 1986.105. Minor Collections—1986. Chickasaw Dialect, 1930. Efforts continue to locate the body text of this dictionary as well as an associated comparative Chickasaw-Choctaw-English wordlist.

for our descendants should they wish to look deeply into the structure and worldview of Chikashshanompa'. They include William Pulte's article on the position of Chickasaw in Western Muskogean;³³⁸ Dr. Munro's extensive work on Chikashshanompa' from 1982 forward, most particularly her and Catherine Willmond's 1994 dictionary;³³⁹ and the aforementioned *Introduction to Chickasaw,* a mid-'90s title by Various Indian Peoples Publishing with contributions by native speakers Carlin Thompson, the late Jerry Imotichey and his sister, the late Yvonne Alberson.³⁴⁰

The Chikashsha holissochi manifestations of Chikashsha anompoli are diverse, from isolated pieces of Chikashshanompa' scattered amid primarily English text, to language-heavy titles in both fiction and nonfiction including children's titles, to language-specific publications of Chikashsha holissochi. A survey of titles published by Chickasaw Press that include language to some degree would be too lengthy. I will focus on the Press's forms of Chikashsha holissochi that are both enrichment- and language-learning-focused.

C is for Chickasaw, 2014

C is for Chickasaw, written by Wiley Barnes (Chickasaw) and illustrated by Aaron Long (Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma), is a children's alphabet book that combines rhyming verse with elements of Chickasaw history and culture. Each entry includes the Chickasaw word. For example: 'Arrow, Oski' Naki', Flying silently and swiftly through the air, warriors hunt for food,

³³⁸ William Pulte, 'The Position of Chickasaw in Western Muskogean,' in *Studies in Southeastern Indian Languages,* edited by James M. Crawford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1975), 251-256.

³³⁹ Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*.

³⁴⁰ Yvonne Alberson, Carlin Thompson, and Jerry Imotichey with Greg Howard, *Introduction to Chickasaw* (Dallas, TX: Various Indian Peoples Publishing, 1994).

fish, deer, and even bear.' ³⁴¹ Below each verse is text to further illuminate the topic. The author's intent was to combine images with rhymed verse to capture the younger audience, while the accompanying text is aimed at older students. The hardback and softcover editions are identical in content, and include a Chickasaw glossary. The mobile app version of *C is for Chickasaw* includes audio for all language entries. The title falls clearly into the category of enrichment language texts, wherein the reader is given positive experiences with the language in a non-threatening environment. The app engages young learners with new media wherein they not only can hear the language spoken, but also engage all the content. I translated this work and recorded the audio for the app (Figure 42).

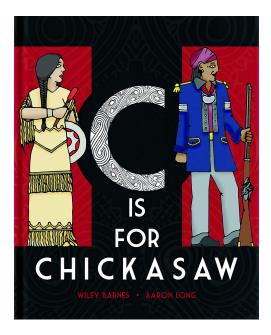


Figure 42: C is for Chickasaw. Wiley Barnes and Aaron Long. (Ada, OK: White Dog Press, 2014).

A Chickasaw Dictionary, 2015

³⁴¹ Wiley Barnes and Aaron Long, *C is for Chickasaw* (Ada, OK: White Dog Press, 2014), 8.

This edition of *A Chickasaw Dictionary* by the late Reverend Jess and Vinnie May James Humes was published by Chickasaw Press in response to citizen requests for an updated hardback edition. The first edition was published in 1973 by Creative Infomatics of Durant, Oklahoma, and issued in hardback with a white dust jacket on a brick-red hardback binding, and has been much loved and well used by citizens worldwide. While a paperback edition had been available first from the University of Oklahoma Press and then later from the Chickasaw Press, Chickasaw leadership felt that a special edition hardback would meet citizens' desires (Figure 43).

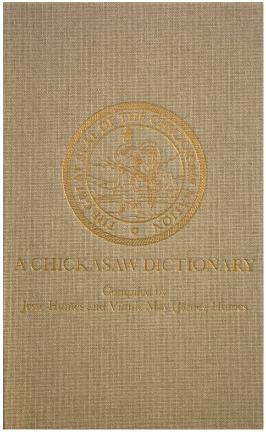


Figure 43: A Chickasaw Dictionary. Jesse Humes and Vinnie May (James) Humes (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2015).

CHIKASHA: The Chickasaw Collection at the National Museum of the American Indian, 2014

I completed the manuscript and published this text in 2014. *Chikasha: The Chickasaw Collection at the National Museum of the American Indian* presents the rich Chickasaw collection held by the National Museum of the American Indian in Suitland, Maryland, near Washington, D.C. *Chikasha* is not primarily a language text, but it makes efforts to properly describe and name Chickasaw objects in specifically Chickasaw ways. Using archival research, oral histories and consultation with native speakers, I attempted to connect the past with the present, and position each object time in its time and place, called by its correct name. Each chapter is titled in Chikashshanompa', developed in consultation with native speaker Catherine Willmond. Objects were arranged according to type, with each entry including its Chikashshanompa' name, English translation, materials, and NMAI catalog number. This title marked the first time I insisted on the use of my Chikashsha name on the cover—Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) (Figure 44).³⁴²

³⁴² My friend Ryan RedCorn (Osage) suggested that I start to use my Indian name, or lose it. I admit I had some hesitation at using my Indian name professionally, or anywhere in print. It felt like I was trying too hard to show the world I was really Chikashsha. That was probably just White Indian anxiety. RedCorn convinced me to put all that aside and use the name that speakers gave me.

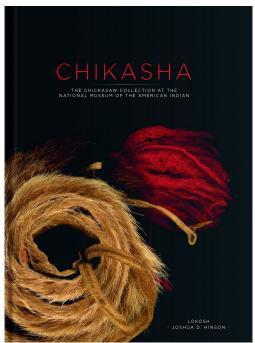


Figure 44: *Chikasha: The Chickasaw Collection at the National Museum of the American Indian*. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2014).

Chikasha Stories Volume One: Shared Spirit, 2011; Volume Two: Shared Voices, 2012; Volume Three: Shared Wisdom, 2013

Authored by Chikashsha storyteller Glenda Galvan (Chola Iksa'),³⁴³ the *Chikasha Stories* series marked the first fully bilingual publication for Chickasaw Press. Illustrated by Chickasaw artist Jeannie Barbour, with Chickasaw interpretations by JoAnn Ellis and Jerry Imotichey with Dr. John Dyson and Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), each volume includes shikonno'pa'³⁴⁴ and tribal stories from throughout the southeast, adapted by Galvan for her audience.

An app version of the text, compatible with Apple and Android devices, was also produced. Based on *Volume One: Shared Spirit*, the app 'features highlighted narration that allows children of all ages to read along with our traditional stories in English or Chickasaw.

³⁴³ 'Fox Clan.'

³⁴⁴ 'Possum stories.'

Interactive images let users touch characters and objects on the screen to hear the name spoken in Chickasaw. Presented as children's stories, each tale teaches important life lessons, and readers can choose to listen along with the narration, or to read each story for themselves. Narratives feature Glenda Galvan, Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), the late Jerry Imotichey, and Joann Ellis. Illustrations by award-winning Chickasaw artist Jeannie Barbour' (Figure 45).³⁴⁵

The three texts are excellent examples of the restorative mode of MLC. In this case, we were not cultivating a new form of ittonchololi' but using the tools of MLC to work backward from a shikonno'pa' conveyed in Chikashshanompa' from one generation to a second, then shared as English versions with a third generation of the Ayakatubby family.³⁴⁶ We worked closely with JoAnn Ellis and the late Jerry Imotichey to develop Chikashshanompa' versions of the English stories, using the narrative devices native to Chikashshanompa' while moving away from English narrative approaches. The products of this restorative effort were successful in that they emerged as a new form of life for shikonno'pa', as neither traditional Chikashshanompa' narratives nor embellished English versions. The process of creating them was meaningful and powerful, and working with our native speakers was immensely satisfying. I cherish the process, though I remain somewhat conflicted about the resultant narratives.³⁴⁷

³⁴⁵ https://chickasawpress.com/Books/Chikasha-Stories-Volume-One-Shared-Spirit.aspx#credits Accessed 25 June 2018. For an in-depth analysis of the retranslation process behind all three *Chikasha Stories* titles see Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson,) 'Interpretation is a Tricky Business,' in *A Listening Wind: Native Literature from the Southeast*, edited by Marcia Haag (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2016), 123-135.

³⁴⁶ Glenda Galvan's grandmother, Minnie Ayakatubby, shared these stories with her son, Glenda's father, in Chikashshanompa', who then shared these same stories in English with Glenda Galvan. Mrs. Galvan has shared English versions of these ancient stories with audiences for over forty years. Ibid.

³⁴⁷ When pressed I have admitted feeling that these new Chikashshanompa' narratives were too indebted to the English text, and that we could have pushed harder to develop a taut,

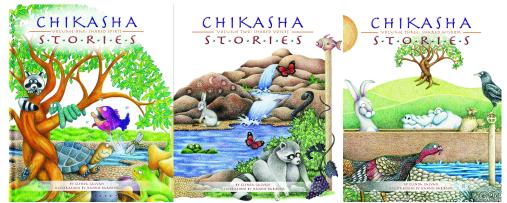


Figure 45: *Chikasha Stories Volumes One, Two, and Three,* 2011, 2012, 2013 (Sulphur and Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press).

Anompilbashsha' Asilhha' Holisso: Chickasaw Prayer Book, 2012

The prayer book grew from a desire that Chickasaw citizens expressed for a collection of prayers and hymns in their own language and emerging from our Chikashsha speakers' Christian faiths, worldviews and language. Such focused, topical, and immediately useful ceremonial language is part of the CLRP's two-pronged approach to language revitalization: functional language enrichment activities for all citizens, and communicative immersion approaches intended to raise up a new generation of speakers—a new sprouting of ittonchololi' to be tended in MLC. *Anompilbashsha' Asilhha' Holisso: Chickasaw Prayer Book* includes topical prayers, readings, and passages from the Holy Bible (King James Version) presented in a bilingual Chikashshanompa' and English format. The Chickasaw Language Committee, along with the author and Doctors John P. Dyson and Pamela Munro, recorded topical prayers in the language and translated scriptures thematically related to the separate prayers (Figure 46, 47, and 48):

concise narrative that more closely paralleled truly native texts. I reserve the right to change my mind. Still, when re-reading many of these narratives, they strike me as slightly off in particular ways.

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SECTION ONE: NAAYIMMI' SECTION ONE: FAITH Chiisas Imanompa Ilbashsha' The Lord's Prayer Pinki' aba' bínni'lihma, chiholhchifoat holitto'pa'. Matthew 6:9-13 Ishaapihlichika' ala'shki, nanna ishaa-ahnika yámmohma'shki. ⁹After this manner therefore pray ye: Our Father which art in heaven, Yaakni' yappa aba' yaaknihma chima'shki. Hallowed be thy name. ¹⁰ Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. ¹¹ Give us this day our daily bread. ¹² And Himmak nittak<u>a</u> paska ishpoma'shki. forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. $^{\rm 13}$ And lead us not Micha ahiikat ikshochik<u>a</u>, ishpikashoffa'shki. Yahmihmat poshnoako kanahmat nanna poahiikahma into temptation, but deliver us from evil: For thine is the kingdom, iliikashoffa'shki. and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen. Nanna ikalhpi'so ikilooyahmichika, ishpohallalishki. Aapihlichik' micha ishtimáyyálhlhika' micha aaholitto'paka', chimmi' bílli'ya. Amen Pauline Brown and Marie Beck, for the Chickasaw Council of Elders Pinki' Chihoowa aba' bínni'lihma chiholhchifoat holiitó'pa'shki. Chimaapihlichikaat ala'shki. Yaakni' nanna aayámmohmikat aba' yaakni' nanna aayámmohmika ittíllawwa'shki. Kilimpa'chika himmaka' nittak nanna ishpopihínta'shki. Nanna ilahiika' ishponkashoffikat Íla' áyya'shak<u>a</u> nanna ahiika' ilinkashoffik<u>a</u> ittíllawwa'shki. Nanna ikaachokmoka kiliyya' chikpomanhoka'shki. Nanna ikaachokmok<u>a</u> ishaapolhakoffihíncha'shki. Aapihlichika' mikmat nannishtaayalhlhi' micha' nannishtaaholiitó'pakat chimmit bílli'yacha bílli'ya'shki. Yammohma'shki. Catherine Willmond with Eloise Pickens and Pamela Munro

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Figure 46: 'The Lord's Prayer, Matthew 6:9-13.' Translations by Pauline Brown and Marie Beck, and Catherine Willmond with Eloise Pickens and Pamela Munro. From Anompilbashsha' Asilhha' Holisso: Chickasaw Prayer Book.

SECTION FOUR: HOLIITOBLI	SECTION FOUR: BLESSINGS		
Ihoo Hattak Imilli' micha Chipotalhtakla' Anompilbashsha' Asilhha'	Prayer for Widows and Orphans		
Ponki' Chihoowa aba' ishbinni'lihm <u>a</u> Ishnaakillaat chichokma billi'ya, billi'ya'shki Ishaachikat naayimmi' <u>á</u> lhlhi, litti'ya ikshot, Inki' Chihoowa itikba' hikki'yakat, chipotalhtakla' alhiha' micha ihoo hattak imilli' nannakat impállammit áyya'shaka inchokkaala micha yaakni' m <u>o</u> mat chilitti'ya ki'yoka'shki ishimissanna yappa aashtok Chihoowahma nanna finha' ishánchika liyahma'ni ishpomissaka Ilbashsha alhih <u>a</u> ishapiisachi ilith <u>á</u> nakahookya ilimapila'ni pobannahookmano ilanhi Chilbak chiyyi' pobinka'chika ishpotoba'cha'shki Chihoowahm <u>a</u> Nannookya liichimasilhha Chihoowoshi' holhchifo' Amen <i>Joshua D Hinson</i>	Father God who sits on high Only you are good You said: 'This is real religion, with no dirtiness, in front of Father God – all the orphans and widows in their affliction there, visit them and let not the world make you dirty' Lord allow us to do this, what you've said to do We know that you look after the afflicted but we desire to help them Make us as your hands and your feet, Lord We ask these things through Jesus name Amen Joshua D Hinson		
Chemis 1:27 Naayimmi' álhlhi, líttí'ya ikshot, Inki' Chihoowa itikba' híkki'yakat, chipotalhtakla' alhiha' micha ihoo hattak imilli' nannakat impállammit áyya'shak <u>a</u> inchokkaala micha yaakni' m <u>ó</u> mat chilítti'ya ki'yoka'shki ishimissanna.	James 1:27 ²⁷ Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep hin unspotted from the world.		
Chan 14:18 Hachikimalhpi'so hachimikshoka'cha'chi hachiantachichili ki'yo; hach <u>i</u> mintila'chihookay.	John 14:18 ¹⁸ I will not leave you comfortless: I will come to you.		
108	109		

Figure 47: 'Prayer for Widows and Orphans.' Prayer by Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), James 1:27 and John 14:18, translation by Jerry Imotichey with John Dyson. From *Anompilbashsha' Asilhha' Holisso: Chickasaw Prayer Book*.

Section Four: HOLIITOBLI'	SECTION FOUR: BLESSINGS
Abikat Impállammi	Illness and Suffering
Pinki' Chihoowahm <u>a</u> Abika' impállammi tí'wak <u>a</u> Ishlhakofficha'shki ilanhi Mikmat ittish isha'chik <u>a</u> yamma ishholiitobla'shki Chihoowoshi' holhchifo' lhopollichit iichimasilhha Yakkookay iliichimaachi Amen <i>Jerry Imotichey</i>	Heavenly Father This one who lies ill We ask you heal them And bless the medicine that they take We ask in Jesus' name Thank you Amen Jerry Imotichey
Taloowa 23 Chihoowaat chokfalhpooba' apiisachi' chihmihoot asapiisahánchihootoko, nannakya sabanna ki'yo. Hashshok aaokchómma'lika ishtasona; oka' apootaka' ishtasona aachokkíllissaka. Ashilombisha falammisht okchaalínchi; aa-alhpiisa' hinoshi' ishtasaya; holhchifo ishtasayóppa'li. Illi' hashontikachi' pataaschi lhopollit áalikya nannikchokmoka inokshoopala' ki'yo; ishnaakoot issabaayáa; chishtilombitka' chimitti' tapa' ayiinakat asapoolháli. Antanap alhihaat áyya'shahookya aai'pa' ishwaya'shcha amposhi' ontalaht issantahli; sashkobo'a niha' ishtishaabi; ashtakafaat aloota. Nannachokmat nannihollo bíyyi'kahoot asayyakayya bílli'ya'chi; asokcháa aalhika; Chihoowa imambooha ántali bílli'ya'chi. <i>Catherine Willmond with Pamela Munro</i>	Psalms 23: 1-6 ¹ The Lord is my shepherd; I shall not want. ² He maketh me to lie down in green pastures: he leadeth me beside the still waters. ³ He restoreth my soul: he leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for his name's sake. ⁴ Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff they comfort me. ⁵ Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies: thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over. ⁶ Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life: and I will dwell in the house of the Lord for ever.
Chilimayya 33:6 Pisa, chokmishto' <u>a</u> micha lhakoffichi' imishtalala'ch <u>o</u> , micha lhakoffichila'chi micha nannayya' ay <u>a</u> lhlhi lawa' imoktaanichila'chi.	Jeremiah 33:6 6 Behold, I will bring it health and cure, and I will cure them, and will reveal unto them the abundance of peace and truth.
104	105

Figure 48: Prayer for Illness and Suffering. Prayer by Jerry Imotichey, Jeremiah 33:6, translation by Jerry Imotichey with John Dyson. From *Anompilbashsha' Asilhha' Holisso: Chickasaw Prayer* Book.

The Chikashsha people have always been a spiritual people. Chikashsha Ancestors

worshipped one god, called Aba' Bínni'li'. Chihoowa <u>i</u>nannalhpisa' yimmi¹³⁴⁸ developed largely

after removal in Indian Territory, earlier, pre-removal missionary efforts having been much less

successful.³⁴⁹ Chihoowa inannalhpisa' yimmi' developed into its manifestation within the larger

Christendom, as have many other Indigenous forms of Christianity. Still, while missionaries

introduced Christianity, many Ancestors discerned similarities between their traditional ways

³⁴⁸ 'Chickasaw Christianity.'

³⁴⁹ Paige, Bumpers and Littlefield, *Chickasaw Removal*, 14-15.

and the new way of worship. After a time, Christianity came to be an important part of Chikashsha life, and continues as such.

Chikashsha regularly meet in churches of various denominations, worshiping Chihoowa / Aba' Bínni'li' as they have always done. Aaittanaa¹³⁵⁰ have functioned not only as spaces for religious functions but also as community centers, spaces for political foment, and as chokka' aa-anompoli,¹³⁵¹ in a setting wherein Chikashsha people lived in camp houses encircling the aaittanaa' at the community center.³⁵² The vast majority of anomp<u>í</u>'shi' are churchgoing people, and they hold the scriptures very close to their hearts.³⁵³ *Anompilbashsha' Asilhha' Holisso: A Chickasaw Prayer Book* honors Christian traditions and offers, for the first time, prayers, hymns, and scriptures in their language. All prayers were written by speakers who expressed themselves to Chihoowa / Aba' Bínni'li' in their own way, using their own variety of Chikashshanompa'.

³⁵⁰ 'Churches.'

³⁵¹ 'Houses for speaking.'

³⁵² The arrangement of the aaittanaa' at the center of the community with houses encircling it is cognate to the big houses in our mother towns in Mississippi. There is also a strong association with the center and the lowak holitto'pa', 'sacred fire,' surrounded by chishanko', 'arbors.'

³⁵³ I would say every native speaker I ever worked with was at least nominally Christian. The core group that comprises the Chickasaw Language Committee are all Christians. Interestingly, some Chikashsha naayimmi' have had no experiences with traditional religious practices, and some will vocally challenge others who have. Those practices include ceremonial ground religion and associated ball play. Nonetheless, all Chikashsha naayimmi' who are native speakers have stories about traditional medicine and visiting alikchi' dating earlier than the 1980s. These same believers are consciously unaware of the connections between ceremonial ground practices and Chikashsha Christianity including architecture, ritual space, going to water, cognate leadership roles, and other significant aspects that characterize Chihoowa inannalhpisa' yimmi'. I hope that a future Chikashsha scholar will examine the historical development of Chihoowa inannalhpisa' yimmi', and I hope that our people will maintain this tradition into the future.

The text offers a powerful example of one of the wilder forms of ittonchololi', motivated by concerns outside the CLRP, but nurtured into fruitfulness by our anomp<u>í</u>'shi' and anompa shaali'. In response, Chikashsha people have embraced this text and use it productively in many ways.

A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary, 2015

At the direction of Chickasaw Nation Department of Culture and Humanities Secretary Lisa John and Governor Anoatubby, I edited the manuscript for what would become *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*, published in 2014.³⁵⁴ Following the publication of *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary* in 1994 and the program's consistent use of the spelling system from that title, citizens increasingly perceived a tension. Humes (or something like it, based on speaker preference) was preferred by native speakers. The Munro-Willmond spelling system was preferred by younger anompa shaali' and people who studied the language and used both the dictionary and the 2008 grammar book, including employees of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program.³⁵⁵

Despite our efforts to use each spelling system in public language displays including building signage, confusion seemed to grow. Our people seemed to think the two spelling systems reflected different ways of speaking Chikashshanompa', which was far from the truth. We had since 2007 conveyed a consistent message that Chikashshanompa' was a single language with individual variations among and within families, and that any variety of

 ³⁵⁴ The following material was originally published as Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 'A Personal Reflection of the Development of *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary,' Ishtunowa: The Journal of Chickasaw History and Culture* 18, no. 1 (Spring 2016):18-25.
 ³⁵⁵ Ibid., 21.

Chikashshanompa' could be represented visually in either spelling system, or an alternative

system.356

I attempted to speak to this in the foreword of the dictionary:

Rather than two very different orthographies, the desire of the Department of Chickasaw Language is that the two systems appear as complementary, side-byside, co-equal and as a matter of choice rather than some obligation. Orthographies are, after all, simply attempts to represent oral languages in written form... Chickasaw can be represented in a variety of ways: Humes, Munro-Willmond, the two systems together, or in any way that feels right to a speaker or learner of the language. We should feel free to use what seems best for us.

Let us remember that regardless of the spelling we choose, each is speaking the same language, simply representing the same word in different ways. These minor differences in spelling would be meaningless to our Chickasaw Ancestors, who communicated in their language without any writing system whatsoever. Like them, let us not be overly concerned with differences in spelling but rather focus on speaking and communicating with one another in the language of our Ancestors. ³⁵⁷

The project also used extra material Mrs. Humes had wanted to include in the original

text. However, we avoided calling this text a second edition, and appreciated it rather as a

companion volume. Our native speakers who knew and had friendships with the late Reverend

and Mrs. Humes treasure A Chickasaw Dictionary and we wanted to avoid offending

Posipóngni^{'358} in any way.

Still, it was clear that the late Mrs. Humes took pains to meticulously record entries

from the original dictionary, edits and additions, at first on reel-to-reel tapes and later on

³⁵⁶ This is in fact how most native speakers would write when they choose to do so—using the Roman alphabet, pulling some morphemes away from the root verb akin to Choctaw, and varying their spelling in whatever way seems correct to them. Ibid., 21-22.

³⁵⁷ Humes and Humes, A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary, xiii.

^{358 &#}x27;Our elders.'

audiocassettes. It was from these recordings, now digitized, that I began the laborious process of editing.

The original manuscript was converted to a Word document using optical character recognition software, and proofed by graduate students from the University of Texas at Arlington under direction of Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald. From the audio files I transcribed her words. I added spellings from the Munro and Willmond system below her original entries, which in some cases were the same. Where any entry was new to the text, I found similar words and reconstructed its spelling using strategies she used. The only modifications I made to the original spellings were where she employed a pure nasal vowel in the recording, but did not mark the word as such in the manuscript.³⁵⁹

I had some misgivings and felt much trepidation at the prospect of offending tribal citizens with a project of this kind. I only desired for learners to use the resource to acquire Chikashshanompa' and to then 'create in their language in whatever way feels good to them. Speak it. Write poetry. Make a phone call. Send a text. Update your Facebook. This is a living language. The real travesty would not be whether we spell the word meaning 'good' as chukma or chokma, but that it ceases to be spoken at all.'³⁶⁰ Despite my fears, *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary* was well received, remains a best-seller for Chickasaw Press, and citizens use it as I had hoped (Figure 49).

 ³⁵⁹ Humes and Humes, *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*, xv, xvi.
 ³⁶⁰ Hinson, 'A Personal Reflection,' 25.

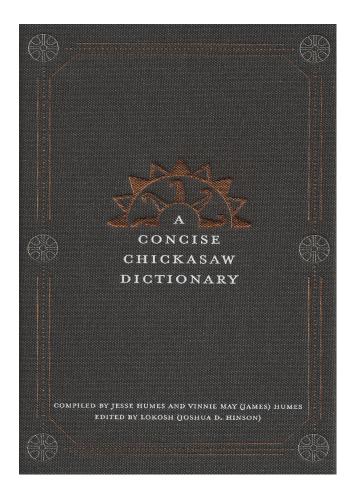


Figure 49: Jesse Humes and Vinnie May (James) Humes, *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*, edited by Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2015).

The Early Chickasaw Homeland, 2014

The late Dr. John Dyson, a longtime friend of the CLRP, wrote this book with language assistance from the late Jerry Imotichey. *The Early Chickasaw Homeland: Origins, Boundaries & Society* draws on John's extensive background in the language and his great research skills to illuminate topics of our ancient history including clans, place names, and the origin of the word 'Chikashsha.' The book is not a language text *per se*; rather, it is more ethnohistorical in scope. *The Early Chickasaw Homeland* is an example of what can be accomplished when scholars partner with Indigenous communities—that is, research with them, rather than about them,

an approach that is the essence of Chikashsha asilhlha (Figure 50):

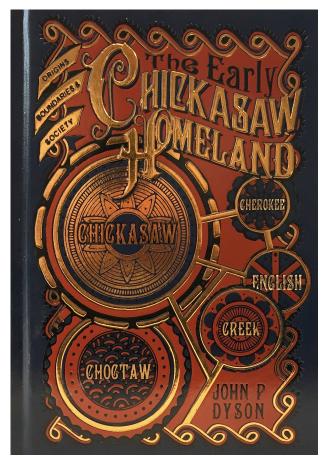


Figure 50: John P. Dyson, *The Early Chickasaw Homeland: Origins, Boundaries & Society* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2014).

llimpa'chi': We're Gonna Eat! A Chickasaw Cookbook, 2011

Ilittibaaimpa':! Let's Eat Together! A Chickasaw Cookbook, 2015

Both titles were co-authored by native speaker JoAnn Ellis and former Chickasaw

Language Revitalization Program employee Vicki Penner. They created two lovingly curated

cookbooks of treasured family recipes from multiple community members. While not a

language text, JoAnn included language throughout. Some of their recipes are completely in

Chikashshanompa' (Figure 51):



Figure 51: Vicki Penner and JoAnn Ellis, *llimpa'chi': A Chickasaw Cookbook* and *ilittibaaimpa'!* Let's Eat Together (Sulphur and Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2011 and 2015).

Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli', 2008

Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli' was published by University of Oklahoma Press with assistance by Chickasaw Press in 2008. While not a product of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, it has been instrumental in our program development and I would be remiss not to detail it here. The text is a kind of hybrid—not a full, descriptive grammar, nor a simple teaching grammar. A significant number of pages are devoted to challenging topics including rhythmic lengthening and the verb grade system. The text is arranged topically, with prose describing linguistic features with language exercises alternating, as well as relevant cultural material. It includes a compact disc with selected passages read by Mrs. Willmond. It is the main text used at East Central University for Chickasaw I-IV classes, and was highly instructive in my own learning. I was conversational when I first encountered it, so it helped me qualify what I heard from speakers, and enhanced my speech. Let's Speak Chickasaw has proven a powerful tool in our ittonchololi' process, and has informed other significant efforts including Rosetta Stone Chickasaw (see below) and Chikasha Academy (see Chapter 8). Although Chickasaw Press does not publish the book, it has included it in every annual catalog, and sells copies of it in its bookstore and online. (Figure 52):

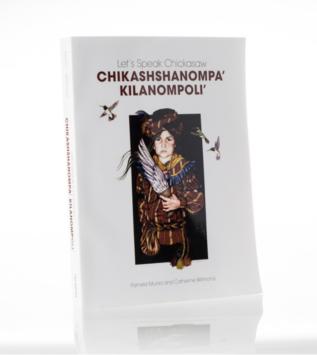


Figure 52: Pamela Munro and Catherine Willmond, *Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli'* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2008).

Chickasaw Basic Language Workbook I and II, 2016 and 2018

The Chickasaw Language Committee and Chikashsha scholar Michelle Cooke authored these texts in 2016 and 2018. They offer examples of Chikashshanompa' and activities for beginner-level learners either in area community classes or self-study contexts. They also present both orthographies side by side in a manner similar to *A Concise Chickasaw Dictionary*. Because language community members aided in creating them, they also stand as examples of resistance against the tyranny of orthographic purism we have struggled with since the mid1990s. We always say citizens should be free to spell and speak Chikashshanompa' in ways that are right and relevant for themselves (Figure 53):



Figure 53: Michelle Cooke with the Chickasaw Language Committee, *Chickasaw Basic Language Workbook I* and *II* (Ada, OK: Chickasaw Press, 2016 and 2018).

Rosetta Stone Chickasaw

Thursday, September 2, 2010 at 4:12pm UTC-10

Rosetta Stone's newest endangered language product. Guess what? They haven't done a Muskogean language. Guess what else? Chickasaw is the MOST critically endangered Muskogean language, with less than 75 native speakers, all over the age of 55. If you are Chickasaw, married to a Chickasaw, friends with a Chickasaw or just care about Chickasaw and other endangered languages, contact Rosetta Stone and express your desire to have Chickasaw accepted as a project in the Endangered Language Program. Here's the contact info: Marion Bittinger Manager, Endangered Language Program

T: (540) 236-5331 F: (540) 432-0953 mbittinger@rosettastone.com RosettaStone.com³⁶¹

Chokma -

Thank you for taking time to explain the Endangered Language Program process in detail. We look forward to applying to the program as soon as a new project is opening becomes available. We believe that Chickasaw is an ideal language for Rosetta Stone's Endangered Language Program for several reasons: 1) Chickasaw is a critically endangered language. We currently have less than 75 native speakers, all over the age of 55, among an ethnic population of 44,500. 2) Chickasaw will be an excellent, complementary language in the Rosetta Stone Endangered

³⁶¹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook status update, 2 September 2010.

Language Program portfolio. It is a Muskogean language, currently spoken in the Chickasaw Nation, located in south-central Oklahoma. Rosetta Stone, while having made significant strides in offering a broad range of Native American languages, has yet to offer a language of the Muskogean family nor a language currently spoken in Oklahoma, a state internationally recognized for both its linguistic diversity and its status as a hot spot of language loss. 3) The Chickasaw Nation is an ideal partner for Rosetta Stone. Nationally and internationally recognized as a leader in Indian Country, both economically and culturally, the Chickasaw Nation and the Department of Chickasaw Language will put its full support behind the project. The Department of Chickasaw Language brings a full-time staff of six to the project, as well as a language committee composed of 26 native speakers of Chickasaw. We are confident that we can collaborate with Rosetta Stone's Endangered Language Program staff to efficiently and quickly create a product that will stand proudly amongst the many world languages currently offered by Rosetta Stone. Thank you for your consideration, and I will be in touch in early spring of 2011.

Chokma'shki -Joshua D Hinson the Chickasaw Nation Director Department of Chickasaw Language Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program Division of History and Culture 580-436-2603 x 62342 (office) 580-272-7216 (mobile) POMANOMPAAT BÍLLI'YA - Our Language is Forever.³⁶²

Thursday, August 18, 2016 at 10:18am UTC-10 Joshua D. Hinson and Marion Bittinger are now friends.³⁶³

Friday, September 2, 2016 at 5:24pm UTC-10 Joshua D. Hinson shared a memory. And six years later, we're actually doing Rosetta Stone Chickasaw. Marion Bittinger - were you inundated with calls?³⁶⁴

³⁶² Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), email message to Marion Bittinger, 26 September 2010.

³⁶³ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook status update, 18 August 2016.

³⁶⁴ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook status update, 2 September 2016.

From the moment I was appointed to lead the language program in 2007, I was often asked when we were going to do a Rosetta Stone program. These requests, whether deriving ultimately from someone's actual experience with Rosetta Stone products, or merely the efficacy of Rosetta Stone's marketing strategy, were regular, and insistent. From 2007 to 2010 the program was largely preoccupied with existing initiatives including the Phraselator program (that ultimately led to the Apple mobile application and website) and the Chickasaw Master-Apprentice Program, so Rosetta Stone Chickasaw requests were simply duly noted, with 'maybe someday' responses. If the stars aligned, resources were allocated, and Governor Anoatubby felt that the project would ultimately benefit our people, then we would do Rosetta Stone Chickasaw.

Lokosh 12 March 2019

During the early 1980s, the Rosetta Stone company grew from founder Allen Stoltzfus' frustration with traditional language learning methods. Unlike his acquisition of German that grew out of real-world immersion experiences in Germany, his experience with Russian was difficult and decidedly unnatural. Stoltzfus imagined a computer-aided program wherein students acquired their target languages through sight and sound, in an immersive environment, without direct translation. After exploring the idea with his brother-in-law, Dr. John Fairfield, who had completed a doctorate in computer science, Stoltzfus determined the technology of the day could not realize such a vision. In 1992 the company that would become Rosetta Stone Inc. was formed in Harrisonburg, Virginia. Stoltzfus, Fairfield, and Stoltzfus' brother Eugene named their product after the famed Egyptian artifact that first enabled scholars to decipher Egyptian hieroglyphics. Rosetta Stone quickly engaged the consumer language-learning market with its ubiquitous yellow packaging and distinctive blue Rosetta Stone logo. Rosetta Stone Inc. now provides language instruction for more than thirty world

languages, and has recently expanded its education technology efforts worldwide with offices in other countries, including Brazil.³⁶⁵

Our motivation to pursue Rosetta Stone was not based on the company's reputation, the efficacy of 'Computer Aided Language Learning' (CALL) approaches, or any other factors beyond one: Rosetta Stone had established the Endangered Languages program.³⁶⁶ As of fall 2010, it had released five projects with Indigenous language groups across the United States. Communities sponsoring endangered language projects with Rosetta Stone included the NANA Regional Corporation and Aqqaluk Trust (Iñupiaq (Coastal) and Iñupiaq (Kobuk/Selawik), 2007 and 2010, the Torngâsok Cultural Center (Inuttitut, 2007 and 2011), the Kanien'kehaka Onkwawén:na Raotitiohkwa Language and Cultural Center (Mohawk, 2009), and the Chitimacha Tribe of Louisiana (Sitimaxa, 2010).³⁶⁷ We believed if other Indigenous communities could work successfully with Rosetta Stone, perhaps we could, too.

After I became aware of Rosetta Stone's Endangered Language program in 2008, I emailed program manager Amy M. Echo-Hawk (Pawnee-Yakama). She expressed an interest in a Rosetta Stone Chickasaw project, and sent out a packet of introductory material. The project as proposed would deliver online content and 1,000 physical CD-ROM products.³⁶⁸ Following this communication, I reached out to my division administrator Foshhommak (Dr. Amanda

 ³⁶⁵ 'History,' *Rosetta Stone.* Accessed 13 March 2017, http://www.rosettastone.com/history.
 ³⁶⁶ Larry Abramson, 'Software Company Helps Revive 'Sleeping' Language,' *All Things Considered*, NPR (2 February 2010).

³⁶⁷ 'Endangered Languages,' *Rosetta Stone*. Accessed 15 March 2017, http:// http://www.rosettastone.com/endangered/projects.

³⁶⁸ Amy M. Echo-Hawk, email message to author, 7 August 2008.

Cobb-Greetham). We discussed the project, the relative merits of a similar approach for our own tribe, and considered next steps. At that time we determined to hold off until a later date.

Two years later, at Dr. Cobb-Greetham's direction, I contacted Rosetta Stone Endangered Language program manager Marion Bittinger via email. The program had several projects already under way, including one in Navajo produced in conjunction with Navajo Language Renaissance. Bittinger requested that we contact them again in six months.³⁶⁹ I agreed, but went on to make the case for our program's acceptance as an Endangered Language project based on several factors, including:

1) Chickasaw was, and remains, a critically endangered language. In 2010 there were less than seventy-five native speakers, all older than 55, out of a tribal population of 44,500.³⁷⁰

2) Chickasaw, as both the most critically endangered Muskogean language and a language of the state of Oklahoma, an internationally known language-loss hotspot, would be an ideal project for Rosetta Stone.

3) The Chickasaw Nation, due to its exceptional commitment to language revitalization, its economic power as the second-largest employer in the state of Oklahoma, and the professional and linguistic resources available to devote to the language, would be an ideal partner.³⁷¹

Upon agreed-upon follow-up in the spring of 2011, we were informed Rosetta Stone had suspended its Endangered Language program. Turning instead to other department

³⁶⁹ Marion Bittinger, email message to author, 2 September 2010.

³⁷⁰ As of this writing there are fewer than fifty first language speakers out of a tribal population of over 68,000 tribal citizens.

³⁷¹ Author, email message to Marion Bittinger, 2 September 2010.

initiatives including Chickasaw Press language publications and chickasaw.tv language education initiatives, we tabled CALL efforts, including Rosetta Stone, for future discussion.

In 2014 - 2015 we returned to the issue of language education for citizens at large, and the roles that CALL products could play in such efforts. At the time, tribal citizenship was roughly 60,000.³⁷² Of that number, 20,000 lived in the tribal service area, another 20,000 outside the service area but in the state of Oklahoma, and the remaining 20,000 in other locales like Houston, Texas; Portland, Oregon; Los Angeles, California; and Denver, Colorado. Of the 60,000 tribal citizens, roughly sixty-five were native speakers of Chickasaw and perhaps another ten, at most, were serious students of the language and capable of sustained conversation.

By necessity, we had focused much of our efforts since 2007 on the small core group of language learners involved in the Chickasaw Master-Apprentice Program. We had produced many enrichment products for tribal citizens, with positive responses. But we not created an indepth, linguistically and culturally sound computer-aided language-learning product that could help most of our tribal citizens to reclaim Chikashshanompa'. How could we balance the need for focused, structured immersion with the few while providing language-learning experiences for the majority? We needed a technological solution for the very human problem of language loss.

A language survey conducted in 2014 by Ivan Ozbolt in conjunction with the CLRP as part of his dissertation research showed that Chickasaw citizens desired programs that were focused on grammar-translation, with cultural components including guided activities and

³⁷² Chickasaw citizenship was 58,580 in 2014 and 61,290 in 2015. Palmer Mosely, email to author, 10 December 2019.

regular assessments, as well as potential for engagement with other learners. The survey and Ozbolt's resultant dissertation shaped in significant ways our thinking toward a CALL approach.³⁷³

We explored computer-aided language-learning websites that provided access free of charge, especially platforms like DuoLingo and WeSpeak. The strength of these programs is that they are large and crowd-sourced, with native speakers and serious students of a given language producing content that becomes core lessons for the casual, non-native learner.³⁷⁴ The department made some early attempts to contact Duolingo with limited success, in 2014 and 2015, including emailing founders Luis von Ahn and Severin Hacker. The department applied to Duolingo's Incubator program for new languages in June 2015, and received a rejection email on 15 June 2015. Duolingo stated it did not have the resources to add a Chickasaw Duolingo course, and that even if it did, the limited size of our 'crowd' would severely limit our progress. A successful Duolingo project has hundreds and often thousands of users/editors.³⁷⁵

In fall 2014 we revisited the idea of a Rosetta Stone Chickasaw project. Our chickasaw.tv partner, advertising agency and media company Ackerman McQueen, made inroads with Rosetta Stone's corporate offices. Although the company's Endangered Language program was still technically mothballed, a meeting was arranged between Rosetta Stone executives and

³⁷³ Ozbolt, 'Community Perspectives.'

³⁷⁴ Parmy Olson, 'Crowdsourcing Capitalists: How Duolingo's Founders Offered Free Education To Millions,' *Forbes*, 10 February 2014.

https://www.forbes.com/sites/parmyolson/2014/01/22/crowdsourcing-capitalists-howduolingos-founders-offered-free-education-to-millions/#1c54777a7251

³⁷⁵ Duolingo Support, email to author, 15 June 2015.

myself in early 2015 to gather information, make an initial effort for the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program to express its desires for the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw project, and for Rosetta Stone to find answers to questions they had about the technological infrastructure of the Chickasaw Nation, including media and linguistic resources, human resources, and internal audio-visual production capacities.

The meeting took place 6 March 2015. Rosetta Stone followed up with a detailed proposal on 27 April of that year. A revised proposal was delivered 30 April, and another revision on 23 June 2015. That third revision was reviewed by Culture and Humanities secretary Lisa John and Governor Bill Anoatubby. On 16 July 2015, I received word from my direct supervisor, Executive Officer Lori Hamilton, that Governor Anoatubby had given the green light on Rosetta Stone Chickasaw (RSC) Levels 1 and 2, with a contract option to produce Levels 3 and 4.³⁷⁶

Following a lengthy contract approval process, the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw development team met in Ada, Oklahoma, at the headquarters building of the Chickasaw

³⁷⁶ I have on occasion suggested that garnering political capital and support for language revitalization efforts from both the Chikashsha community and tribal government was not 'a hard sell,' but that statement simplifies what is actually a great deal of complicated language advocacy work - advocacy conducted at all levels of tribal government and throughout our communities. The work of language advocacy enables us to do our revitalization work, and acknowledgement of the gift that is language advocacy is warranted – individuals including Governor Anoatubby, Dr. Amanda J. Cobb-Greetham, Lisa John, Lori Hamilton, my co-workers, and the members of the Chickasaw Language Committee have provided the institutional and cultural support needed to sustain an effective revitalization program.

Nation.³⁷⁷ In attendance from the Chickasaw Nation were myself and Dr. Juliet Morgan.³⁷⁸ From Rosetta Stone were Curriculum Lead Marion Bittinger, Product Management Director Stephanie Allen, Custom Services Senior Manager LeeAnn Stone, and Account Executive Suzette Patterson. The purpose of our two-day meeting was to identify key players in the partnership, define and assign responsibilities, detail project components and workflow, and to sketch a preliminary scope and sequence for the forty lessons of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level 1.

The part was devoted to the usual business of beginning a long-term partnership around a fairly complicated product: introductions, role assignments, and general orientation concerning the product development process. The Rosetta Stone team led the orientation, and described to us the various roles needed to complete the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level 1 product:

- Project Lead, the primary point of contact between Rosetta Stone and the Chickasaw Nation;
- Project Manager, responsible for schedules, budget, and project management with the Rosetta Stone project manager;
- Lesson Authors, responsible for initial drafts of lessons, vocabulary definitions, example sentences, and certain categories of product content;
- Script Authors, who author video scripts;

³⁷⁷ This development narrative addresses only the process and does not touch on financial aspects of the project. Representatives of Rosetta Stone and the Chickasaw Nation, including myself, signed non-disclosure agreements at the beginning of the proposal process.
³⁷⁸ At the time of this first meeting Dr. Morgan was a graduate student at the University of Oklahoma. She has since completed her dissertation on the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program and has joined CLRP as a full-time staff linguist.

- Test Authors, who create practicing and testing content;
- Editors, responsible for all lesson content and ensuring it follows lesson objectives;
- Reviewers, given the tasks to proofread, check images, and check audio;
- Voice and Video actors, whose performances create the core audiovisual product; and
- the Video Production Team, responsible for the final video products.

At this point I wasn't quite sure what we had gotten ourselves into. I quickly realized the custom solution we had signed on for was far different from the Rosetta Stone Foundations and Endangered Language products I was familiar with. Even the physical product was absent. The yellow box with the blue Rosetta Stone logo, encapsulating CD-ROM disks for installation in your personal computer didn't even exist, anymore. The entire program was to live in the cloud and moreover, it was centered on a video at the core of each lesson. And the videos were not simple black-box affairs with minimal acting. They were full-blown productions. I had no idea how we were going to accomplish the enormous task ahead. The Chickasaw side of the Rosetta Stone — Chickasaw Nation partnership alone—was composed of potentially over twenty persons. We were a small program of ten full-time employees, half devoted to full-time language learning in the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program. I was to be a lead facilitator in the Chikasha Academy initiative. It became quickly evident that I would need to lean on another learner to accomplish the goals of the Chikasha Academy so I could give the amount of effort and intensity required to pull off Rosetta Stone Chickasaw. Even then, I had serious misgivings about our ability to fully staff the Chickasaw side of the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw partnership.

Lokosh 19 March 2019

Rosetta Stone Chickasaw ilikbi' (Let's create Rosetta Stone Chickasaw!): Development Process

During the months following, the three project leads, Marion Bittinger of Rosetta Stone,

myself, and Dr. Juliet Morgan, developed the scope and sequence document for Rosetta Stone

Chickasaw Level 1. We began by studying reference scope and sequence documents from other

Rosetta Stone projects, navigating through them while making changes, rejecting irrelevant

suggestions and expanding where necessary to ensure content was culturally appropriate, rich, grammatically appropriate and compelling for the user population. The scope and sequence follow a familiar pattern repeated throughout the product (Figure 54):

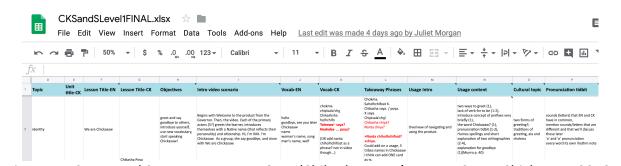


Figure 54: Scope and Sequence, Lesson One: 'Chikasha Poya,' Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, 2016. From the scope and sequence document emerged lesson templates that would be fleshed out in scripts for video production and audio content for various applications. The final scope and sequence document for RSC Level 1 was submitted in January 2016, reviewed by my line of authority, and approved for production.

The full 160-lesson scope and sequence followed a particular grammatical architecture underpinning the entire product. We built upon the work of Munro and Willmond 2008 to define the underlying grammar, but always deferred to the RSC sub-committee (see below) when their usages varied from the described variety. We also felt free to move away from the specific grammatical scope of sequence in Munro and Willmond 2008 when the grammar required of a particular video demanded it. Regardless, the grammar was heavily sheltered in the first two levels.

Producing video scripts was a long, involved process. We turned immediately to a subcommittee of the CLC in Level 1, consisting of the late Jerry Imotichey, Stanley Smith, Rose

Shields Jefferson, and Pauline Brown to draft each lesson script for linguistic and cultural accuracy. Each script was reviewed by the committee, and upon approval by leadership, was moved into production. The video production process was also intricate, with the production team from Ackerman McQueen in the production lead, myself as on-set language consultant³⁷⁹, and a cast of five Chickasaw citizens to portray the core family group: Rose Shields Jefferson as the grandmother Lili'; Kara Berst as her daughter, Lisa Hikatubby; Jason Eyachabbe as Lisa's husband, Ben Hikatubby; Kara's daughter, Neveah Smith portraying Lisa and Ben's daughter Taloowa¹³⁸⁰ and Jason's son, Jariah Eyachabbe, portraying Nashoba.³⁸¹ In later seasons we added Luther John portraying Ben's father, Charlie Hikatubby. Mr. John also replaced the late Jerry Imotichey on the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw subcommittee after Jerry's passing. We also used more than fifty Chickasaw citizens and employees in the production of the full 160-lesson Rosetta Stone Chickasaw story arc.

The Rosetta Stone Chickasaw subcommittee reviewed each video following production, offered editorial comments, and reviewed subsequent edited videos until agreeing they were satisfactory. The subcommittee was well aware of the challenges of the process for non-native speakers and second-language learners tasked with acting while confidently and accurately delivering lines in Chikashshanompa'. What emerged is a full 160 lessons averaging two and a half minutes each, portraying communicative Chikashshanompa' in a variety of social and

³⁷⁹ Most of my Rosetta Stone Chickasaw responsibilities were organized around video script production and video production, with on-set language coaching for each video. I was not present at perhaps two or three shooting days at most, when <u>O</u>si' Tohbi' (Brandon White Eagle) substituted for me.

cultural settings. They are, of course, fictional, natural transmission of Chikashshanompa' having ceased in the 1940s, but they are also aspirational. Chikashsha families can now see what it looks like to communicate in a dynamic family setting. That is considered a powerful aspect of the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw process.

Following the production, editing, and approval of the videos, we turned to lesson and assessment authoring. The process of interpreting the content in each lesson into discrete lesson content areas was also a long one. Doctors Morgan and Kari Chew (who joined the development team for Levels 1, 3, and 4) authored lesson and assessment content while I functioned as a master editor and creator of cultural content in consultation with the subcommittee and LaDonna Brown, Director of Research and Cultural Interpretation, Division of Heritage Preservation, Department of Culture and Humanities. Once the entire forty-lessonper-level content was created and reviewed by the production team and support staff from CLRP, we would submit for release date, generally in the spring of each year: spring 2017, 2018, 2019, with a final release scheduled for late spring or early summer 2020.

Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Lesson Structure

A thorough survey of the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw product is beyond the scope of this chapter, but I hope a brief overview of a typical lesson's content will be instructive. Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level 1, Lesson 1, is titled, Chikasha Poya, 'We are Chickasaw,' and follows the standard lesson sequence for all levels:

- Introduction
- Vocabulary

- Usage Intro
- Usage
- Usage practice
- Reading aloud
- Writing Practice
- Test.

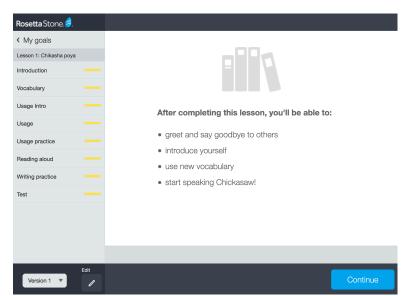


Figure 55: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, lesson overview screen.

The overview screen for each lesson describes what a learner will be able to do after completion, while the sidebar tracks progress across each section. The introduction section is the video component for each lesson. In this case, Chikasha Poya begins with an introduction and welcome to the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw product from Governor Bill Anoatubby, followed by the Chikasha Poya lesson that introduces us to the Hikatubby family (Figure 56):

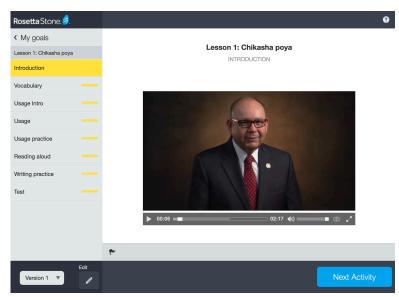


Figure 56: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Introduction screenshot.

The next content area is 'Vocabulary,' which introduces the core lesson vocabulary with an audio file recorded by a native speaker of Chikashshanompa', an associated image, a 'Listen' tab for replaying the audio file, and a 'Speak' tab to record the vocabulary spoken by the user, which is in turn analyzed against native and non-native speaker speech to give the user a general sense of his or her accuracy. Upon flipping the card, the user is presented with the English translation of the vocabulary item and two example sentences in Chikashshanompa' (Figures 57 and 58). The user has the ability to choose 'Not Yet' to recycle a vocabulary item or 'I Understand,' to continue. This section, like all others, can be repeated as often as the user chooses.

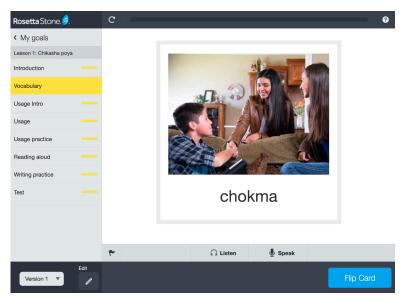


Figure 57: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Vocabulary screenshot.

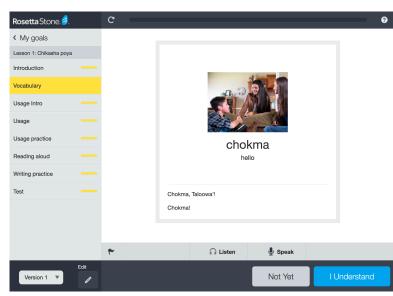


Figure 58: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Vocabulary screenshot.

The next section, 'Usage Intro' (Figure 59), is dedicated to a video presentation that expands on a given lesson's content. In the case of Chikasha Poya, the 'Usage Intro' video titled 'Getting Started' walks the user through the interface for each lesson, explains what the user will encounter, details the features of each of the seven sections and the test, and offers technical assistance in activating the microphone and the virtual keyboard for writing practice. Subsequent 'Usage Intro' video content will include vocabulary review in a whole-language context as portrayed in the videos, significant cultural content such as native speaker Sam Johnson preparing pishofa at Seeley Chapel, and other strategies to offer critical repetition of core vocabulary and language structures.

Rosetta Stone. 🥖								(
< My goals								
Lesson 1: Chikasha poya			-					
Introduction								
Vocabulary								
Usage Intro					\sim			
Usage				Gettir	1 0- \$t	artec		
Usage practice								
Reading aloud								
Writing practice								
Test			▶ 00:00 ■			🔲 06:11 🌒 🔲	■ « [×]	
		•						
		۴						
Version 1 🔻	Edit						Next Act	ivity

Figure 59: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Usage Intro screenshot.

The 'Usage' section allows users to hear and see in-depth grammatical information,

alternative spellings, and relevant cultural content (Figure 60).

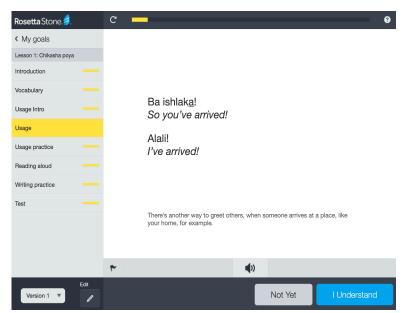


Figure 60: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Usage Intro screenshot.

'Usage practice' allows users immediately to practice the content they have gleaned from the introductory video and seen represented and reinforced in the 'Vocabulary,' 'Usage Intro' and 'Usage' sections. Instructions at the top of the window guide users through the choices they need to make to move to the next item (Figures 61 and 62):

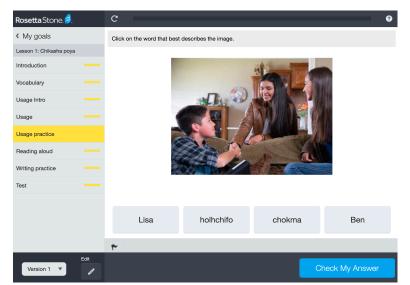


Figure 61: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Usage Practice screenshot.

Rosetta Stone. 🥖		C		0
< My goals		Choo:	se the correct answer for each blank. Use what you learned in the lesson.	
Lesson 1: Chikasha poya				
Introduction				
Vocabulary				
Usage Intro				
Usage				
Usage practice			Chokma 🔻 ! Saholhchifoat 🗸	
Reading aloud			Poya Chokma	
Writing practice			Nashoba Saya	
Test				
		۴		
Version 1 🔻	Edit		Check My Answer	

Figure 62: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Usage Practice screenshot.

'Reading aloud' (Figure 63) allows users to listen to a recording of Chikashshanompa' text from a native speaker or advanced language learner (generally me), and to record a clip of themselves reading the same text. The software analyzes every user's recording against a database of native and non-native speaker recordings and provides a rating. The user can go back and forth between listening and recording their audio until they are satisfied with their score.

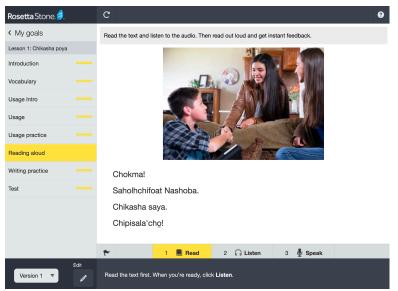


Figure 63: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Reading Aloud screenshot.

'Writing practice' provides a series of audio files and prompts for the user to transcribe what they hear, using the Munro Willmond orthography (Figure 64). Users are given a virtual keyboard that helps them use the orthography's special characters. This section has an explicit message for learners who do not care to focus on writing in Chikashshanompa', and the lesson test does not assess writing proficiency.

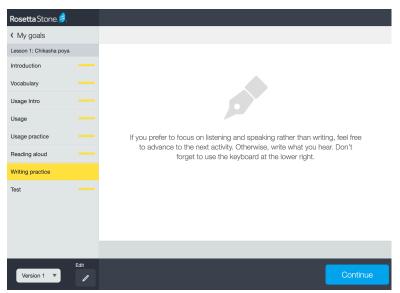


Figure 64: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Writing practice screenshot.

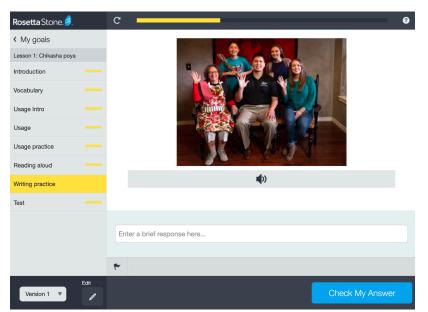


Figure 65: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Writing practice screenshot.

The test at the end of each lesson assesses user comprehension through different strategies largely focused on listening, reading, pattern recognition, and vocabulary acquisition (Figure 66). It requires a score of 80 percent or better to move on to the next lesson. Speaking and writing are not assessed. I was resistant to this sort of testing, but our citizens consistently communicated how they wanted a rigorous CALL product that would assess their acquisition of Chikashshanompa'. So, we gave it to them.

Rosetta Stone. 🥖.		C
< My goals		Choose the correct answer for each blank. Use what you learned in the lesson.
Lesson 1: Chikasha poya		
Introduction		
Vocabulary		
Usage Intro		
Usage		
Usage practice		Saholhchifoat √ .
Reading aloud		chokma chipisala'cho
Writing practice		Chikasha Ben
Test		
		*
Version 1 🔻	Edit	Submit

Figure 66: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, Lesson One, Test screenshot.

Content themes across levels

The communicative goals of RSC drove the video content. We wanted citizens to be able to acquire the essential vocabulary and grammatical knowledge to confidently communicate with others in Chikashshanompa', in whatever way, location, time, or domain that felt right to them. We also hoped they would be enriched by the cultural information, and shifted increasingly to fundamentally culture-driven lessons in later levels. These later lessons did not

forgo communicating the underlying grammatical information, but the focus on overt grammatical instruction diminished in many cases.

The topics of RSC Level 1 include identity, speaking, family members, age, domestic animals, colors, preparing traditional foods like pishofa, telling time, days of the week, morning activities, clothing and colors, breakfast foods, asking questions, grammatical tenses (including future tense), weather, narrating in first and third persons, language learning, daily schedule, seasonal activities, home-based activities, texting, bedtime routines, household contents, money, shopping, birthdays, church activities, talking about where someone comes from, body parts, basic health and states of being, to'li¹³⁸², our Chickasaw Nation governmental structure, agriculture, extended family, and Christmas traditions among our people.

Level 2 topics include introducing yourself and others, making kapochcha' to'li¹³⁸³, playing games, prayer, recreational activities in the Chickasaw Nation and Oklahoma City, the Chickasaw Princess Pageant, traditional gifting of feathers, an interview series focusing on Chikashsha professionals and careers, a series on the Chickasaw Cultural Center and Chickasaw Nation landmarks, and traditional naming practices.

Level 3 topics include introduction of self and family to others, leisure activities in the Chickasaw community, a crawfish boil, misunderstandings, turkey hunting at Kullihoma, community language classes, cooking pishofa, gathering and preparing atofalaa' imilhlha¹³⁸⁴, sharing information with others using increasingly complex switch-reference features, talking about your day, asking and giving directions, talking about obligations, talking about chores,

³⁸² 'Stickball.'

³⁸³ 'Stickball sticks.'

³⁸⁴ 'Wild onions.'

talking about the game of horseshoes, comparisons, gardening and, most significantly for this level, understanding the telling of traditional Chikashsha stories and retelling them in one's own words.

Level 4 topics include introducing yourself and others, answering and asking personal questions, understanding the switch reference 'if / when,' learning Chikashshanompa' and learner strategies, cooking of traditional foods, teaching others Chikashshanompa' through strategies like do-it-yourself video segments made with mobile phones, relatives and significant persons in Chickasaw history, relating habitual actions for self and others, playing games, scheduling, a family meal, sibling conflict, Chickasaw veterans, citizens at large, the history of boarding schools and the Indian Relocation Program, the Chikasha Academy, playing games and spending time with elders, stories of growing up Chickasaw in the 1950s and 1960s, understanding the telling of traditional Chikashsha stories and retelling them in your own words, the obligation to teach others as you learn, and the historical realties for Chikashshanompa' in the past as compared with our current ittonchololi' movement.

Nannanoli' Chikashsha in RSC Levels 3 and 4

As seen earlier in this chapter, we have a rich tradition of Chikashsha anompoli³⁸⁵, including shikonno'pa' and other forms of oral narrative. In our progression from whole language in natural, communicative settings toward richer cultural material, we looked to this archive of Chikashsha anompoli, in particular the corpus of narratives captured under the

³⁸⁵ 'Chikashsha speech.'

auspices of the Chickasaw Verb grant. We gleaned significant shikonno'pa' from that archive for use in RSC Levels 3 and 4.³⁸⁶

The first narrative was featured in Lesson 84: Hopaakikaash Shakchiat yaakni' ikbittook, 'Long ago Crayfish made the land,' as told by the late Juanita Byars (see Chapter 1). It is the creation story for not only the Chikashsha, but also other related nations. As related earlier, this story is judged by some anomp<u>í</u>'shi' to be shikonno'pa', and by others as nannan<u>o</u>li' <u>á</u>lhlhi'³⁸⁷. Regardless, it is one of our most significant and foundational stories, perhaps second only to the migration story.

As with other grammatically complex examples of Chikashsha anompoli used in the Chikasha Academy approach (Chapter 8), we created simplified versions of the original narratives to assist users in acquiring them for themselves and for their retelling to others. The original text is fully transcribed in Chapter 1, so here I will only represent the modified narrative created from Mrs. Nail's original for RSC (Figure 67):

7	Lili'	Nannanoli' yamma ithanali. Shakchi ishtanompoli	I know this story. It talks about crayfish
8		Chikasha alhiha'at Aba' Bínni'li' jyimmi.	Many Chickasaws believe in He Who Sits On High.
9		Aba' Bínni'li'at hattak móma' lokfi' ishtikbittook.	He Who Sits on High made all people from the dust of the earth.
10		Nannimilhlha' móma'akookya ishtikbittook.	He made all the animals from it, too.
11		Nittak chaffaka nannimilhlha'at yaakni' ikbi hoobannattook.	One day the animals wanted to make land.
12		Shakchiakoot lokfi' chakissa' ayoowattook.	Crayfish was the one that gathered the mud.
13		Yaakni' ishtikbittook.	He made the land with it.
14		Shakchiat yaakni' patassa' ikayokpa'chokittook.	Crayfish didn't like the flat land.
15		Haatoko Shiiki'at shakchi apilattook.	So then Buzzard helped Crayfish.
16		Shiiki'at onchaba' ikbittook.	Buzzard made the mountains.
17		Yammak illa.	That's it.

Figure 67: Chikashsha Creation Story, Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Lesson 84.

This version is highly simplified and features none of the complex switch-reference

features or narrative devices of a typical anomp<u>í</u>'shi' nannan<u>o</u>li' / shikonno'pa'. The core of the

³⁸⁶ This shift in approach was negotiated among our working group, but is largely the product of input by Dr. Kari Chew.

³⁸⁷ 'True story.'

narrative is maintained however, in a way that helps inexperienced anompa shaali' access the material. The visual content for the lesson was created by Chikashsha author and artist Jeannie Barbour for Glenda Galvan's storybook series (discussed above) (Figure 68):

Rosetta Stone.	0			
< My goals				
Lesson 84: Hopaakikaash Shakc	Lesson 84: Hopaakikaash Shakchiat yaakni' ikbittook.			
Introduction	INTRODUCTION			
Vocabulary				
Usage Intro				
Usage				
Usage practice				
Reading aloud	Shakchiakoot lokfi' chakissa' ayowattook.			
Writing practice				
Test				
	► 00:53			
	*			
Edit				
Version 1 🔻 🧷	Next Activity			

Figure 68: Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level Three, Lesson Eighty-four, Introduction screenshot.

The bulk of the narratives in Level 3 are shikonno'pa'. One is a nannan<u>o</u>li' chokoshpa³⁸⁸ told by John Puller and retold by the late Jerry Imotichey. Two are fictional stories I wrote. The first is based on the childhood experiences of Rose Shields Jefferson, who attended Haskell Indian Nations University when it was still a high school. The other is drawn from the experiences of Stanley Smith as portrayed through the character of Charlie Hikatubby, recounting a childhood story of bullying and a trick played with a grass snake. The resultant

³⁸⁸ 'Joke story.'

narratives, being based partly in fact, were carefully developed with the anomp<u>í</u>'shi' who inspired them.

We followed the same model in RSC Level 4, with primarily shikonno'pa' and a fictionalized narrative based loosely on a story from Kosi' Sam Johnson, who recounted a childhood raccoon-hunting trip with a white classmate who, having been brought up among the Chikashsha people, could speak Chikashshanompa' fluently. In our version the white child, called Sholop, 'Ghost,' has a crush on a Chikashsha girl named Adeline, and his Chikashsha friends play jokes on him using the language. Sholop and Adeline ultimately fell in love and were married—in Rosetta Stone Chickasaw land, anyway.³⁸⁹ The illustrations for the narratives in Levels 3 and 4 were created by Jeannie Barbour, Chickasaw / Seneca student Lauren John, Chickasaw citizen and Chickasaw Press employee Brigette McGregor, and myself.

Learner Response

We designed this product hoping ten percent of our tribal citizenship would take advantage of it. About 6,800 persons are the target, and as of this writing we are currently at 6,300 users of RSC. Of the ten percent target we hope 680 (1 percent of our current citizen population) will become committed, involved users active in the product on a weekly basis. Of this 1 percent we further hope that future anompa shaali' will emerge to join our efforts to maintain a speech community within the physical boundaries of the Chickasaw Nation.

³⁸⁹ RSC is not without humor. It offers sight gags, punchline work, 'Easter egg' content that recalls 1980s films (in particular, 'Ferris Bueller's Day Off'), and some exceptional 1990s flashback scenes in Level 4 that proved quite entertaining to create and view.

Citizens have regularly contacted myself or other CLRP employees to express their gratitude for the creation of RSC (Figure 69)³⁹⁰:

"I've been studying the Chickasaw language for more than a year, and the Rosetta Stone program has helped me achieve my goal of learning my native tongue. I am 59 years old and did not know a word of Chickasaw until I started studying using Rosetta Stone. Having already completed levels 1 and 2, I look forward to expanding my knowledge of the Chickasaw language with new lessons soon to be released!"

> David Wolfe, Rosetta Stone Chickasaw User

Figure 69: User response, David Wolfe, Chickasaw citizen.

We took a survey following the release of RSC Level 2, and focused it on user experience so we could tailor Levels 3 and 4 more specifically to their needs. The survey targeted the heaviest users of the product, and received 29 responses. Of these 'super users,' 34.5 percent reported having worked all through Level 1; while 13.8 percent of respondents had worked through the forty lessons of Level 2. 75.9 percent of respondents said the content was neither too hard or too easy. They reported viewing the introductory video more than three times (48.3 percent) and felt their comprehension increased with subsequent viewings (48.3 percent rated their subsequent comprehension as a 4 out of 5 scale, while 44.8 percent reported 5 out of 5 scale). Only 3.4 percent wanted writing practice to be longer or more challenging. Of all respondents 65.5 percent reported being satisfied with the 'Reading aloud' activities. Comments about the Usage intro video content were interesting, and confirmed much of what

³⁹⁰ Quote from Customer Success Story: Chickasaw Nation.

https://resources.rosettastone.com/CDN/us/pdfs/Chickasaw-Customer-Success.pdf

Ozbolt found, that citizens wanted a product focused on overt grammatical instruction (55.2 percent), vocabulary (69 percent), pronunciation (69 percent), and cultural content (62.1 percent).³⁹¹ 51.7 percent of the super user respondents said the length of the grammar explanations were appropriate, with only 3.4 percent suggesting that they were too frequent and repetitive. The survey also solicited comments and suggestions.

Selected responses received from users are reproduced below, unedited in bold, followed by my thoughts on some:

More on daily talk between two people

Interpersonal communication was perhaps our foremost concern in creating this project. In subsequent levels we gave them more 'daily talk.'

I'm using the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw in conjunction with the Chickasaw online classes with Sherrie. In general, I would say they work well using both learning methods together, rather than just one or the other. Chokma'shki, Joshua.

Fani' Iskanno'si' (Sherrie Begay), the lead teacher behind our online Chikashshanompa' efforts, has since shifted away from the Munro-Willmond teaching grammar and is leaning more heavily on the RSC product. Please standardize the Rosetta Stone lessons with the 'officially taught' language classes. It would make learning easier if they were both the same.

³⁹¹ This question asked, 'Which kind of 'Usage Intro' videos did you enjoy the most? (check all that apply),' hence the cumulative percentages would exceed 100 percent.

We rejected this comment on its face. In-person, communicative classes are quite different from self-study CALL approaches. They are both relevant and appropriate forms of life for the language, even if they are not the same.

I greatly appreciate that this is an option for me to learn. Thank you for making this possible!

Most emails I have received have been similar expressions of gratitude. I often received them at moments when I needed them spiritually, mentally, and physically. And I am grateful.

Maybe the grammar sections explained in video instead of just written. With Visual examples too.

We incorporated guided grammatical explanations in the 'Usage intro' sections based on this comment.

I absolutely love it! Rosetta Stone _I_holloli!

Our people use Rosetta Stone Chickasaw in their homes and workplaces, on the go via mobile applications, and online as core curriculum for community study groups. We are developing a social media campaign to follow the release of RSC Level 4, to encourage users to nanna Chikashshanompa' aachi, 'Say something in Chickasaw.' We are also developing an expansion curriculum that will allow RSC Levels 1-4 to be integrated into Oklahoma public schools, the goal of that initiative to achieve accreditation so students could thereby earn world language credits for graduation.

Rosetta Stone Chickasaw in the context of Ittonchololi' / Mediated Language Change

Rosetta Stone Chickasaw is the newest form of ittonchololi' to grow from our tibi kolofa'. As such, RSC is carefully cultivated to remain fundamentally Chikashsha in its content, motivations, purpose, and outcomes. The language it teaches is a valid variety of Chikashshanompa', emerging from the varieties of the late Jerry Imotichey, Rose Shields Jefferson, Luther John, Pauline Brown, and Stanley Smith, and is presented within the speech of dozens of anompa shaali' actors.

RSC's content and themes are fundamentally Chikashsha approaches to portraying daily communication among our idealized Chikashsha family living in the Chickasaw Nation. The balance between deep cultural forms like storytelling, gathering and preparing foods and hunting, and more contemporary modes of living like shopping, church-going, visiting the Chickasaw Cultural Center and other scenarios is achieved through the Chikashsha pragmatism that pervades our culture. We are contemporary traditionalists, after all. We mediate the linguistic and cultural landscape of a wholly artificial CALL product in pursuit of our survivance as people—lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi, 'We survive'—and of our language into the future. The carefully mediated products of change, a new form of life for Chikashshanompa', are a form of perseverance llachónna'chi, 'We persevere.' We ensure that Chikashshanompa' is accessible to any Chickasaw citizen with an internet connection, worldwide. Engagement with the product mediates a type of change within our users. They come to it perhaps as Chikashsha, but without any knowledge of the language. They emerge as anompa shaali', able to engage with Chikashshanompa' as they wish. RSC is a microcosm of Chikashshiyaakni'—contemporary and traditional, modern and

ancient, respectful of the past and radically engaging the present and the future with our efforts to remain Chikashsha. —Chikashsha poya.³⁹²

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have situated the variety of new forms of life for Chikashshanompa' in our ittonchololi' context. Each that emerges from our tibi kolofa', whether purposefully propagated or wildly emergent, is tended in its native place by its relatives. We also are forms of ittonchololi', after all. We emerge from the same ancestral root stock. Poshnaakookya yammak<u>o</u> ishtilaaonchololi.³⁹³

I addressed enrichment and language-learning ittonchololi' efforts emerging from the larger ittonchololi' context. I then discussed the motivations for the creation and use of branding and marketing tools including the ANOMPA logo and associated merchandise and a selection of ANOMPA T-shirts produced since 2009. I then discussed our flash-card offerings and their power as portable symbols of identity in our ittonchololi' efforts inside and outside the physical boundaries of Chikashshiyaakni'.

I then discussed chickasaw.tv and our efforts to create compelling and meaningful language content for Chikashsha people worldwide since 2011—another strange, new form of

³⁹² 'We are Chikashsha.'

³⁹³ 'We, too, sprout from there.' This phrase can also be translated 'We, too, descend from those / that [people, person, location].' Ishtaaonchololi' is translated as 'descendant (of someone now dead); bunch, family, clan' (Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 170). Speakers Catherine Willmond, Stanley Smith, and Pauline Brown recently confirmed a verbal expression Ishtaaonchololili 'I descend from those / that [person, place, location]' (Email from Dr. Pamela Munro to the author, 7 October 2019, Smith and Brown, personal communication with author, 27 September 2019). This usage is an active sense of the verb that ultimately derives from onchololi 'to put out new shoots (of a tree), to grow back (of the leaves of a tree or a lizard's tail), to sprout.' Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 280.

life for Chikashshanompa'. I then described the motivations behind the creation of the iOS ANOMPA Basic app and its accompanying website chickasaw.net/anompa and their use by our people worldwide.

I then began a deep examination of Chikashsha anompoli, 'Chikashsha speech,' leading to Chikashsha holissochi, 'Chikashsha writing' in emerging Chikashsha literature. I positioned these new forms of life against the ancient, ancestral forms from which they emerged. The Chickasaw Verb narrative bootcamp approach has enabled us to capture more of these oral narratives than we thought possible.

Chickasaw Press and Rosetta Stone Chickasaw are positioned as fundamentally new forms of ittonchololi' from the ancestral rootstock, but having sprouted from that tibi kolofa', they are also fundamentally Chikashsha. The media of paper and video, of literacy and technology, are new forms to our culture, and can only exist in our context inasmuch as they carry our Chikashshanompa' forward.

Chapter Six: Nanna ihíngbili bíyyi'ka: I am always creating things: Chikashshanompa' in Creative Production

Chokma. Saholhchifoat Lokosh. Chikashsha saya. Kowishto' Iksa', Imatapo' inchokka-chaffa' ishtaaonchololili. Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni' intoksalilikat Chikashshanompolilikat naaholba' ikbili.³⁹⁴

Introduction

As I explored in Chapter 3, Mediated Language Change is mediation in pursuit of

survivance as a people, and the survival of everything that makes us Chikashsha. What follows

this purposefully mediated survivance is mediated change as a form of perseverance. In

mediating and changing we remain Chikashsha, just as our Ancestors did - Chikashsha

po'yacha iláyya'sha katihma.³⁹⁵ The new forms of life explicated in that chapter are

fundamentally new forms of ittonchololi' that sprouted from our tibi kolofa'.

This chapter explores new forms of life that grew not from a corporate, tribally-situated

revitalization program but rather my intensely personal, individual efforts to incorporate

Chikashshanompa' into my own visual creative practice. The resultant body of work, at least at

the time of its creation, was arguably a unique manifestation of ittonchololi', as new forms of

life for Chikashshanompa' that have no historic antecedents.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁴ 'Hello. My name is Gourd. I'm Chikashsha. I descend from the Panther Clan and Their-Lean-To People house group. I work for the Chickasaw Nation, I speak Chickasaw and I make pictures.'

³⁹⁵ 'We are Chickasaw and we are still here.'

³⁹⁶ Ancestral Chikashsha material culture has one extant example of a representational image, that of a man leading a horse on a path from the Chickasaw Nation to a distant town, rendered on a Chickasaw map dating to 1737. I would argue that while I draw on ancestral imagery from pre-Chikashsha Mississippian peoples, my incorporation of Chikashshanompa' text into a southeastern pictorial frame is a unique development in the history of Chikashsha image making, and is another example of mediated change as a form of perseverance – Ilachónna'chi, 'We persevere.' Other artists also have since begun to incorporate Chikashshanompa' text into their works, as well as titling them in Chikashshanompa'. I am intensely proud of my contribution to these particular forms of ittonchololi'. Furthermore, I would argue that the body

In this chapter I will address the various ways that I have incorporated my expanding knowledge of Chikashshanompa' into my creative visual production since the early 2000s. This body of work falls into two distinct categories, with significant crosspollination between the two: the first is Chikashsha naaholba' ³⁹⁷ and the second is Chikashsha holissochi.³⁹⁸ I first explore Chikashsha naaholba' including shikonno'pa' paintings³⁹⁹, nannimilhlha' paintings⁴⁰⁰, and naaholba' inspired by nannan<u>o</u>li' <u>á</u>lhlhi'⁴⁰¹. I then explore Chikashsha holissochi in multiple contexts including social media and my journaling practice.

I have been engaged in creative visual production since I was a small boy of three or four years old. It is only natural that my interest in creative visual production would play a significant part in my growth as both an anompa shaali' and as an activist / advocate for and teacher of Chikashshanompa'. A survey of this creative production, including visual arts, Chikashshanompa' journaling, and social media engagement functions as an archive of this growth from the early 2000s to the present. These matters should be seen through the lens of our revitalization movement, as ittonchololi' emerging from our Mediated Language Change approach.

of Chikashshanompa' journals are a unique development in the history of Chikashsha holissochi (Chickasaw writing). I can think of no other examples of native speakers or second-language learners actively documenting their lives through Chikashshanompa' and the written medium of handwritten journals. I hope that future anompa shaali' will join me in expanding Chikashsha holissochi.

³⁹⁷ 'Chikashsha pictures.'

³⁹⁸ 'Chikashsha writing.'

³⁹⁹ 'Possum story pictures.'

⁴⁰⁰ 'Animal pictures.'

⁴⁰¹ 'True stories.'

Chikashsha naaholba': Chikashsha Pictures

My first attempts at Southeastern Indian creative work were inspired by the shell engravings of Wichita and Caddo peoples who inhabited the mound complex at Spiro, Oklahoma. I had begun working on my thesis and was returning to the Chickasaw Nation during the summer for Chikasha Ittafama, where I would play to'li' and dance on the ceremonial ground. Kelley Lunsford (Chickasaw/Cherokee), then director of the Department of Museums and Historic Sites, learned I was an artist, and asked that my work be included in an upcoming Chickasaw artists' calendar published by the Chickasaw Historical Society.

The moment marked a turning point in my artistic production. I had long struggled to find subject matter that was authentic, and that resonated with me. I had tackled the stereotypical genres of the western pictorial tradition including landscape, still life, portraiture, and animal paintings, all expressed in a contemporary style. I had done native-themed work as a child—energetic Comanche and Lakota warriors wearing war bonnets astride horses, and eagles and wolves and all the things of a child's imagination. However, I never felt essentially 'Chickasaw enough' to tackle my tribe's subject matter. I would not have known where to begin. Yet here was a person of my nation asking me, as a fellow citizen, to produce work for our nation. And like that, a switch was flipped. I had agency, meaning, and purpose, and it was right, true, and resonant.

The early works were pen and ink on paper, based on shell engravings worn as personal adornment well into the nineteenth century in the Southeast, e.g. the lightning whelk and horse conch shells once traded into native communities from the coast into the interior, including the Spiro Mounds. I recalled a wonderful 'Tree of Life' motif with birds, likely

woodpeckers, perched on its limbs. I thought of an old Chickasaw story about how Chakwihili¹⁴⁰² lost the hair on his tail after a hayowani¹⁴⁰³ was sent by jealous animals to eat it all off. I illustrated the story by inserting the characters into the 'Tree of Life' with a caption in Chickasaw. It would be the first of many works where the image and the underlying shikonno'pa' are united.

Lokoshat Chakwahili' Ittafama (Gourd encounters a Possum): Art from Indian Territory

In 2007 I had an encounter with Chakwihili' outside my home on East 16th St. in Ada, Oklahoma. The humorous encounter led to me record a traditional oral narrative in text and audio, and led to a series of drawings. The textual source for the images is titled Lokoshat Chakwihili' Afama, 'Gourd Encounters a Possum,' and was published in 2016 as a part of the Oklahoma Working Papers in Indigenous Languages.⁴⁰⁴ The article in which the narrative is presented is not unlike this dissertation as a story intertwining a growing identity, a journey towards proficiency, markers of community acceptance and cultural competence, and other noteworthy Indian matters (Figures 70 and 71):

⁴⁰² 'Possum.'

⁴⁰³ 'Worm.'

⁴⁰⁴ http://stagedaypublish.ou.edu/content/dam/cas/anthropology/docs/OWPIL/OWPIL-Vol.2-Hinson.2016-Gourd_Encounters_a_Possum.pdf

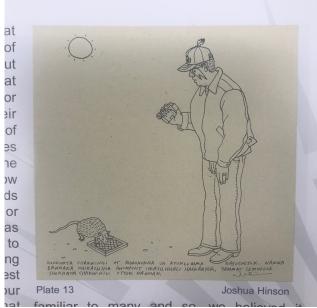


Figure 70: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Shokhata chawihili ut ahnchokka uh atuklumma hayochitok. Nanna bannaka Chikashsha anompolit imasilhlhali hashaatok. Yammat Seminole shokhata chakwihili uttok nannah 'Possum found trouble at my house. When I asked him what he wanted in Chikashshanompa' he got mad. He must have been a Seminole possum,' pen and ink, Art from Indian Territory 2007: The State of Being American Indian, 2007.

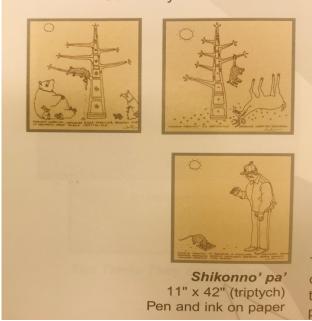


Figure 71: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Shikonno'pa' 'Possum stories,' pen and ink, Art from Indian Territory 2007: The State of Being American Indian, 2007.

Abika' aa-áyya'sha' iholba': Hospital paintings

In 2009-2010 I created a series of animal paintings for the Chickasaw Nation Medical

Center, located in Ada, Oklahoma.



Figure 72: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Nannimilhlha' naaholba' 'Animal paintings', mixed media on canvas, 2009-2010.

In keeping with other language-oriented work each individual animal has its name painted

directly underneath: Nani¹⁴⁰⁵, Chakwihili' (Figure 73), Fani¹⁴⁰⁶, Loksi¹⁴⁰⁷, Shawi¹⁴⁰⁸, and Chokfi¹⁴⁰⁹.

- ⁴⁰⁶ 'Squirrel.'
- 407 'Turtle.'
- 408 'Raccoon.'
- 409 'Rabbit.'

^{405 &#}x27;Fish.'

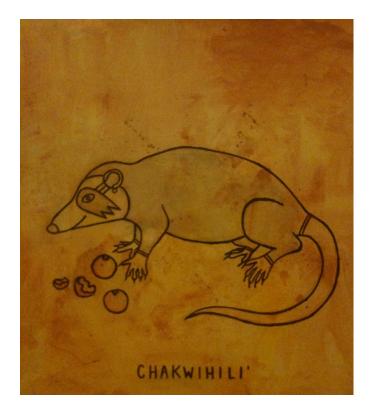


Figure 73: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Chakwihili' 'Possum', mixed media on canvas, 2009-2010. Each is painted in simple, linear fashion in keeping with the simplified shell-engraving aesthetic, over a variegated, abstract background. To the casual observer they may be great hospital art—attractive, simple and accessible. However, my intent in creating them was not simply to beautify the space, but moreover to recall to memory the shikonno'pa' behind each. More than pictures, they are mnemonic devices, particularly for us who know the old stories,

There is a deeper history of image making here, but the difference between mine and that of our Ancestors is that in mine the word is made visible, whereas in their case it was only heard, language triggered by the image incised on a tree, painted on a deerskin hide, a sculpture of wood, a tattoo on the skin of self or other, even the appearance of another person. Chakwihili' recalls to mind both shikonno'pa' and personal lived experiences, all of which are

and for anyone who connects an image to a story in their own experience.

filtered through my worldview, my variety of Chikashshanompa', and bring me some satisfaction at both the creation and the resultant image. These animal paintings, like all my creative visual production, are ittonchololi', growing from both ancestral forms of image making and language.

Hopaakikaashookano Chikashsha alhihaat hilha bíyyi'kahminattook : Chikashsha Stomp Dance Triptych

I produced the Chikashsha Stomp Dance Triptych in November 2012 on commission for the Chickasaw Council House Museum in Tishomingo, Oklahoma. The triptych is made of three canvases, each four feet square and painted in acrylic. The work shows eleven figures moving right to left across a field of black. The overall image suggests a gathering of Chickasaws dancing, man-woman-man-woman, around a ceremonial fire, as our Ancestors did for millennia. (Figure 74).



Figure 74: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Hopaakikaashookano Chikashsha alhihaat hilha bíyyi'kahminattook. Chikashsha alhihaat Hattak Api'ma' <u>I</u>yaakni' alat tahakat hih<u>í</u>lhakat <u>í</u>'mahminattook. Himmaka' nittak<u>a</u> Chikashsha poyakat iihih<u>í</u>lhna Nittak Ishtayyo'pikat ala'chi. 'Long ago the Chickasaws used to dance all the time. The Chickasaws arrived in Indian Territory and were still dancing and dancing all the time. Today we Chickasaws will dance and dance until the Final Days arrive.' Acrylic on canvas, 2012.

A closer examination may reveal that at the far right the first three figures are wearing contemporary regalia: ribbon skirts, vests, yarn belts, and yaatala⁴¹⁰ attached to cowboy hat and baseball cap. The fourth figure, a young man, moves across the canvas boundary, his clothing changing from that of the twenty-first century to the nineteenth. The following figures are dressed in typical nineteenth-century clothing, with minimal ceremonial regalia. As the female figure at the far left moves across the canvas boundary, her regalia changes from nineteenth- to early seventeenth-century.

She wears a hide dress with trade silver pins, a yarn belt, and turtle shell dance shackles called simply loksi¹⁴¹¹ in Chikashshanompa¹. She holds in her hand a bundle of foshiyyi¹⁴¹² while she dances in the Green Corn ceremony conducted each summer, marking the Chikashsha New Year. The following three figures also wear regalia of the eighteenth century as they dance leftward toward the (undepicted) lowak⁴¹³. All figures are portrayed with a peregrine-falcon forked-eye symbol used by our ancient Ancestors at Moundville, Alabama. The visual trope is one I use regularly as a marker of mound builder identity, a connection to Ancestors who created the amazing earthworks of the Southeast.

Below is inscribed the message:

Hopaakikaashookano Chikashshsa alhihaat hilha bíyyi'kahminattook. Chikashsha alhihaat Hattak Api'ma' <u>I</u>yaakni' alat tahakat hih<u>í</u>lhakat <u>í</u>'mahminattook. Himmaka' nittak<u>a</u> Chikashsha poyakat iihih<u>í</u>lhna Nittak Ishtayyo'pikat ala'chi.

['Long ago the Chickasaws used to dance all the time. The Chickasaws arrived in Indian Territory and were still dancing and dancing all the time. Today we Chickasaws will dance and dance until the Final Days arrive.']

⁴¹⁰ 'Feathered head ornaments.'

⁴¹¹ 'Turtle.'

⁴¹² Yaupon holly, *ilex vomitoria*. This significant plant was used as medicine and in ceremony. ⁴¹³ 'Fire.'

This image and its message, like so much of my work, is intensely concerned with connecting the past with the present, and showing the continuity of our culture over time. It shows the generations of Chickasaws involved in carrying the culture, much as I did when I worked with Mrs. Catherine Willmond to perfect the message to inscribe along its lower margin. It also shows the physical signifiers of Chickasaw identity—not just the bodies of the dancers marked by the forked eye, but also the ceremonial regalia that, though changing in form over time, retains its essential purpose.

The theme of bodies ordered across space and time, balanced male-female, in colors reflecting both peace (tohbi) and war (homma), recurs throughout my body of work. I do not wish to suggest a linear historical progression and some imagined march of progress. Instead I want to show the circular nature of Chikashsha history, the threads that point backward and forward, and the knowledge that we carry with us that the patterns our Ancestors experienced are also waiting for us.



Chikashsha Nannikbi' An<u>o</u>li' - A Chickasaw Creation Story

Figure 75: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Shakchi Fala Ishto' Táwwa'a 'Crawdad and the Raven,' mixed media on canvas, 2015.



Figure 76: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Shakchi Fala Ishto' Táwwa'a 'Crawdad and the Raven,' mixed media on canvas, 2015.



Figure 77: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Shakchi Fala Ishto' Táwwa'a 'Crawdad and the Raven,' mixed media on canvas, 2015.

In January 2015 I produced a painting on commission for a tribal attorney that would be the most language-intensive of any of my body of work. Titled Shakchi Fala Ishto' Táwwa'a, 'Crawdad and the Raven,' the work is mixed media on canvas, four by six feet, and based on the Chickasaw Creation Story as told by the late Juanita Byars (see Chapter 1). The embedded text is a complete narrative that includes Mrs. Nail's story and discusses my encounter with it, and the creation of the painting itself. On top of the text I created an image of Shakchi⁴¹⁴ and a single feather to represent Fala Ishto¹⁴¹⁵ (some versions involve Shiiki⁴¹⁶), with water, land, and sky represented in the background. Significant text including Chikashsha, Aba' Bínni'li', Juanita

415 'Raven.'

⁴¹⁴ 'Crayfish.'

⁴¹⁶ 'Buzzard.'

Byars, Shakchi, and Lokosh (including subject marking and contrastive affixes) are bolded to bring them out of the underlying text visually.

This image is akin to the hospital images in that it is a mnemonic device to recall to mind the creation story of our Ancestors, but in this case it draws those in who may not know the story verbatim, or in any detail. Even so it remains an inside image, made in the community for community members, with the text holding uninformed viewers at a distance and forcing them to ask more of the image. Without the text and knowledge of the text the image holds visual power but it is relatively enigmatic without the requisite knowledge of our oral history.

Journaling

My journaling practice began with simple notebooks into which I recorded interesting phrases or individual words and over the years morphed into a fully-formed journaling practice in which I recorded my daily activities, thoughts, feelings, and other things of interest, entirely in Chikashshanompa'. Beyond their status as a unique archive of second language learner variety of Chikashshanompa' in written form, these journals were also a significant aspect of my early autodidact approach to Chikashshanompa' acquisition and record my order of acquisition of Chikashshanompa' since 2003. This section will examine multiple journals dating from 2003 to 2019, create a typology of entries, and critically examine motivations behind, and purpose of this type of language acquisition and use documentation.

Mead spiral bound journal - 2003

The earliest language journal in my archive dates to 10 January 2003. It is a small, ring bound Mead memo book, originally 80 sheets of lined paper with a red cover.⁴¹⁷ In 2003 my family and I lived in Albuquerque, New Mexico, and I was learning Chikashashanompa' only from the 1973 and 1994 dictionaries. I made my first return trip to the Chickasaw Nation that year to participate in the Chikasha Ittafama where I met native speakers for the first time. Its first page holds a mixture of useful and novel phrases of some interest to me, basic verbs, and surprisingly, only three nouns (Figure 78).⁴¹⁸

ASOSHI -> my SONE ba ishlata - Lello chischokma - hello Chokmata- hello NAFELLO LOMBO - SHUNT ayali - good-bye leg - iyyi Allpila chibannahookma Chihoowaat achipila'hi biyvi'ka. of genered bey God villaby help yo 'YAKKookAy - thank you? NOSI - Sleep apa, impa ish ko - to drink i + ta NAhli, yok Achi - to collect

Figure 78: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Mead memo book, unarchived, vocabulary list, 2003.

 ⁴¹⁷ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Mead memo book, unarchived, vocabulary list, 2003.
 ⁴¹⁸ In my experience, new second-language learners focus on vocabulary acquisition through noun lists, even while the language (like Chikashshanompa') may be fundamentally verbal.

Asoshi' [saoshi'], 'my son' (written following Mrs. Willmond's phonological rule with an initial 'a,' rather than saoshi', which is how I say the word today); nafka lombo [naafka lómbo'], 'shirt'; and iyyi', 'leg,' are the three nouns recorded on the first page. The lack of any obvious relationship between the three reflects the intuitive and often illogical approach new second-language learners take, particularly those who attempt to teach themselves without formal instructional materials.

In contrast, the verb-words and one of the longer two phrases are high-frequency and more emblematic of the survival phrases a new second-language learner should focus on, most notably three ways to greet someone and a common word for expressing thanks: ba' ishlata [ba' ishlataa?], 'So you've arrived?'; chinchokma, 'Are you well'; chokmataa, 'Are (you) well'; and Yakkookay [Yakkookay / yakkooki / yakoke], 'Thank you.'

A second phrase is drawn directly from the 1994 dictionary, and reflects Mrs. Willmond's Christianity and her experience growing up in the Chickasaw church. The phrase's inclusion also reflects my Protestant upbringing and a growing sense of Chikashsha Christianity as a unique Indigenous practice in both Oklahoma Indian communities and within the larger body of Protestantism:

Alhpila' chibannahookm<u>a</u> Chihoowaat achipila'hi bíyyi'ka. 'If you need help God will always help you.'⁴¹⁹

⁴¹⁹ Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 66. Chihoowa, 'God,' is a Chickasaw way of expressing 'Jehovah,' from the Hebrew اِقَنِه, one of the seven names of God in Judaism.

One the second page of the journal is another religious phrase from the 1994 dictionary, an example sentence for the term tobachi 'to create / make': Chihoowaat satobachittook. 'God made me' (Figure 79).

Figure 79: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Mead memo book language journal, vocabulary list, 2003. The remainder of the journal is devoted to word lists intended for transfer to flash
cards, as well as number verbs, content typical of an early second-language learner of any
language. The short list of words is arbitrary, of whatever I found interesting or noteworthy or
necessary (Figures 80 and 81):

Flashcards A acoren - wasi aixplave - pini wakaa airport- piini wahaa aahilka alligator - acho chaba white penson - Nachollo ANT- issosk red . a. - issosh homma bloch " " issosh losa" ope, montey - hattak shawi apple - takolo masortar & Arm- ilbak armadillo - hattak illapaappar- Naki automobile - itti chanaa palhki axe- oksita

Figure 80: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Mead memo book language journal, vocabulary list, 2003.

and the second				
1	chafa	KANI	AwA - "	41
2	toklo	12	AwA-"	4
3	tochinA	13	AWA - "	4
4	oshta	14	Ana-"	4
5	talhapi	700 15	AWA- "	"
6	havali	1000-16	AniA-"	4
7	otoklo	and 17	AwA-"	"
8	otochinA	18	AWA -"	4
9	chakali		AWA-"	4
10	pokali		pokoli to	iklo
30	pokoli-+		ET	
40	polcoli- c	shta	1000 - +	alhepa
50	pokol:-	talhapi		i chafa
60	pokoli-	harali	-	
78		otoklo		
80	pokoli -	otochin	14	
90	poholi-	chakali	'	
100	talher	a - chat	a	

Figure 81: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Mead memo book language journal, vocabulary list, 2003.

Cambridge Executive journal, 13 May 2007 to 24 January 2011

This journal is a medium-size hardback journal with a black cover and lined pages, and is largely devoted to documentation of the matters of a museum professional for the Chickasaw Nation. It later transitions to professional language revitalization work, with notes related to my time as an apprentice with native speaker Stanley Smith in the Chickasaw Nation's Master-Apprentice Program, along with various personal entries.

Marginalia

I developed a habit of doodling, principally as a way to manage my attention. I found that if I occupied my hands, the part of my brain that naturally wants to drift pays more attention, particularly when information is being presented orally. Whether on Post-It notes, in the margins of a notebook or textbook, or on random paper scraps, my doodles, language notes, and illustrations are present in all my journals. In examining these language journals, I use the word 'marginalia' to indicate entries secondary to the text of a given page, regardless of nature or place.⁴²⁰

The first marginalia example from the Cambridge Executive journal are found written on a yellow Post-It note, stuck to the front interior cover (Figure 82). The notes on the Post-it are primarily work related, with three language entries in the middle:

hinlakini

[hinlakaayni]

⁴²⁰ The Oxford Dictionary defines marginalia as a plural noun: Notes written in the margins of a text; *'the book was covered with marginalia'*, or figuratively, *'you will be relegated to the marginalia of political life.'*

https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/marginalia, accessed 30 April 2019.

'maybe [from Choctaw]'

impalachan

[impala'cha'ni]

'might eat [I might eat]'

ombachan

[ombacha'n]

'might rain [it might rain]'421

⁴²¹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 2, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

JE PRECULIUE PRECULIUE CRECULIUE CACULIUE ecutive Frecutive Frecutive Frecutive Frecutive, ve Executive Executive Executive Executive Exec ecutive Executive Executive Executive Executive ve Executive Executive Executive Executive Exec ecutive Executive Executive Executive Executive ve Precutive Precutive Precuti E Frecutive Free ecutive Executive Executiv tive Frecutive ve Executive Executive Ecutive Free ecutive Frecutive ve Frecutive tive Ecutive > C JE SXECU Ecutive JE SXECUTIVE Ecutive JE'S XECL Ecutive UE FXECL Ecutive UE FXECU Ecutive" > UE FXECUI

Figure 82: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 2, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The second occurrence of marginalia therein occurs on the inner facing page, an

inscription directly on its inner facing page and two unlined, yellow Post-It notes directly below

that (Figure 83). The inscription reads:

Joshua Hinson	the Chickasaw	Nation 5-2007
---------------	---------------	---------------

Saiksat koishto, anchoka holhchifoat imatampa,

[Amiksa'at Kowishto', anchokka' holhchifo'at Imatapo,]

'My clan is Panther, my house name is Their-Lean-To (People).'

yappat moma holissochili

[yappa moma holissochili]

'I am writing all this.'

Below, the first yellow Post-It note has notes on six language items:

sabafonka			
[sabaafonkha]			
'be with me'			
sabaiya			
[sabaa-aya]			
'go with me'			
SOMATA!			
[SAMATA!]			
'shut up!'			
chibaaiyimpalibeka			
[chibaaimpala' bíyyi'ka]			

'always eat with you, will do it [I can eat with you]'

henihi

[h<u>i</u>nihi' / <u>i</u>nihi']

'nuts [testicles]'

sabashko

[sabaaishko]

'drink with me'422

The second Post-It has seven language items, including three with illustrations (Figure

83):

tali		
[tahli]		
'to finish, gone'		
lokchina		
[ilokchina]		
'healthy [be healthy, frisky]'		
hika		
['stand up, illustration of one person seated, one standing up with an arrow		
indicating direction of action']		
hollo		
[holo]		

⁴²² Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 92, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

['put on (shoes or other footwear),' with illustration of foot entering a shoe,

with arrow indicating direction of action]

hoosa

[h<u>o</u>sa]

'shoot [to shoot at (someone); to fire (a gun), to shoot (marbles)]'

tani

[taani]

'to get up, get out of bed; to rise from the bed' [with illustration of person laying on a bed, one in a standing position, with arrows indicating direction of action] **aiyaka**

[hayaka']

'way off somewhere, out in the boondocks'423

the Chickors Aw NATION Joshua tinson KOISTATO, ANCHORA HOLCHIFORT IMATAMPA ESAT Holissoculi 61. tight 3820 FXEC itive itive ntic Executive Executive Executive Executi Frecutive utive Executive Executive Executive Executive E Executive Executive Executive Executive Executi utive Executive Executive Executive Executive

Figure 83: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 92, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Word and phrase lists

The page from 9 March 2009 (Figure 84), is typical of random entries in this notebook.

Rather than systemic and regular like my later journals, this notebook is disorganized and

erratic. The first entry is a phrase ishaachtakant [ishaacha'ntoka'n], 'you ought say [you ought

to have said],' a practical phrase for daily conversation I acquired from native speaker JoAnn

Ellis.⁴²⁴ The second phrase, acquired from native speaker Stanley Smith, is Chikasha intaloa himmona ma likba'ni [Chikashsha intaloowa' himona' m<u>a</u> ilikba'ni] 'We can/might make a new Chickasaw song, [or] We should make a new Chickasaw song.'⁴²⁵ The remainder is a word list of seemingly unrelated items:

himmona

[ámmo'na, him<u>ó</u>na]

'first time, wait [to be the first time; to wait]'

shokha tanchi

[shokha' tanchi']

'hog corn [rough white feed corn, used for making pishofa, a Chickasaw dish

composed of corn and pork]'

abitanta

[abitánta]

'over there still killing' [He was there and killed, likely a war name]'

tanchi pishofa

[tanchi' pishofa', t<u>a</u>shpishofa']

'pishofa ceremony [scraped corn]'

chinchokma?

⁴²⁴ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 30, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

⁴²⁵ Ibid. The affix <u>+</u>a'ni is complicated, but in this instance, it can mean potential, e.g., 'can,' 'might' or 'should.' Its usage varies across speakers. We did create a new Chickasaw hymn some years later, based on the text of Isaiah 40:31, which is regularly performed by Chipota Chikashshanompoli: Children Speaking Chickasaw Language Club.

'[are you well?, a greeting]'

hopayi

[hopayi']

'prophet [fortune-teller, gypsy, prophet]'

Chata, Chikashsha

[Chahta, Chikashsha]

['Choctaw, Chickasaw']

kitiini

'Chickasaw, see in Oklahoma [horned owl, great horned owl]'426

stigini

'Mvskoke, Seminole [the Mvskoke word for kitiini]'427

⁴²⁶ Kitiini are messengers for the Chickasaw people. Though they are most often associated with bad news, they are not inherently evil, and occasionally can bring good news.

 ⁴²⁷ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 30, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Much 9 2009 Mulloal Chikashsha Intoloa himmond no likbidhalni? likba Ni himmona = First they want Shokha tarchi = hog com = oren there still hilling abitanta tarchipishofa = prishota ceremony chinchokma 2 hopayi = prophet chata, Chikashsha Kittini = Chihashsha, see in Operationa Stigioni = myskoke/ Seminole

Figure 84: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 30, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Vocabulary entries with illustration

taasocha -Shokcha -(SiZE) (appearance littingui = some itt different ittimila = e trail loksi loksi alapisa / anchaha CAMBRIDGE

Figure 85: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 15, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

By 2009 I had come to understand that overt English definitions were not essential to

acquiring new Chikashshanompa' vocabulary. I used doodles as visual cues to help fix a word's

meaning in my mind in a manner independent of English translation. On this page (Figure 85) I

included seven illustrations with associated vocabulary, as well as three vocabulary entries

with English translations / remarks:428

taasocha

[ta'oshokcha' / ta'ossoishokcha']

['purse, wallet'] with illustration of a handbag with a dollar sign written on it

shokcha

['sack, bag'] with illustration of paper bag with the top rolled down halfway

(appearance) (size)

ittaholba / itt<u>i</u>lawi

[ittihoba / ittilawwi]

'same [to be the same, to look like each other / to be even with, to equal, to be

as much as]'

loksi

[loksi']

['turtle'] with illustration of a box turtle

['lockset'] with illustration of a two-part lockset

['trunk of a car'] with illustration of four-door car with open trunk lid

alapisa / anchaha

[aailapisa' / aainchaha']

['mirror'] with image of stick figure looking into a mirror⁴²⁹

 ⁴²⁸ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 15, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.
 ⁴²⁹ Ibid.

In some instances where I tried to acquire a specific affix that proved too difficult to express by visual image, I returned to writing English definitions, often on the same page with lexical items and accompanying illustrations (Figure 86):

pila

'precisely, with a noun [just, exactly, precisely (always follows a noun specifying location or relationship]'

pílla

'just, only'

Pílla issolitok.

'I hit him, that's all. [I just hit him (that's all)]'

shki

[a'shki]

['positive hortative affix, meaning something like 'should' or 'must'; evidential

affix indicating a speaker's first-hand knowledge of some particular happening or

state of affairs.']430

Holissochishki

⁴³⁰ The secondary evidential function of this affix is not attested in the literature, but this is not the sole instance of this use in my notes. I recall native speaker Catherine Willmond discussing something to this effect: imagining that her daughter Onita was sitting on the porch when she arrived at her house, and she was reporting this to me, she offered: Bínni'la'shki 'she was seated (relatively recently, I know, having seen it with my own eyes).' She also confirmed that Bínni'limank<u>o</u> carried the same meaning, when I offered it as an alternative. Catherine Willmond to author, near Madill, OK, circa 2012. Mrs. Willmond did not affirm her 2012 interpretation in a recent conversation with Dr. Pamela Munro, instead stating that Bínni'la'shki means something like 'she should sit down / be sitting.' Munro to author, email dated 10 May 2019. Additional research is needed to clarify the meaning of this affix with other native speakers.

[Holissocha'shki]

'They are writing it (now, I know).'

Ikishkoshki

[Ikishkoka'shki]

'He's not drinking (now, I know) [He shall not drink]'

-mank<u>o</u>

['evidential affix, indicating speaker's firsthand knowledge']

Aya'chimank<u>o</u>.

'He was going to go (I know).'

tanchi' aabo'li'

tanchi' ishbo'li' [also kitti']

['corn pounder mortar'] with illustration of wooden corn pounder base

tanchi' bok<u>a</u>a' [also ishthosi' / tanchishhollosi']

['corn pounder pestle'] with illustration of wooden corn pounder pestle

iyyi aa-aasha

[iyyaa-aasha']

['large kettle on little feet - used as a wash pot or for cooking pishofa'] with

illustration of a typical cast iron pishofa pot

ishtiwa

[ishtiwa' / ishtiwa'chi' / alhp<u>a</u>sh]

['big wooden spoon used in the old days for stirring pishofa'] with illustration

of paddle laying on beside the iyyaa-aasha'431

Anakot hoachant albakat

[Ana'akoot hooaacha'n albakat]

'They should have said me!'432

yalhkihonochi

[yalhki' hono'chi', yalhki' tono'chi']

'tumble bug [tumble bug, June bug, doodlebug]'433

⁴³¹ Ishtiwa' is commonly used for 'key,' but in this instance is a shortening of ishtiwa'chi' 'something used for stirring with.' Alhp<u>a</u>sh is recognized by speakers as 'pishofa paddle,' but it is an older word falling into disuse.

⁴³² Some speakers have a clear 't' at the end of phrases ending in a'ni, which is often described as an affix indicating potential or ability, but used in this sense means 'should have.' The final word albakat is underlyingly ahooba 'to look like, resemble, seem like.' This phrase could be translated 'seems as if they should have said that I was the one.'

⁴³³ Yalhki' is 'feces, excrement' and tono'chi is 'to roll, roll out, make roll (pl. objects).' Glottal stop is a nominalizer. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 20, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

pila = precisely, wha norm pilla = just/only pilla issolitok. Cl hith fat's all.) -shki - Holissochishki ("They are with the At) have, I know - Ikishkoshki (He's not davaky (now, 1 know). I tenow) -manko (Hever you'z to go (1 know). Ayat chimant tAnchi bokaa' + and 1 ishbo * albakat. bove saud GNA 1 YAlhkihonochi= bug 1.1.1

Figure 86: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 20, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Native speaker notes

Hannon 4-33-09
4-800
he in an -
A T T T
· KigAm = used for · dnr't even do " I or they
P. F. I. I. V. W.
I I I I KI YAMI
Minali Nigam.
VAMARA VANIL' L'ANAM
Powfali' Ki'yam. Hilhali' Ki'yam. Oka homi'ishkoli' ki'yam. YAmma yamili' ki'yam. TshNowali' ki'yam. Howkopali' ki'yam.
ShNowali Kiyam.
Horkopali Kiyam.
Stan 5-13-09
Evclamations !
wow! h + repeated final yowel
Abikaat illihi!
Pali' lipisaha!
Chichokma'sihi!
Hattak yAmmat Ihinkolo/Nehaha!
Chomak howasa
Chimamboohaat Lashtatilihi!
Chipotrat Kaniyaha?
Hilbaliki
Impali!
7 1.
in the second
CAMBRIDGE

Figure 87: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 31, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

This page (Figure 87) shows two instances of multiple-phrase anompa examples I

recorded directly from speakers during one-on-one sessions. This is a regular feature in my

note-making, wherein I record language specific or unique to a particular speaker. I was two years into professional language work at the time, and had become aware of the ideolectical and familiolectical varieties in our language as currently spoken, and how those differences could have observable social effects. Within the program we made efforts to publicly validate each speaker's idiom, and to insist that all varieties were equally valid and important. Such entries, with attribution, were an outgrowth of our efforts. This sort of respect and valorization had real effects on me. To this day I can recall a particular speaker's way of talking and 'codeswitch' in order to produce language like they do, or did.⁴³⁴

This particular page includes entries from native speakers Hannah Pitman (Tishomingo, Oklahoma) and Stanley Smith (Ada, Oklahoma):

Hannah 4-22-09ki'yam [ki'yam] used for 'don't ever do' I or they Ponfali' ki'yam [Pofali' ki'ya'm]. ['I don't ever smoke'] Hilhali' ki'yam.

⁴³⁴ The late Jerry Imotichey, one of my dearest friends and collaborators, had unique words for many things that I use today, including herchi [hayoochi] 'to find, encounter]' and chokoshmo [chokoshkomo] 'to play.' I enjoy switching my speech to talk like him. It makes me feel like he is still with us.

[Hilhali' ki'ya'm].

['I don't ever dance.']

Oka' homi' ishkoli' ki'yam.

[Oka' homi' ishkoli' ki'ya'm].

['I don't ever drink alcohol.']

Yamma yamili' ki'yam.

[Yamm<u>a</u> yahmili' ki'ya'm].

['I don't ever do this.']

Ishnowali' ki'yam.

[Ishn<u>o</u>wali' ki'ya'm].

['I don't ever drive.']

Honkopali' ki'yam.

['I don't ever steal (something).']

Stan 5-13-09

Exclamations!

Wow! h+ repeated final vowel [nasal vowel]

Abikaat illih<u>i</u>!

['Wow, the sick person died / is dying!']

Pali' lipisah<u>a</u>!

[Pali' liipisah<u>a</u>!]

['Wow, we see a flying squirrel!']

Chichokma'sih<u>i</u>!

['Wow, you are pretty!']

Hattak yammat lhinkoh<u>o</u> / nehah<u>a</u>!

['Wow, that man / person is fat!']

Chomak howas<u>a</u>!

[Chomak how<u>a</u>sah<u>a</u>!]

['Wow, s/he it they are chewing tobacco!']

Chimamboohaat hashtahlihi!

['Wow, your house is bright!']

Chipotaat kaniyaha!

['Wow, the child / children is/are lost!']

Hilhalih<u>i</u>!

['Wow, I'm dancing!']

Impal<u>i</u>!

[Impali! / Impalihi!]

['Wow, I'm eating!']⁴³⁵

The first series I collected from Hannah Pitman are of a relatively rare but well attested affix ki'ya'm / ki'ya'mi, used to indicate an action one never does. The series grew from a conversation wherein Mrs. Pitman indicated she was never one for smoking or drinking. I elicited further examples for my own learning, wherein I would confirm examples of proper use and write patterns in my notebooks, while also looking for opportunities to use the new forms

⁴³⁵ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 31, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

with other speakers. This was a regular strategy to acquire a new feature and have it embedded in my internal lexicon.

In the case of Mr. Smith's examples, I encountered a feature indicating excitement, surprise, or amazement in the literature—the described variety of Chickasaw largely from Catherine Willmond's speech—composed of an inserted 'h' plus a nasalized copy of the final vowel. Having encountered examples of Mrs. Willmond's speech that were not replicable with other speakers, I checked several examples with Mr. Smith, who concurred with her. He will regularly omit the h-insertion and simply nasalize the final vowel, as in the final example, Impal<u>i</u>! 'Wow, I'm eating!.'

Journal Entries

Also included are examples of productive language use wherein I used acquired skills to actively create in the language, beyond merely noting language features for later practice and acquisition. I have included one journal entry from 2009 (Figure 88):

11-10-09 Holispoopisshat kan; the , hehome. Samo; the waters no sita biyys ha his iso. Dila mallia Holmonisment quon, hora t iksabar nov a wapilochi, Sazinai nona toksalilida okluli mon Gansat Tex anton illa Chiboshe ann'ophya yan Wetchist holimoranisa æa imaabaa chili te hallo ahroliza. Holimo pisa pohlolli ali ama 'hro tana monat Kallo. Aprilana - anompeli katihn

Figure 88: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 51, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

At the time I was enrolled in a Native American art history doctoral program at the

University of Oklahoma, having not yet switched to the interdisciplinary PhD program in Native

Language Revitalization.⁴³⁶ My struggle to balance the pressures of language work and graduate

school is clearly discussed in this entry:

Holissaapisahat kanihka ikchokmo. Sanosilhlha ookya mako'no nosilabiyyika

ki'yo. Pila hánglolimakila. Holissopisachit anompolina saháyyanglola'shki.

⁴³⁶ My friend Foshshommak (Amanda Cobb-Greetham), who at the time was my tribal administrator in the Chickasaw Nation's Division of History and Culture, convinced me to go back to school to complete my terminal degree. Language activist Jacob Manatowa-Bailey (Sac and Fox) convinced me to quit the Native American art history PhD program at the University of Oklahoma and commit myself to a program that actually fit with my work, and one that would best benefit my tribal nation. I blame / thank them both for my present situation. Yakkookay hachimanhili.

Degreeakot iksabannookya yappatakoot yammola'makilachi, sayimmika. Nittaki m<u>o</u>ma toksalilicha oklhili m<u>o</u>ma holissaapisa ayali. Yappat kallo. Pilla Chikashshanompa' anompoli sabannookya yammat yammi. Hattak alhihaat hootoksala'shki. Himaka nittak<u>a</u> Byng holissaapisa aa-imaabachilitok. Yappat kallo akookya. Holisso pisa pokkolli toklo awa hanali amantana hooimishkobo momat kallo. Ahiikma holisso pisachikat an<u>o</u>mpoli katihma!

[Holissaapisa'at kan<u>í</u>hk<u>a</u> ikchokmo. Sanosilhlhahookya mako'no nosila' bíyyi'ka ki'yo. Pílla hángloli makilla. Holissopisachi'at an<u>o</u>'polina háyyaklola'shki. Degree-ak<u>o</u> iksabannookya yappak<u>o</u> yámmohmila' makilla'chi sayimmikat. Nittaki m<u>ó</u>ma' toksalilit oklhili m<u>ó</u>ma' holissaapisa' ayali. Yappat kallo. Pila Chikashshanompa' anompoli sabannookya yammat yahmi. Hattak alhihaat hootoksala'shki. Himmaka' nittak<u>a</u> Byng holissaapisa' aaimaabachilitok. Yappakookya kallo. Holisso pisa'at pokoli toklo awa hánna'li amáyya'shna ishkobo' m<u>ó</u>ma'at kallo. Aahikalikm<u>a</u> holisso pisa'at anompoli katihma!]

['This class is really bad. I am tired but I cannot sleep now. I just need to listen. The teacher is speaking and I need to really listen. I do not want this degree but I believe I am going to have to be able to do this. I work every day and go to school every night. This thing is difficult. I just want to speak Chickasaw but that is how it is. All people should / have to work / are working (now). Today I taught

at Byng. This too is difficult. I have twenty-six students and they are all hardheaded. When I stand up there, the students keep talking!']⁴³⁷

This short passage is an early example of truly communicative speech that would be completely comprehensible to a sympathetic native speaker. It is intelligible in that its grammatical errors are minimal, the phrase structure and manner in which ideas are presented are native-like, and the content is relatively high-frequency, without significant neologisms or phrase structures overly influenced by English. The handling of complex clauses is rudimentary, but the switch reference structures are handled with some proficiency.

Nannanoli' / shikonno'pa' / nannanoli' <u>á</u>lhlhi': Stories

In this journal also are two more examples of productive language use. While attending a day-long meeting before heading to Washington, D.C., for another two-day meeting on language acquisition in Head Start educational environments, I wrote two medium-length passages during a lull in proceedings. The first is a nannan<u>o</u>li' <u>á</u>lhlhi' about one of my maternal Ancestors, Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert, who assisted in fighting off a Mashkooki' Creek war party. The second is a shikonno'pa' / nannan<u>o</u>li' <u>á</u>lhlhi' ⁴³⁸ concerning the creation of the world by Aba' Bínni'li' through the agency of Shakchi and Shiiki. Both of these stories were told of the top of my head, an act of creative production from memory. I only knew the story of my ancestor's

⁴³⁷ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 51, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.
 ⁴³⁸ 'Possum tale / true story.' Speakers differ on what type of narrative the creation story is.

Some consider it fanciful, others consider it true. See Hinson, 'Chickasaw Oral Literature.'

fight against the Mashkooki' Creeks in English, but I had encountered the creation story as

told by the late Juanita Byars in Chikashshanompa'.439

- Chineshshmorpa Clatha isheachia hi biyyi teakiye - Tingba Ishtaya = HEAD START - theomsha binnilliat anompoholi incho kuna - anholta Navina pominen otikat choku obiya iksanichshime. Ank tilili finathi biyy: ka kilyo. ~ Sawosillhahooto kooto chikle pilla tashkilitok. - Nittakiokma hashi hanna'li' chatta D. C. TioNa. Oldre of Head Somt Mittofana wittaking. Kakilds Gronpa' ochan'cha hi 6, yy: kaka ithéra hobierra Nialh chommet lizyyaish ahootokot rélimapita hi biyyi kahokkiano anhili Koa! Threat highi kannaloshi polalitit andupo hili Icatilima. Sanos Haki aunoblad. Childa jilla ayya Shakaash Chikashsha athiha" Misipi an-ayya sha Natook miya Nittak fokhakaash hattate tashka allika' chokka' falaa'ayyashat hoscho'maat ewattaat ayatok miya. Tasika ilestio, Chokha Falasko. Kastako tashka Mashkov kitot Cleokhan Falaa' alacha ittib; phe miga, Naalh chommut thesho tashka Chitessloha ilishoparat chipota "water" Chitres historiant hooittibimakilla tole miyas blacket tanampo' tomorpo allilli nochi tagina ishcha Mashkorkia Kochchacha ittibi. Anafo'si' ishto' antatoke Miya. Lev: Colbert Nacholloat hochitotoh Migereduce

Figure 89: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 86, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

⁴³⁹ See Chapter 1.

chipota NGL oh migh, / MDilis ayyashapa impel. IMAN iya. hshipilichi to tak Mina ishtaonchololi says ksho kitok hikipillakaash yaak ilat onayya ka. Nittak tokhakaas Natok miya. OKA pa pityopicha lokifi shakchiat noto higyill aba M ya, paleni palenama, flaatako shiikiat pota itavishchi Kanallit onchaba aba wakaachic villess taa wa ikbitak miya Onchaba melles, ohata, "cho'maa Tahliluma OK Aba Binnilli pihisacha imanokfillikat "Yap (mohimoshya nanna iksho. Okla tola'c hila mailvilla ancholba anok fill: to le. Jammilemat loht: unshmat okla Hoba chudok m Kafishchi Haghri' mma' okla taa'wa katilischi toba'shtok miya. Jamma kill q 120

Figure 90: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 87, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The Itti' Aaomba' narrative begins halfway down the page (Figure 89) and continues

onto the first half of the next page (Figure 90):

Chikki pílla ayya'shakaash Chikashsha alhiha' Misipi' aa-ayya'shanatook miya.

Nittak fokhakaash hattak tashka alhiha' chokka' falaa' ayyashat hoocho'maat

owattaat ayatok miya. Tashka iksho, Chokka' Falaa'k<u>o</u>. Haatak<u>o</u> tashka Mashkookiat Chokka Falaa' alacha ittibitok miya. Naalhchommit tashka' Chikashsha' ikshokmat chipota nakni' Chikashshaat hooittibimakillatok miya. Haatokot tanampo', tanampo <u>a</u>lhlhi' naki' taa'wa' <u>i</u>shcha Mashkooki<u>a</u> kochchacha ittibi. Amafo'si' ishto' antatok miya. Levi Colbert naaholloat hochifotok miya. Leviat chipota nakni' Chikashsha áyya'sha pa impilishtok miya. Impilishcha Mashkooki<u>a</u> imambitok miya. Yammikm<u>a</u> Chikashsh<u>i</u>pilichiat Levi 'Ittiombinni'li' hochifotok miya. Ana'kot Ittiombinni'li' ishtaonchololi saya. Asayoppa finhahootokot Chikashsha saya.

[Chiiki pílla áyya'shakaash Chikashsha alhiha'at Missippi' aa-áyya'shanattook miya. Nittak fokhakaash hattak tashka alhiha'at Chokka' Falaa' aa-áyya'shat hoocho'maat owwattat ayattook miya. Tashkaat iksho, Chokka' Falaa'ko. Haatoko tashka Mashkooki'at Chokka Falaa' o'nacha ittibittook miya. Naalhchohma tashka' Chikashsha'at ikshokma chipota nakni' Chikashshaat hooittibi makillattook miya. Haatokoot tanampo', tanampo álhlhi' naki' táwwa'a íshcha Mashkookia kochchicha ittibi. Amafo'si' ishto'at ántattook miya. 'Levi Colbert' naahollo-at hochifottook miya. Levi-at chipota nakni' Chikashsha áyya'sha pa pihlí'chittook miya. Pihlí'shcha Mashkookia imambittook miya. Yahmihma Chikashsha pihli'chi'at Levi 'Itti' Aaomba'' hochifottook miya. Ana'koot Itti' Aaomba' ishtaaonchololi' saya. Asayoppa fínha Chikashsha sayahootokoot].

['Long ago all the Chickasaws lived in Mississippi, they say. One day all those warriors living at Long Town went hunting. There were not any warriors at Long Town. So Mvskoke Creek warriors arrived at Long Town and fought, they say. So when the Chickasaw warriors were gone the Chickasaw boys had to fight. So they took up the guns and bows and arrows and forcing the Mvskoke Creeks out, they fought them. My great-grandfather was there, they say. The white people called him 'Levi Colbert.' Levi led these Chickasaw boys that were there. Leading them, they beat the Mvskoke Creeks. So the Chickasaw leaders named him 'Where It Rained in the Woods,' they say.⁴⁴⁰ I am a descendant of Where It Rained in the Woods. I am very happy because I am Chikashsha.']⁴⁴¹

The passage following this nannan<u>o</u>li <u>á</u>lhlhi' is known as the Chikashsha nannikbi an<u>o</u>li' (Chikashsha creation story), and is an early attempt to retell the version passed to the late Juanita Byars by her kin. This is a deep and pervasive story, told in similar detail by a great many native peoples in the southeast:

> Chiikipíllakaash yaakniat hattak ikshokitok. Oka' ilat onayya'shanatok miya. Oka' bíyyi'ka. Nittak fokhakaash Shakchiat nota pityopicha lokfi' <u>i</u>shcha aba

⁴⁴⁰ The evidential / hearsay marker miya is used to convey statements of fact that the reporter did not in fact see themselves. It is a common feature in storytelling, particularly older stories and shikonno'pa'. I have omitted the regular repetition of the device in the English gloss because it interrupts the flow of the narrative. In Chickasaw it is fine. This word is also homophonous with miya, 'to say about oneself; to try; to mean.' An allophonic variant of this word is miha.

⁴⁴¹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 86-7, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

ishtalatok miya. Lokfi' bíyyi'ka yaakni' paknama. Haatak<u>o</u> Shiikiat aba wakaacha <u>i</u>fanishchi kannalit onchaba valleys taa'wa ikbitok miya. Onchaba, valleys, okata', okishto' cho'm<u>a</u>a tahlikm<u>a</u> Aba' Binni'li' pih<u>i</u>sacha imanokfillikat 'Yappat chokmahookya nanna iksho. Okla toba'chila' makilla amholba' anokfillitok. Yammikmat lokfi uuzikmat okla toba'chitok miya. Yaakni' m<u>ó</u>ma taa'wa kat<u>i</u>shchi toba'shtok miya. Yammak illa.⁴⁴²

[Chiiki píllakaash yaakni'<u>a</u> hattakat aaikshokittook. Oka' illa'at onáyya'shanattook miya. Oka' bíyyi'ka. Nittak fokhakaash Shakchiat nota' pityo'picha lokfi' <u>í</u>'shcha aba ishtalattook miya. Lokfi' bíyyi'ka yaakni' pakna' m<u>a</u>. Haatok<u>o</u> Shiikiat aba' waka'cha fanalhchi' faapo'wat onchaba kochchaafokka' táwaa'<u>a</u> ikbittook miya. Onchaba, kochchaafokka', okhata', okishto' cho'm<u>a</u> ikbit tahlihm<u>a</u> Aba' Bínni'li'at pih<u>í</u>scha aachikat 'Yappat chokmahookya nannahaat iksho. Okla tobashla' makilla amahooba' aachittook. Yahmihmat okla lokfi' ishtobachittook miya. Kanishchi yaakni' m<u>ó</u>ma tobachittook miya. Yammak illa].

['Long ago there were no humans on the land. There was only water there. Water was everywhere. So one day Crayfish swam down under and, taking some dirt, brought it up. There was dirt all over the surface of the land. So Buzzard,

⁴⁴² Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 87, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK. In this version of the creation story Shiiki 'Buzzard' is the creator of the mountains and valleys.

flying up, flapped his wings and created mountains and valleys, they say. When he finished making the mountains, valleys, the ocean, and big waters He Who Sits on High stared at it, saying 'This is good but something is not here. It seems to me that I have to be able to make some people.' So he made people out of earth. This is the manner in which the world was created. That is it.']

Sakellichito at Loleosh. Sahilichifo washello at MEmphils, Tennessuakot ac-alalitok. Joshn. atanian pokko'li' to chichi wa ana tokto an - daling Sashhiat Chibashista Chalita tox'waa. Unkint Mashlooki' Chalakhi ta'wa'a. Awa'kot Chikashsha aatikaachili. Chiikipullabash who has - chaffe allihout Chibish slavon a moupolinatok miga, anchokha- claffa. Chibashshapper. argaan; ishtoat Chubashshamped awayalitoh miya ookya 1938 a Ko loshquatkaniga. 1938 ovalash Chibests harma ithana ikshok tok auchokka - chaffa loot. Naalh chomm; + schimmita katihkash Chikashshasayaka ithanali polya Chikashsbaroupa' anompola hi biyyi ka kiyokitok. knowpa' kanihmosi ithanalika, Nanna Naamilhiha; impa, chokka-chatta ithgwalitok, Haatakoot anchipota' Nahni' Chokfi alakma Chilushshonga' ithanachi ishtayalitok. Choktiat Chikashshnoopa' ithanachi boluman anhilitok. Jammi kana Chiliashsha nonpor ithanali finhatok. Nittak noma Chilesstshanopa' pikisalicha anokfililicha anompoholilitok. Kallotok. Pomanoupaat Karikaka ithanachi. afammi pakko'li ontakma Chileashshanompa' anompolathi biyyi kacha. kanihka asayoppa makorno. Churchester saya cha pomanompaat okcháyya billiga horburano anhili. Yappatoot sayimmi

Figure 91: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Cambridge Executive journal, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 88, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The final entry from this journal that I will include here is an early attempt at a biographical sketch in the language, written in October 2010 (Figure 91):

Saholhchifoat Lokosh. Saholhchifo naaholloat Joshua. Memphis, Tennesseea'kot aa-alalitok. Afammi pokko'li' tochchi'na' awa toklo aa-alalitok. Sashkiat Chikashsha Chahta ta'waa'. Ankiat Mashkooki' Chalakki ta'wa'a. Ana'kot Chikashsha aatikaachili. Chiikipillakaash anchokka-chaffa alhihaat Chikashshanompa' anompolinatok miya, anchokka-chaffa' Chikashsha. Angaani ishtoat Chikashshanompa' anompolinatok miya hookya 1938a'ko loshomatok miya. 1938onakash Chikashshanompa' ithána' ikshokitok anchokka-chaffa'kot. Naalhchommit sahimitta katihkash Chikashsha sayaka ithánali ookya Chikashshanompa' anompola'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yokitok. Anompa' kanihmosi ithánalika, nanna naamilhlha', impa', chokka-chaffa ithanalitok. Haatakoot anchipota nakni' Chokfi' alakma Chikashshanompa' ithánachi ishtayalitok. Chokfiat Chikashshanompa' ithanachihookmano anhilitok. Yammikma Chikashshanompa' ithánali finhatok. Nittak móma Chikashshanompa' pihísalicha anokfililicha anompohólilitok. Kallotok. Pomanompaat kanikaka ithánachi. Afammi pokko'li onakma Chikashshanompa' anompola'hi biyyi'kacha kanihka sayoppa mako'no. Chikashsha sayacha pomanompaat okcháyya bílli'ya hookmano anhili. Yappakoot sayimmi.

[Saholhchifoat Lokosh. Saholhchifo naahollaat Joshua. Memphis, Tennesseea'ko aa-alalittook. Afammi pokoli tochchí'na awa toklo aa-alalittook. Sashki'at Chikashsha Chahta táwwa'a. Anki'at Mashkooki' Chalakki táwwa'a. Ana'koot Chikashsha aatakaashlittook. Chiiki píllakaash anchokka-chaffa' alhihaat Chikashshanompa' anompolinattook miya, anchokka-chaffa' Chikashsha. Angaani' ishto'at Chikashshanompa' anompolinattook miya hookya 1938a'ko loshomattook miya. 1938 onakaash Chikashshanompa' ithána'at ikimshokittook anchokka-chaffa'koot. Naalhchohmi' sahimitta katihkaash Chikashsha sayaka ithánali ookya Chikashshanompa' anompolila'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yokittook. Anompa kanihmo'si ithánalittook - nanna naamilhlha', impa', chokka-chaffa' ithánalittook. Haatoko anchipota nakni' Chokfi'at alahma Chikashshanompa' ithanat ishtayyalittook. Chokfi'at Chikashshanompa' ithana'chihookmano anhilittook. Yahmihma Chikashshanompa' ithanali fínhattook. Nittak móma Chikashshanompa' pihíslit ishtanokfillilit anompohólilittook. Kallottook. Pomanompa' kanihka ithanalittook. Afammi pókko'li onnahma Chikashshanompa' anompolila'hi bíyyi'kacha kanihka sayoppa mako'no. Chikashsha sa'yacha pomanompa'at okch<u>á</u>a bílli'ya'chihookmano anhili. Yappa'ko sayimmi].

['My name is Gourd. My white person name is Joshua. I was born at Memphis, Tennessee. I was born 32 years ago. My mother is Chickasaw and Choctaw. My father is Mvskoke Creek and Cherokee. I signed my name at the Chickasaw

Nation.⁴⁴³ Long ago my Chikashsha family used to speak Chikashshanompa' all the time. They say my great-grandmother spoke Chikashshanompa' but she died in 1938. My family had no more Chikashshanompa' speakers in 1938. So when I was still young I knew that I was Chikashsha but I could not speak Chikashshanompa'. I knew a little language - animals, food, family words. So when my son Chokfi' was born I began to learn Chikashshanompa'. I wanted Chokfi' to learn Chikashshanompa'. So I really learned Chikashshanompa'. Every day I looked at, thought about, and spoke Chikashshanompa'. Ten years later I can speak Chikashshanompa' and now I am really happy. I am a Chickasaw and I want our language to live forever. That is what I believe.']⁴⁴⁴

Sugarcane notebook, 6 July 2010 to 17 May 2011

The notebook is a medium-size brown pressboard journal with brown kraft paper cover, made from sugarcane waste. Its lined pages are devoted to language entries. The dominant theme therein is verb grades, and its entry types include marginalia, illustrated vocabulary, and several speaker notes. The journal is titled on the cover, Lokosh imanompa' holisso, 'Lokosh's language book 6 July 2010.'

⁴⁴³ 'Signed my name at the Chickasaw Nation' = enrolled as a tribal citizen of the Chickasaw Nation.

⁴⁴⁴ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-008 (5-13-2007 to 1-24-2011), 88, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Marginalia

Noteworthy marginalia include notes on multiclause constructions that require switchreference affixes, a regular process in Chikashshanompa' that nevertheless can be challenging for anompa shaali'.⁴⁴⁵ I was ten years into my learning journey, but only three into the professional language work that enabled me to have regular daily contact with native speakers. Even in this professionalized revitalization environment, I struggled to acquire the full switchreference system.

In Figure 92 there are four multiclause sentences with switch-reference elements and four sentences that do not incorporate switch reference:

Liyamma'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yohm<u>a</u> ishpopilaki'yokitok.

[Liiyahma'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yohm<u>a</u> ishpopila' ki'yokitok].

['When we could not do it you never helped us.']

Liyammit ki'yo ishnakoht ki'yokitokma.

[Liiyahmi' ki'yo ishnaakoot [yahma'hi] ki'yokitokma].

['We did not do it, you were the one that could not do it.']

Ittachaffa' libinohtok.

[Ittachaffat liibinohtok.]

['Being in agreement we (more than two) sat down.']

Hootilhlhaa'chi.

⁴⁴⁵ See Pamela Munro, 'Chickasaw Switch-Reference Revisited' in *Switch Reference 2.0.* vol. 114, edited by Rik van Gijn and Jeremy Hammond), 377-424 (Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2016).

[Hootilhaa'chi.]

['They (more than two) will fly.']

Hootilhlhaachi.

[Hootilhaachi.]

['They are making them (more than two) fly.']

Liya'ni chiklokm<u>a</u>.

[Liyya'ni chiklokm<u>a</u> / Iliyya'ni chiklokm<u>a</u>.]

['We might / can go if you do not get here.']⁴⁴⁶

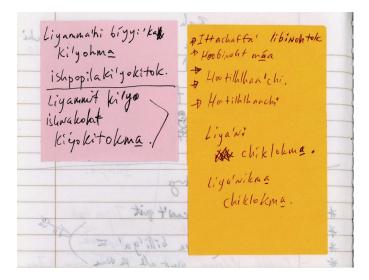


Figure 92: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Sugarcane notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 9, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The following page (Figure 93) has six pieces of marginalia, comprised of Post-It notes

stuck onto the page, and also four phrases elicited from native speaker Carlin Thompson:

Alikchi' sayahookmano anhili.

⁴⁴⁶ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 9, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

['I want to be a doctor.']

Sasipoknit tahakmat lowak moshoochi sayahookmano anhili.

[Sasipoknit tahakmat lowak moshoochi' sayahookmano anhili.]

['When I am grown up (completely old) I want to be fireman.']

Catherine 9-20-10447

Chokma ishimanoola'shki.

['Chokma' ishimanoola'shki / ishiman<u>o</u>la'shki.]

['You should say 'Hello' to him/her/it/them.']

nannaaithana' chaahah<u>o</u>'

'college'

holissaapisa'

'school'

sapisa' chaahah<u>o</u>'

[saapisa' chaahaho']

['high school / college']

abaani = verb

['to barbeque']

nipi' abaani'

[nipi' aa-abaani']

'grill [barbeque grill, barbecue pit]'448

⁴⁴⁷ This was elicited from Mrs. Catherine Willmond when she was in visiting Oklahoma.⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

Liyamma'hi bíyyi'kama ishpopila ki'yokitok. [Liiyahma'hi bíyyi'kahma ishpopila' ki'yokitok.] ['When we could do it you never helped us.'] Liyamma'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yokma ishpopila' ki'yokitok. [Liiyahma'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yokma ishpopila' ki'yokitok.] ['When we could not do it you never helped us.'] John iicho'maat aachompa' iliyatok. loayatok. [John iichomat aachompa' iliyyatok / loo-ayatok.] ['John and us [more than two] went to town.'] John licho'mi aachompa' liyatok. [John liicho'mit aachompa' iliyyatok.] ['John and us (a couple of people) went to town.'] John litaat aachompa' liyatok. [John liitá'at aachompa' iliyyatok.] ['John and I went to town.'] Carlin 9-7-10 Littinfatpoli.

[Litt<u>i</u>fatpoli / Ilitt<u>i</u>fatpoli.]

['We are talking to one another.']

Liifatpoli.

['We are talking.']449

Alikeli Sayahadeno Culin 9-7-10 shili Sasipolante lowah moshooch lipa. Cholen Istimanoo la shle Liyamma'hi biyyi'kama John fiche maat ishpopila kiyokitok. Wyamma'hu biyyoka Wyokama ishpopula achupa' liga John licho'mi aachempa' ligetok 161yoli litag

Figure 93: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Sugarcane notebook, Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 10, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Illustrated vocabulary

I will note a single illustrated vocabulary page in this journal for several reasons. First, it

is a rich page, with multiple illustrations. Second, it shows the progression of my interests from

the earliest notebooks in the sense of active engagement with challenging grammatical aspects

⁴⁴⁹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 10, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

of the language, including verb grades and positional verbs. Both are integral to effectively communicating in Chikashshanompa', but due to their complexity they are at risk of being lost in the transmission of the language from this last generation of anomp<u>í</u>'shi' to anompa shaali' (Figure 94).

6 July 2010

aachi - with illustration of one person talking to another

['to talk']

(hngr. ahánchi) - with illustration of person talking with '2X' written out

['talking and talking']

(ngr. ánchi) - with illustration of a wounded rabbit saying 'Yaaaaaaaaaai' ['l am

crying.'] and a sentence Chokfiat yaat ánchi [Chokfi'at yaat ánchi]. ['Rabbit is

crying and saying (it).']

['to say (with co-occurring action)']

impa - with illustration of man eating a chicken leg

['to eat, have a meal, dine']

(ggr. <u>í</u>'pa)

'finally [to finally eat, have a meal, dine]'

(hngr. ihímpa) - with illustration of man eating a chicken leg, steak, and an ear of corn.

['to be eating and eating']

(ngr. ímpa) - with illustration of man eating and sentence Ímpaat bínni'li [Ímpat

bínni'li] ['He is eating while seated']

['to eat (with co-occurring action)']

malili - with illustration of man running

(ggr. málli'li) 'finally'

(hngr. malih<u>í</u>li) - with illustration of man running a long distance with sweat coming out of his body, 26M, and a finish line banner, with sentence 'Hoyanoot

mal<u>í</u>li [Hoyahnot mal<u>í</u>li]' ['s/he it is sweating and running.']

(ngr. malíli) - with an image of a human running and a sentence 'Ookya kaa

ishtaya' ['But [it can also mean] to run, start (of a car)'] and an illustration of a

key in an ignition with an arrow indicating turning.

(tilhaa) - with illustration of three people running

anompoli

'to speak'

(ggr. anompó'li) 'finally, very, kind of'?

['to finally speak']

(hngr. anompoh<u>ó</u>li) - with illustration of a man saying blah blah blah blah

(Labaachi ['talks all the time'].

['to be speaking and speaking']

(ngr. anomp<u>ó</u>li) – 'to be speaking' with illustration of bearded white man saying 'play ball blah blah'

['to speak (with co-occurring action)']

biniili - with illustration of stick person sitting down

['to sit down (punctual)']

chi'ya - with illustration of two seated stick people

['to be seated (dl. subj.)']

binohli - with illustration of three seated stick people

['to sit down (punctual) (mainly tpl. subj., also dl.)']

(ggr. bínni'li)

['to sit, be sitting (sg. subj.)']

(ngr. bin<u>í</u>li)

['to sit, be sitting (sg. subj.) [with co-occurring action]']

(rmgr. binnin<u>í</u>li)

['to sit around (sg. subj.']⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁵⁰ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 3, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

6 Lely Zoit ancos aachi (huge. abanchi) (offere ZXEE (ngr. ánchi) (1900 (AAMAAI) Choldiat Haat anchi. (ggr i'pa 'fivally' Chuge ihimpa Impaat binni'li. CNGR watthe malili (ggr mālli'li (huge. Malihili) (ngR. malili) & ookya lega (tilhaa) KASA - "to spool" anompoli (gga. anompó'li) "finally, very, ki-16"? (hnya. anompohóli) (3 614, 614, 614, 614, (labaachi) CNy R. anompoli 2" to be speaking " R Startent ggr binni'li) chi'ya 1/3 1/4 binohli A 1 (Moinili) Criman binniníli)

Figure 94: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Sugarcane notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 3, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Speaker Notes

There are two noteworthy speaker notes pages from this notebook. The first is an example of my ongoing interest in acquiring as many idiolects as possible from native speakers, in this case focusing on variation in the first person plural markers (Figure 95). The second is a compilation of random set of items from a single native speaker and general notes from a Chickasaw Language Committee meeting (Figure 96):

Marie Beck 217-10 JOANN 9-16-10 littimanoupoh !. " hitimanompoli. - lottinanompoli. Ilmimpachi. - Iliya'chi Hettel Count togatchi loaya 'chi. attalichi. - Ilimpatok. Ilimpa. - Loimpatok. - akanka' loopa. Jipatok - akanka' ilipatok. Jipatok. Sam Johnson 5-12-10 Geneva Holman 9-TR-10 Ilithimmorpoli 1 Lositinanonpoli - Ilanompoli. - Wanompoli. Hoo ittimano mp - Iliyachi. limomat iliyachi. Akarka' ilipa. Marka' iloapa. loapa

Figure 95: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Sugarcane notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 7, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

JoAnn 9-7-10

Littimanompoli.

['We are reading to him/her/it/them.']

Lottimanompoli.

[Looittimanompoli.]

['We (more than two) are reading to him/her/it/them.']

Iliya'chi.

[lliyya'chi.]

['We are going to go.']

Loaya'chi.

[Looaya'chi.]

['We (more than two) are going to go.']

Ilimpatok.

['We ate.']

Loimpatok.

[Looimpatok.]

['We (more than two) ate.']

Akanka' loapa.

[Akanka' looapa.]

['We are eating chicken.']

Akanka' ilipatok.

['We ate chicken.']

Marie Beck 9-7-10

Littimanompoli.

['We are reading to him/her/it/them.']

llooimpachi

[lloo-impa'chi.]

['We (more than two) are going to eat.']

Hattak lawat (illegible).

['Many people / many men']

llimpa.

['We are eating.']

lipatok.

['We ate (it).']

lipatok.

['We ate (it).']

Geneva Holman 9-7-10

Ilanompoli.

['We are speaking.']

Wanompoli.

[Aa-anompoli, Loo-anompoli?]

['s/he it they are speaking (in a place), We (more than two) are speaking.']

lliyachi

[lliyya'chi.]

['We are going to go.']

limomat iliyachi.

[lim<u>ó</u>mat iliyya'chi.]

['All of us are going to go.']

Sam Johnson 9-7-10

llittimanompoli.

['We are reading to her/him/it/them.']

Ilooittimanompoli.

['We (more than two) are reading to her/him/it/them.']

Hooittimanompoli.

['They are reading to her/him/it/them.']

Akanka' ilipa.

['We are eating chicken.']

Akanka' iloo-apa.

['We (more than two) are eating chicken.']⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵¹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 7, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Marie Bach 9-7-10 oklobovsklichi Arithanaha aba Johnit abanonpa' yimi' Convittee Meetry 4 quit # 1 ¥ E 54 * GANNG * #-7 Shkomulsi * 7 imomachit taka wed pite 0 * * * whate * * * * *

Figure 96: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Sugarcane notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 8, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Marie Beck 9-7-10

Aaithanaha' - with illustration of church

['church']

okloboshlichi

['to baptize (in the Baptist way); to dunk, push under']

abanompa' yimmi'

[Abaanompa' Yimmi'] - with illustration of cross

['Christian']

abaanompa' ishi'

[abaanompa' i'shi'] - with illustration of pastor talking, holding bible

['preacher']

Language Committee Meeting

addiction -> can't quit

attapa

[aatapa]

['too, too much']

banna' salami

[banna salami']

['to want (it) too much']

banna bílli'ya = want all the time

['to want (it) all the time']

ishkoma'si

[ishko yamma'si]

['to drink just a little bit (of that)']

<u>imó</u>machit taha

[imomachit taha / imomachit táyya'ha] -> you're all used to it

['to be used to it']

tannafo

['basket']

talhpak

['basket'] 452

Composition notebook, 27 August 2010 to 4 November 2010

This notebook is a medium-size pressboard journal with a typical black-and-white speckled cover and lined pages. It is mostly devoted to exercises and notes from published language learning resources, principally *Let's Speak Chickasaw* and *Choctaw Language & Culture*. I was most interested at the time in the differences between Chikashshanompa' and Chahta imanompa', as well as working deliberately through the Chikashshanompa' teaching grammar in depth. The notebook is a brief exemplar of the role that overt grammatical instruction played in my acquisition of Chikashshanompa', and contains four entry types: notations / exercises from the two workbooks, illustrated vocabulary entries, marginalia, and speaker notes.

⁴⁵² Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-013 (7-6-2010 to 5-17-2011), 8, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Notations / exercises

3.5 S a A Marters S I Sat chit ish t Your We pot kiit iit kilt ilt Specific WE hapo + kiloot lot puracyon hachit hasht 1. Mar rete Can Had an Part to 2. young 3G 1. Ponokhanglo. 2. Hachipalhki. 3. Sachanha 4. Withloka Hapothinko, S. Sachokma. It some veribs can be und as S on A back 1. state of being (little control and part 2. Action (control) Hachichakana. (yall on yord) S Histochokoma (yall are acts good) A ChalifiyAmmili. (on punpose) Sacholitiyammi, Clant help it)

Figure 97: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Composition notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 22, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

This first notation / exercise example (Figure 97) includes a chart denoting stative and

active person markers in Chikashshanompa', a short series of translation exercise answers, and

several examples of verbs that take both stative and active person marking.⁴⁵³

⁴⁵³ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 22, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

	Choctano Se	nterce (v	1)
	interfort bel	of tranken to	
subje	ect + ut + (ob	ject) + verb	+
Hive	tense + (Neg		
a.	and is take and	- multiple the	
SAN	akfish-vt taboa		
Hatta	kchito-wt of:	pisakiyo.	type 4 -
Ohoy	h chito-left of: onut katos pi	Sah - 0?	
Gr.	bak in kings	tudinizedents.	
King	Sapolusi-vt 1		
Dinte	tional panticles	(25)	Reliel
- ant	"come and " toward speak	at at	R
et	toward speak	ea' asht + / P:	sht ±
ani	je ana	0	057
pit	' away from	speaker 1	it t
IK M	and made is going		
- Ofi-	it Katos pithu	Acto.	
- amosh	i-vt autpisa.		
- hnull	a-yut ant talea	a when per	
1th x	then mother ran	B	
	TAY	a support and	

Figure 98: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Composition notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 15, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The second example (Figure 98) exhibits Choctaw sentence structure and what Haag

and Willis call directional particles.⁴⁵⁴ To the right of the main entry I included equivalent

Chickasaw examples, with Choctaw sentences including examples of these directional particles

below.455

⁴⁵⁴ Marcia Haag and Henry Willis. *Choctaw language and culture: Chahta Anumpa*. Vol. 1. (University of Oklahoma Press, 2001): 25-26.

⁴⁵⁵ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 15, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Illustrated vocabulary entries

Chihadolomorpa' Wilchonpoli' Kannohmo'si Chaffa 1.1 caronant years could sands 1.2 vowel sunds A A AA, O O OO, i jii A= fala, oya aa = falaa, yaa a = afala, paska (object) i = iti, bila ii = Kii, iila i = kiliya, ifala 0 = omba, koni 00 = ihoo, Shooli 0= pefa, chika falaa aabi waaka' wakaa waaka pakali takaali

Figure 99: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Composition notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 2, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The examples of illustrated entries (Figure 99) use images of associated vocabulary from

Munro and Willmond 2008 to illustrate the Chikashshanompa' vowel-length contrast. English is

dispensed with altogether; even the textual examples above have no translations. The

illustrated entries are:

fala	falaa
['crow']	['long']
abi	aabi

['to kill']	['to paint']				
wakaa	waaka	waaka'			
['to fly']	['be spotted']	['cow']			
takaali pak <u>a</u> li					
['be caught, hung up on'] ['to bloom'] ⁴⁵⁶					
\$ 	ayyaat Kobo	$\rightarrow 506j,$ $\rightarrow 06j,$ zfr a cobaffilitok.			
kook kook	oua OSO	Ch. 19 "And" wore glueds 19.1 Vels Her Istic positions vels Here - Erunilli, chilipaight - ishto, hickito - Iskunipasi, san Xo			
2 0	10 west	- malili + that			

Figure 100: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Composition notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 25-26, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

⁴⁵⁶ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 2, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The next example of illustrated vocabulary entries is spread across two sequential

notebook pages (Figure 100) and illustrates different ways to express breaking objects:

kobafa - illustration of broken stick - subj.

['to break, be broken (of something long)']

kobaffi - illustration of hands snapping a stick in two - obj.

['to break (a sg. long obj.)']

Sayyaat kobafa

[Sayyi'at kobafa]

['My leg is broken.']

Ishholissochi' kobaffilitok.

['I broke a pencil.']

kobahli - illustration of two broken sticks

['to break, be broken (of long obj.)(pl. subj.)']

kobbi - illustration of two broken sticks

['to break (pl. long obj.)']

kowa - illustration of four broken sticks

['to break, crack, be broken (of a round object)']

kooli - illustration of hammer about to strike a bowl

['break or crack a compact object']

kookowa - illustration of three intact bowls

['to break, be broken (of compact obj.) (pl. subj.)']

kookoli - illustration of broken shards

['to break (compact obj.) (pl. obj.)']

Amposhi' likootok

[Amposhi' liikootok]

['We broke a bowl.']

Amposhi' likookolitok

[Amposhi' liikookolitok]

['We broke some bowls.']457

⁴⁵⁷ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 25-26, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Marginalia

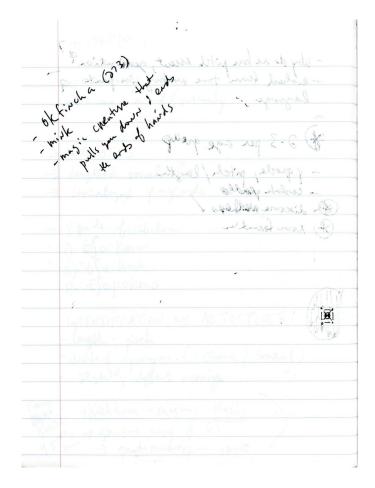


Figure 101: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Composition notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 51, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

The only noteworthy piece of marginalia concerns an animal (Figure 101):

okfincha (273)

'mink'

'magic creature [in the water] that pulls [one] down and eats the ends of [one's]

hands' [also known to trade baby teeth for money]⁴⁵⁸

⁴⁵⁸ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 51, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK. This entry was taken from Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 273.

Speaker notes

A single page of speaker notes was elicited from native speaker JoAnn Ellis on 3

November 2010, and concerns Chickasaw verb grades (Figure 102):

littiga JOANN - 11-3-10 alperd dient & HN C iDihint n = f14 N Dilá litti JA 500 d)

Figure 102: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Composition notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 52, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK. This entry was motivated by Munro and Willmond, *Let's Speak Chickasaw*.

JoAnn

11-3-10

G [grade] lítti'ha

'already dirty - finally / already'

hóppo'ba (doesn't sound right)

['finally, already hungry']

chíffa'ta / chóffa'ta

'really, more clean'

HN [grade] hopooba [hopoba]

['to be hungry, to starve']

hopohómba

'still hungry, staying hungry, doesn't sound right'

chofah<u>á</u>lli

'still cleaning'

chifall<u>i</u>

'cleaning and cleaning'

ipihínta

'feeding and feeding'

N [grade] pilánchi

'still sending'

ayómpa

'still happy'

ipínta

'still feeding' 'Stan might say'

Y [grade] lítti'yya

[litíyyi'ha]
['really dirty']
kanihka littiya
[litiya]
['really dirty']
littiiya
littiiya
[iftti'ha, lítti'ya] [G grade]
['kind of dirty'] 'doesn't sound good'
hopoyyoba
[hopóyyo'ba]
['really hungry'] 'doesn't sound good'
hopooba

Moleskine Classic Notebook, 17 October 2011 - 17 May 2012

This journal marks a transition, at the urging of my then-committee chair Dr. Mary S. Linn, to acid-free notebooks and archival inks. Since this journal began I have written exclusively in Moleskine journals with archival Noodler's Inks mostly using traditional fountain pens. The journal holds work-related language notes, class notes from doctoral course work, transcriptions of shikonno'pa' and other stories, prayers by native speakers, translation of a

⁴⁵⁹ Below these notes are three points possibly related to a desire to test these grades with other native speakers. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-015 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 52, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK. This entry was motivated by Munro and Willmond, *Let's Speak Chickasaw*.

non-Chickasaw children's book, and a few personal entries.⁴⁶⁰ Entry types include marginalia, productive journal entries, and oral narrative transcriptions:

Marginalia

There are extensive marginalia in this notebook, principally because much of it was devoted to notes taken during my doctoral course work. Several entries could be considered illustrated vocabulary entries, but I code them as marginalia because acquisition of that vocabulary was not my principal reason for creating them (Figure 103):

⁴⁶⁰ Some of this work was produced in Ukraine, where my wife and I were staying for an extended period in order to finalize the adoption of our two eldest sons. The remainder was largely written in Oklahoma, with some exceptions in Chicago and Minneapolis.

ges of prestigue, attitudes: I som 7. ttle on no 1 2) bilings time 3) Ann ly la un 2012 te dolimiste wh! intle . - Conto stinge withints the ' 4 hight sol tion of noid will nork in all cases & ttook Say . 2 D.RE about week formation, lexical root in rost + dition of

Figure 103: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 70, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

<u>o</u>si' hishi'

'eagle feather'461

Some marginalia are asides / responses to class content (Figure 104):

⁴⁶¹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 70, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

martin. o operate ctic appatois can t parto of us titute cannot be a morpholog purquessive bail to mille 2 ds. it of maybenes, will argenerate V up final stress - annal - repisal derival - derivation X 1 affirstes, attach at stem (mars affires, attach at used

Figure 104: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 86, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

yamma m<u>ó</u>ma akostinichila'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yoka'chi

[Yamma moma akostinishla'hi bíyyi'ka ki'yoka'chi]

['I am not going to be able to understand all of this']⁴⁶²

⁴⁶² The graduate courses in linguistics that I took were incredibly challenging for someone like myself, who had no formal background in the subject. I was able to survive my PhD courses by making linguistic theory concrete through the lens of Chikashshanompa' and my understanding of it, and through the assistance of Dr. Juliet Morgan, a member of my cohort and now my coworker in the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, as well as through the generosity and mentoring of my professors including Dr. Mary S. Linn, Dr. Racquel-Mariá Sapién, Dr.

Lexical VI -> 52e sein righteous rixt riix allo d the the 97 Chicki villa tachfilantst cyc cyclic, cyclics Ð & app rge a ix, ch In puap IMDJA [ae [am] 2e# TK chipisa chipi sali U chipi sali tok amik 201

Figure 105: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 99, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Kiih<u>i</u> sanosilhlhah<u>a</u>! Chiiki pílla tashkila'nitoka'ni.

['Dang, am I sleepy! I should have lain down earlier.']⁴⁶³

Marcia Haag, Dr. Sean O'Neill, Dr. Gus Palmer, Dr. Amanda Cobb-Greetham, and Dr. Teresa Bell. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-

^{2012), 86,} Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

⁴⁶³ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 99, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

ell homedians condition sociation lives to not cuoso s a rowel, every romel "sheleton foni' shull' tone, always high phonemic vo x x x xxx ic word formation, verb formatic tuliteral arror. W rec tab it was written el is the mough VC e minuty

Figure 106: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 ((10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 108, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

katishchi ishaacha'ni 'clear the throat'? Stan ba JoAnn asilhha'.

[Katihshchi ishaacha'ni 'clear the throat'? Stan ba' JoAnn imasilhlha.]

['How might you say 'clear the throat'? Ask Stan or JoAnn.']⁴⁶⁴

⁴⁶⁴ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 108, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Two examples of marginalia in Figure 107 were also written in a morphology course at the University of Oklahoma. The first is a neologism that I coined during the course and the second is a series of five derivations of taloowa 'to sing':

Manna mayphology ak a - u VCV = aRu 11 VC medi Anur not 09 strong ver slog salaa Kow -> KWKOW CVCT \oplus est proble thing sin un R /szen pret. part. ISAN 2

Figure 107: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 115, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Anompa' Ilanchi' Pisa'

[Anompa' <u>I</u>lánchi Pisa']

'morphology [examination of changing words or language]'

taloowa

['s/he / it / they / they are singing.']

taloowatok

['she / it / it / they sang']

taloowatok

['she / it / it / they sang']

taloh<u>ó</u>watok

['she / it / it / they were singing and singing']

talooh<u>ó</u>watok?

[taloh<u>ó</u>watok]

['she / it / it / they were singing and singing']⁴⁶⁵

In Figure 108 there are two marginalia examples, a series of four derivations of sotko 'to

be thick' and an aside concerning modern media:

⁴⁶⁵ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 115, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

good times sure to redit Colleen. students on trany make thich da CB ba BUB uga. Makous in 2010 m

Figure 108: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 166, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

sotko

'be thick'

sootko

[sóyyotko]466

⁴⁶⁶ The intensive y-grade as described by Munro and Willmond is most often realized by speakers currently working with the program using either a lengthened penultimate vowel or the auxiliary word kan<u>í</u>hk<u>a</u>, rather than the geminate y-insertion following the accented

'really thick'

sóyyotko

['really thick']

sóntko

'still thick, finally thick [thick with co-occurring action, thicker (comparatively)]' Hopaakikaashookano Chikashsha alhihat nannola 'CD' ba 'DVD' nannikshokittook miya. Makono imaasha manko. [Hopaakikaashookano Chikashsha alhihaat nannola' 'CD' ba' 'DVD' nanna ikimikshokittook miya.

Mako'no imáyya'sha manko.

['Long ago the Chickasaws did not have anything like CDs or DVDs, they say. But now they have them (I have seen it first hand).']⁴⁶⁷

The marginalia entry is a switch-reference exercise I wrote down during a morphology

class, during a discussion on morpheme classes in English (Figure 109):

penultimate syllable; e.g., losa 'to be black in color'; loosa 'to be really black'; kanihka losa 'to be really black.'

⁴⁶⁷ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 166, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

anissachilit anchigenta imitali lit a annatok hattahat ancholk wa hayocohlitokat hayorohlitok at sataplammit ishtayatak le auchineta hina' pa pilla sunschit mil latok Idattahwat hive pu pilla sunachit mihatokhoo inchipstaat inohti 'yohli' imittolat aypit mikalitokookya Wi Fiat appello Sinti yohlit mihalitohookya sintiat hilesti salami-Ihospat yahaa binning hattakat imaachihat 'vanta hibatihmitaa impashtoh montro Aachoupa' onalihma eachopposhiat ahshitta taha in 1: - ion, . ity , - ft , - al, de-, Jub, pre-, con-, nd: new less shood, for un- non- de- ses more purdivitions than I also to bega need anxiety va, anxiousness ty in impulsiveness nublen in in . - (place assime X 12012 2 Allers a starting man redux, shift in vienz point for resitalization 別三川 1 Vi

Figure 109: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 87, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Impa miyalit aaissachilit anchipota imihalitok.

[Impa mihalit aaissachilit anchipota imihalitok.]

['I quit trying to eat and bawled out my children.']

Impa miyal<u>i</u> hattakat anchokka' onnatok.

[Impa mihali hattakat anchokka' onatok.]

['I was trying to eat and a man / person got to my house.']

Kooklit nanna hayooshlitokat hayooshlitok.

[Kooklilit nanna hayooshlitokat hayooshlitok.]

['I was Googling and I found something that I had found (before).']

Kookli anchipotaat sataklammit istayatok.

[Kooklili anchipotaat sataklammit ishtayatok.]

['I was Googling and my children began to bother me.']

Hattakmat hina' pa pílla onnachit mihatokkookya ittolatok.

[Hattak mat hina' pa-pila ona mihatokookya ittolatok.]

['That man was trying to get precisely [to a point on] the road but he fell.']

Hattakmat hina' pa pílla onnachit mihatokhookya inchipotaat imokti' yokli' imittolatok miya.

[Hattak mat hina' pa-pila ona mihatokookya inchipotaat imokti' yokli'at imittolatok miya.]

['They said that that man was trying to get precisely [to a point on] the road but his child dropped their snow cone.']

Iskaaypit mihalitokookya WiFiat oppollotok.

[Iskaaypi mihalitookya WiFiat oppolotok.]

['I was trying to Skype but the WiFi was messed up.']

Sinti yoklit mihalitokookya sintiat hilasbi salamitok.

[Sinti' yokli mihalitokookya sinti'at hilasbi salamitok.]

['I was trying to grab the snake but the snake was too slippery.']

Ihoomat yah<u>á</u>a binnina hattakat imaachikat 'nanta chikatihmitaa' imaashtok mank<u>o</u>.

[Ihoo mat yah<u>á</u>at bínni'na hattakat imaachikat 'Nanta chikatihmi?' imaashtok manko.]

['That woman was sitting there crying and crying and that man said to her 'What

is wrong with you' (I saw it first hand).']

Aachompa' onalihm<u>a</u> aachomposhi'at okshitta tahatok.

[Aachompa' onalihma aachomposhi'at okshílli'ta tahatok.']

['When I got to town the store was completely closed.'] 468

The last marginalia examples from this notebook are found at the end of the journal and

are composed of single phrases, several sentences, and individual names. Figure 110 contains a

variety of marginalia entries intermixed with random mark-making and doodling:

Lokosh

['Gourd']

Aliih<u>a</u>!

['Ouch!']

Owwa owwa owwa aachi...

['Moo moo moo they are saying (of a cow)']

Nittak antaha'chi, asaokch<u>á</u>a bílli'ya'chi ki'yo.

['My days will be done, I will not live forever.']

Kiih<u>i</u>!

⁴⁶⁸ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 87, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

['Wow, dang!']

Alii! Hattakmat sataklammi! [Alii! Hattak mat sataklammi!]

['Ouch! That man / person is bothering me!'] 469



Figure 110: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 239, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Figure 111 is from the end papers of the journal:

⁴⁶⁹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 239, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Chakwihili'

['Opossum']

Minko'

['Chief, leader']

Labaachi'

['Talks all the time']

Chokfi'

['Rabbit']

Aliih<u>a</u>!

['Ouch!']

Lh<u>o</u>fa't sash<u>o</u>'katok!

[Lhofa'at sasho'katok!]

['Bigfoot kissed me!']

Lh<u>o</u>fa't chilhiyohli!

[Lhofa'at chilhiyohli!]

['Bigfoot is chasing you!']470

⁴⁷⁰ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 241, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Figure 111: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 241, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Productive journal entries

drille, etc. tongue tinsters 11/15/ tan? 1 wort Chofa' Chafa charlitok. 'Ister to house inchskha' chihalitok. "

Figure 112: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 9, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK. The example of productive journal entry in Figure 112 was written 20 October 2011 at the Oklahoma Native Language Association meeting held at the Chickasaw Community Center in Ada, Oklahoma. Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald gave a presentation on the phonology of revitalization and included some examples of minimal pairs in Choctaw and discussed one tongue-twister documented in Choctaw. I was not aware of any such phenomenon in Chikashshanompa', so I wrote out several off the cuff:

Iss<u>o</u>sh shohaat iss<u>o</u>sh shoh<u>a</u>' sh<u>o</u>'ka.

['The stinky bugs kiss the stinky bugs.']

Iss<u>o</u>sh shohaat shoh<u>ó</u>waat sh<u>o</u>'ka.

[Issosh shohaat shoh<u>ó</u>hat sh<u>o</u>'ka.]

['The stinky bug, stinking and stinking, is kissing (him/her/it/them).']

Cholaat chinchokka' chokkowa'chi.

['The fox will go into your house.']

Sati Ihayyit<u>a</u> shawi'at sash<u>o</u>'ka.

[Sati Iháyyi'ta shawi'at sasho'ka.]

['The raccoon is kissing my really wet mouth.']

Shawi'at sati Ihayyita sash<u>o</u>'kataa?

[Shawi'at sati lháyyi'ta sasho'kataa?]

['Is the raccoon kissing my really wet mouth?']

Chola chaahat chinchokka' chichokkowachichi.

[Chola chaahaat chinchokka' chichokkowachichi.]

['The tall fox is making you enter your house.']

Shalaklak Ihayyita Ihinkaat Ih<u>o</u>fa' Ihabanka' Ihiyohli

[Shalaklak Iháyyi'ta Ihinkaat Ih<u>o</u>fa' Ihabanka' Ihiyohli.]

['The fat, wet goose is chasing a snoring Bigfoot.']⁴⁷¹

For the second example, I was attending a language symposium organized by the Indigenous Language Institute, 24 October 2011, in Albuquerque, NM. Following a presentation by Ojibwe educator and language revitalizationist Leslie Harper, I made some brief notes detailing my learning process to date (Figure 113):

⁴⁷¹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 9, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

ililihohihipstok. Tohbi Nashoba saholhihi hys ihalhpipspitche (Masbob Toho allipio talso Sahafantital hoo ilittat am ttihallalitok un Dalans ch ishtayalitoh. Kati allogner T t Chipospeluna' toh. avalis tok. Joann nonna n tellene cha ma asapilaton ltohat Tonna lawa yo 'apostinichili ishtayalitoh chi takot histsbanonpolil whot Chity a' it monto hoyolitok lubinoht maatok anonpa' laws imasilhhalitok) - nan mil hapi poyrakni vihalihostakst anonpa a an agyashatok mail: anompolilitak (iksamilhlhokitak) intoklo: amanompa' anopfillilitop

holissochilanitah Antochchin a amanompa thanata bit inala' aaissachila' kiyskachi

Figure 113: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 16-17, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Katishtchi amanompa' ithánalitaam?

[Katishchi amanompa' ithanalitok?]

['How did I learn my language?']

Chaffa': amanompa' ith<u>á</u>na sabannatok

[Ámmo'na: amanompa' ith<u>á</u>na sabannattook.]

['First: I wanted to know my language.']

Toklo': nannanompa' hoyolitok.

[Atokla: nannanompa' hoyolittook.]

['second: I searched for language things.']

Tochchí'na: holisso pisalitok.

[Atochchí'na: holisso p<u>í</u>salittook.]

['Third: I looked at books and papers.']

Oshta': anompa' ithána' liibinoht máatok micha nanna láwa imasilhhalitok.

[Ayyoshta': Anompa' ithána' iicho'ma'at iibinoht ma'na nanna lá'wa

imasilhlhalittook.]

['Fourth: Native speakers and I sat together (being more than two) and I asked

them many things.']

Tálhlha'pi: poyaakni' wihalihootokoot anompa' ithána aa-áyya'shatok.

[Ishtálhlha'pi: Poyaakni' wihalittook anompa' ithána'at aa-áyya'shahootoko.]

['Fifth: Because fluent speakers are there, we moved to our lands.']

Hánna'li: Anompolilitok (iksamilhlhokitok).

[Ishhánna'li: Anompolilittook (Iksamilhlhokittook).

['sixth: I spoke (I was unafraid).']

Ontoklo: amanompa' anokfillilitok.

[Ishtontoklo: Amanompa' ishtanokfillilittook.]

['seventh: I thought about my language.']

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Ontochchí'na: amanompa' ithanali bílli'ya, aaissachila' ki'yoka'chi.

[Ishtontochchí'na: Amanompa' ithahánali bílli'ya, aaissachila' ki'yo'ka'chi.]

['Eighth: I will learn and learn my language forever, I will not be able to quit.']⁴⁷² Oral Narrative Transcriptions

There are several transcriptions of oral narratives in this journal, but I will address only one here in particular (Figure 114). This narrative was recorded by JoAnn Ellis in 2011 as part of a project by Ackerman McQueen.⁴⁷³ The firm was capturing video for speaker profiles, with each telling a story they thought significant enough to share for posterity. In this instance, JoAnn, who descends from a strong medicine family, shared a narrative about her grandmother, who was an alikchi'.

⁴⁷² Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 16-17, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

⁴⁷³ Ackerman McQueen is a large national advertising agency that has been working with the Chickasaw Nation for over a decade on various projects, including language documentation and Rosetta Stone Chickasaw.

- Jakra Ellis story, recorded for Acherman - McQueen, 2011 : transcribed and interpreted by Lohosh Marriegol, Uhisine, 32 December 2011	ic, chibanhoyola' buyyiha mila iliyarba yes you togetta book lim and we go . Sk. SS
Maringol, Ulhiaine, 22 December 2011	pappaho sobrer and a aneros i reachileraba this CONT. I want say SRSS we tell southing good in aboundary ittish ipsashtana ina
Hopaskikash auguanniat Alloss bla anta- Long time ago my gunny SUB Aplass there better	we get the ula medicine fix capletely site
Long time ago my grang SUB Afless there be there nattook. A likeliatole. Machollo alikelis' Ingoing. PT prover. doctor PT white perm doctor NAM	bittal allika' chipta' shins " moin' regule all child and all talihatis. Mich inselbchila' chosoni 'hstopa-
something we go NEG something us sich that my jumy	wind naalbehitama lestlike hut.
after pomalika kinstoole. A unsolika yappa DNT.DS. usDAT data angris PTrents. Me told SRDS this nanta norma olachi ilalachi norma alba'	when brek that cut Sk.SS blood anishi maka lanish Jahmikwa hika' take cow how be that up at stard.
what smething smething plant chinalbahoobya alba' pingo yahmi. Jappat yeu appear but plant no do thiasve	bygiha micha ishithinashki aashchitok
wash Amarchinswook. I baggalihna	Ale to and you know mut seg. PT. Sabhimositho engrany skita billigache L. small. so my gunny. be glie formerses
replacing me tell ongoing Plante Souther go. cl. ulan apilali micha pisseli ittisch youwan wan belp. cl. and see. cl. madisive that grow	analbatoh yanun hijo. Noura inalikilin ne. apun PT this no pomething MT down imponumentoh. I shiabs incolorchitok
Bitter/ som SRDS and people late get them DAT dates	be good at. PT. father CONT teach PT architelr. Nama chitopahma chimalipcha'
in argoing PTrenste day all whomever get there SESS	San PT something you, mut, about you dater
slikeba bornamo bornslinna imalihalis hettak AT bota can unit. if SR. DS DAT. datas pegele Pawa' thokoffichinattoole. Ponchakka	Bygikatsk. X Sahollichifost John Ellis ale to. PT. my nove. Solar Aflessako hilis sepisaltak ofanni'
loto heal overing Trante our house	A hloss CONT proper this look of T, year hannali mich ontohlo miles Dypelosho six and surr and Dypelo CONT holoss callogsellitte proper three of thogh I. PT
anakema ittish salaahoyo kata amasilhkana get there ifan medicine me. together, also me. ash. S.R. PT.S.R.D.S. look on 25	holions anthogallilitate A process

Figure 114: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Classic notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 42-43, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

I wrote the transcription while in Mariupol, Ukraine. It marks an early attempt at

interlinear transcription, with JoAnn's narrative on one line in Munro-Willmond orthography,

and a crude morphemic gloss on the next. I forwent the English gloss in favor of transcribing her

English retelling of the narrative, also on video.⁴⁷⁴ My journals are full of narrative

transcriptions, but not all are treated with this kind of an interlinear gloss. They are best viewed

⁴⁷⁴ I generally hold to the view that a native story rendition and a companion English rendition are related but independent narratives. I prefer to begin with an English gloss of my creation, closely beholden to the original text, then to negotiate with the speaker, arriving at something loyal to the original narrative but satisfying to the narrator. This was my approach in Hinson, 'Translation.'

as acquisition-focused entries, wherein I tried to learn everything I could from native speakers' renditions of stories.⁴⁷⁵

It should be noted that JoAnn shared this narrative in a way that avoids sensitive aspects of Indian medicine. I will re-transcribe her Chikashshanompa' text here in the first tier, with the negotiated English translation below.

Hopaakikaash angranni'at Ahloso bla ántanattook.

'A long time ago my granny lived at Ahloso.'

Alikchi'attook.

'She was an Indian doctor.'

Naahollo alikchi' ilikayyo.

'We didn't go to white doctors.'

Nanna pobikama angranny-ak<u>o</u> pomalikchinattook.

[Nanna pobikahma angranni-ako pomalikchinattook.]

'Anytime we were sick, my granny would doctor us.'

Amanoolika yappa nanta . . . nanna ilokchi' nanna alba'

chimalbahookya alba' ki'yo yahmi.

[Amanolika yappa nanta . . . nanna ilokchi nanna alba' chimalbahookya alba'

ki'yo yahmi.]

'She told me something about this, that some plants appear to you as only plants

or weeds, but they aren't.'

⁴⁷⁵ After becoming communicative in Chikashshanompa', I was able to see new or novel affixes in context and quickly assimilate them into my own speech, testing them with native speakers until I was satisfied that I understood their function.

Yappat itt<u>i</u>sh amaachinattook.

'She told me this was medicine.'

Ibayyalikm<u>a</u> apilali micha pisali itt<u>i</u>sh yamma waa, wasaachik<u>a</u> micha hattak Iawa' onna, imalikchinattook.

[Ibaa-ayalikm<u>a</u> apilali micha pisali itt<u>i</u>sh yamma waa, wasaachik<u>a</u> micha hattak lawa' ona, imalikchanattook.]

'I would go with her to help and I would see this medicine growing. Lots of people would come and she would doctor them all the time.'

Nittak bílli'ya kana onnacha imalikcha' bannahm<u>a</u> imalikchi, hattak lawa' Ihakoffichinattook.

[Nittak bílli'ya kana o'nacha imalikcha' bannahm<u>a</u> imalikchi, hattak lawa' Ihakoffichinattook.]

'All day people would come wanting to be doctored. She healed many people.' Ponchokka' onnakm<u>a</u> itt<u>i</u>sh sabaahoyo kata amasilhhana <u>í</u>i, chibaahoyola' bíyyi'ka micha iliyacha yappak<u>o</u> sabanna aashcha amanooli naachokmak<u>a</u>. [Ponchokka' onakm<u>a</u> itt<u>i</u>sh sabaahoyo kata amasilhhana <u>í</u>i, chibaahoyola' bíyyi'ka micha iliyyacha yappak<u>o</u> sabanna a'shcha aman<u>o</u>li naachokmak<u>a</u>.] 'She would arrive at our house and ask me who will look for medicine with me? And I would say yes, I can go looking with you and we would go. She would say I want this one and tell me what it was good for.'

Ilonnakm<u>a</u> itt<u>i</u>sh iksaashtana ima hattak alhiha' chipota skino' m<u>ó</u>ma imalikchi.

[Ilonakm<u>a</u> itt<u>i</u>sh iksaasht tahna ima, hattak alhiha' chipota skinno' m<u>ó</u>ma imalikchi.]

'When we got there she fixed medicine and gave it to the people and small children, doctoring them.'

Micha <u>i</u>naalhchiba' chommi' hotopakm<u>a</u> naalhchibama bashlicha issish aaishi waaka' lapish.

[Micha <u>i</u>naalhchaba' chohmi hottopakm<u>a</u> naalhchaba m<u>a</u> bashlicha issish aaishi, waaka' lapish.]

'And when something on their back was hurting she would cut it and take the blood out with a cow horn.'

Yahmihma hika' bíyyi'ka micha ishithána'shki aashchitok.

[Yahmihma hika' bíyyi'ka micha ishithána'shki, aachittook.]

'The blood would be that way, pulled standing into that horn. She would say you should know this.'

Saskinnositk<u>o</u> angranny okch<u>á</u>a bílli'yacha amalbatok yamma ki'yo.

[Saskanno'sitko angranni' okcháa bílli'yacha amalbattook, yamma ki'yo.]

'When I was small I figured my granny would live forever, but no.'

Nanna imalikchik<u>a</u> imponnanatok.

[Nanna imalikchika imponnanattook.]

'She was good at doctoring.'

Inki'ak<u>o</u> imaabaachitok aachitok.

[Inki'ako imaabaachittook aachittook.]

'It was her father that taught her, they say.'

Nanna chitopakma chimalikcha' bíyyi'katok.

[Nanna chittopakma chimalikcha' bíyyi'kattook.]

'If something was hurting you, she could doctor you.'476

Moleskine Classic Pocket Notebook, 2011 - 2019

The last notebook I address in this section is in truth several of a type used over the past decade. I shall treat them as a body of work, drawn from about 30 journals. Each was a hardcover, pocket-size specimen produced by Moleskine, with lined pages, and a back pocket. The entries in each are more productive than acquisition-focused. While there are speaker notes and anompa himitta' entries, the bulk are devoted to daily life, readings, various marginalia, and creative production including a kind of Chikashsha haiku. I will include a variety of typological examples.

One of the earliest Moleskine pocket notebooks starts with a sort of journaling manifesto (Figure 115):

⁴⁷⁶ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (10-17-2011 to 5-17-2012), 42-43, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

lohosh saya. Holisso jeppet annie Chihoshsha saya. Chikashshanompat an Chibasbshano Quarkot holissopa anarhaha Chibashah ila halissochilla chi. Chilosbolmons' anompelila by kahorhe Ma samponnok o anhili

Figure 115: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-001 (10-15-2011 to 4-8-2012), 1, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Lokosh saya.

['I am Gourd.']

Holisso yappat ammi.

[Holisso yappat ammi'.]

['This book is mine.']

Chikashsha saya.

['I am Chikashsha.']

Chikashshanompaat amanompa'.

['Chikashshanompa' is my language.']

Chikashshanompolili.

['I speak Chickasaw.']

Ana'kot holissopa anonkaka Chikashshanompa' ila holissochila'chi.

[Ana'akoot holisso pa anonkaka' Chikashshanompa' illa holissochila'chi.]

['I am the one that will write just Chickasaw in this book.']

Chikashshanompa' anompolila' bíyyi'kahookya anompolikat iksamponnok<u>i</u>sha.

['I can speak Chickasaw but I am not good at it yet.']

Amponna'nihookmano anhili.

['I wish to be good at it.']⁴⁷⁷

An entry dated 23 April 2012 encompasses many of the journal entry types detailed

above including daily reading, a report on my daily activities, and two haiku entries (Figure

116):

⁴⁷⁷ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-001 (10-15-2011 to 4-8-2012), 1, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

pilihookmahoch Inhi' chiyahoohmat kallo. Obyah Dabinta Chihoonghman. assona tonol klups iichomaat toboholi alop ahouka spoonicha choyyskmatol. pishokili' kallo wahano hopoonitak. Jablim tob RIA a Muslen impachokosh , toli libra K nannatoto Jannak 22012 ihra agylit tranilihootohot as Ada Thola hommo aboohas 600ashanattook hiiki pillahma ashkit anskfillili salam -28-

Figure 116: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-002 (4-10-2012 to 8-24-2012), 34-36, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK. 23 April 2012

Himmaka nittaka Genesis 8 ilittimanompolitok. X

[Himmaka' nittaka Genesis 8 ittimanompolilitok. X]

['Today I read Genesis 8.']

Nittakat ikpallo'so, 70 degrees paafka.

['The day is not too hot, about 70 degrees.']

Asayoppa katihimikm<u>a</u> ikpallo.

[Asayoppa kanihmikma ikpalloka.]

['For some reason I am happy that it is not hot.']

Pallika iksanchokmo.

[Pallika iksanchokmo.]

['Given that it is hot, I am not well.']

Laaytit taanilihootokot yopilihookmaka'chi ki'yokitok.

[Laayti' taanilihootokoot yopilihookmaka'chi ki'yokitok.]

['Because I got up late I did not have to shower.']

Obyakaash shatanni' asaonaashak<u>a</u> hayooshlitokokot yopilitok.

[Obyakaash shatanni'at asonáyya'shaka hayooshlitokokoot yopilitok.]

['Yesterday evening I found some ticks that were on me so I showered.']

Shataani' p<u>í</u>slikmat iksayoppo.

[Shatanni' p<u>í</u>slikmat iksayoppo.]

['When I am looking at ticks I am not happy.']

Hattak abikachi manko.

['They make people sick (I know).']

Х

Himmakono píllat toksah<u>á</u>lili biika, nanna anompilbashsha asilhha holisso ishtholissochilitok.

[Himmako'no pílla toksah<u>á</u>lili bíyyi'ka, nanna anompilbashsha' asilhha' holisso holissochili.]

['But now I am working and working, writing this prayer book.']

Holissochilikmat UCLA nanna anompa' yokli' hahánglolitok.

['While I was writing I was listening and listening to some UCLA recordings.']

1990s paafka Pam, Catherine, Ladefoged cho'maat OK alacha

Chikashshanompa' ishtyoklitok!

[1990s paafka Pam, Catherine, Ladefoged cho'maat OK ala ta'cha

Chikashshanompa' ishyoklitok!]

['Around the 1990s Pam, Catherine, and Ladefoged arrived here and recorded

Chikashshanompa' (with something).']

Anompa' ith<u>a</u>na' lawat aashtok.

[Anompa' ithána' lawahoot nanna aashtok.]

['Many native speakers [language-know-ers] said something.']

Lawahoot loshoma makono.

[Lawahoot loshoma mako'no.]

['But many of them have passed away now.']

Mary James, Willie Byars, Adam Walker etc. hooanompolikm<u>a</u> anompa' yoklitok<u>a</u> hahángloli.

['I listened and listened to the recordings of Mary James, Willie Byars, Adam

Walker, [and others] speaking.']

Asayoppakma posipokni' anompolika hahángloli.

[Asayoppa posipokni'at anompolika hahánglolikmat.]

['I am happy when I am listening and listening to the elders speak.']

Anompolit hahánglolihookmat lawah<u>a</u> ith<u>á</u>nala'chik<u>a</u>, ith<u>á</u>nala'kahookmat OLL.

Х

[Anompolit hahánglolihookmat lawaha ithánala'chikat, ithánala'kahookmat

OLL. X]

['If I listen and listen and speak I will know a lot, if I can know it LOL.']

Chola homma'mat

[Chola homma' mat]

['These red foxes']

Nita' abookoshi'hm<u>a</u>

[Nita' Abookoshi' m<u>a]</u>

['This Bear Creek']

Hooaashanattook

[Hooáyya'shanattook]

['They were always there a long time ago.']

Chiiki píllahm<u>a</u>

['When it is really early']

Tashkit anokfillili

['I lay thinking']

Asaombohli

['[a responsibility] is laid on me']478

This extended narrative about a Cherokee stomp dance that I attended is an excellent

example of a journal entry concerning daily life (Figures 117, 118, 119, 120, and 121):

⁴⁷⁸ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-002 (4-10-2012 to 8-24-2012), 34-36, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

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Figure 117: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-007 (1-1-2014 to 4-14-2014), 173, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Figure 118: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-007 (1-1-2014 to 4-14-2014), 174, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

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Figure 119: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-007 (1-1-2014 to 4-14-2014), 175, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

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Figure 120: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-007 (1-1-2014 to 4-14-2014), 176, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

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Figure 121: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-007 (1-1-2014 to 4-14-2014), 177, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

13 April 2014

Tahlequah bínni'li katí'ma.

[Tahlequah bínni'lili katihma.]

['I am still at Tahlequah.']

Conferenceat áyya'shakat <u>í</u>'ma.

[Conference ishtaa-asha katihma.]

['They are still putting the conference on.']

Х

Kochchaat omba, shobichi chohmi.

[Kochcha' omba, shobbichi chohmi.]

['It is raining outside, sort of sprinkling.']

Kapassa chohmi.

['It is kind of cold.']

Anchokma!

['I am good!']

Х

Oklhiliaasho Squirrel Ridge aahilhalitok.

[Oklhilaasho Squirrel Ridge aahilhalitok.]

['Last night I danced at Squirrel Ridge.']

9:00ookm<u>a</u> Salina pitayala'chi.

[9:00ookma Salina pitayalitok.]

['At 9:00 I went to Salina.']

Salina ittintanglak<u>a</u> aashoppalaat tákka'li.

[Salina ittintaklaka aashoppala'at tákka'li.]

['In the middle of Salina there is a light hanging.']

Onalihmat aalhpisa folotolicha yaaknaalhpisa' 7.5 paafka nannan<u>o</u>liat tálla'a.

[Onalihmat aalhpisa folo'toli yaaknaalhpisa' 7.5 paafka nannanoli'at tálla'a.]

['When I get there I turn right and at about 7.5 miles there is a sign.']

Yappa finhak<u>o</u> alhfabi pilla folotolitok.

[Yappa fínhako alhfabi pilla folotalitok.]

['At that point I turned to the left.']

Onchaba píllak<u>a</u> aahilhaat aasha.

[Onchaba píllak<u>a</u> aahilha'at aa-asha.]

['The dance ground is on a hill.']

Hina' chaaha' toyyat pitishnowalihma fani' holbaat tálla'a.

[Hina' chaaha' toyyat pitishnowalihma fani' holba'at tálla'a.]

['When I drove up, climbing the hill, there is an image of a squirrel.']

Yappa fínhak<u>o</u> aahilha' chokkowalitok.

['There I entered the dance ground.']

Kaa' hilishlihm<u>a</u> aahilha' onat híkki'yalitok.

[Kaa' hili'shlihmat aahilha' o'nalit híkki'yalitok.]

['When I parked the car I got to the dance ground and stood there.']

Híkki'yat p<u>í</u>slitok, nanna ishtaashak<u>o</u>.

[Híkki'yat píslitok, nanna ishtaa-ashako.]

['I stood, observing what was going on.']

Ryan Mackeyat lowak imanompolikat híkki'ya.

['Ryan Mackey was standing, addressing the fire.']

Hattakat lowak<u>a</u> ooti an<u>o</u>wa'.

['A man rekindled the fire.']

Ryanat okla' áyya'shaka imanompolikat ishtaya.

[Ryanat okla' aa-áyya'shak<u>a</u> imanompolit ishtaya.]

['Ryan begins to address the people that were there.']

Lowak aafoloblit imanompolitok.

['Circling the fire he spoke to them.']

Chalakki' imanompa' ishtimanompolitok.

['He spoke to them in the Cherokee language.']

Lawa'kat aasha Chalakki' ikitha'nohootok<u>o</u> an<u>o</u>wa' naahollo imanompolitok.

[Lawa' aa-áyya'shahoot Chalakki' ikitha'nohootok<u>o</u> an<u>o</u>wa' naahollo

imanompolitok.]

['Because many of those there did not know Cherokee, he spoke to them again in English.']

Kanihmit áyya'sha, kanihmit hilha, kanihmit yahmichi, nannalhchohmit ishtanompolitok.

[Kanihmit aa-áyya'sha, kanihmit hilha, kanihmit yahmichi, nannaalhchohmit ishtanompolitok.]

['The reason that they were there, the reason for the dance, the doings - he

spoke to them of those sorts of things.']

'Wado' aashna poskosh toklo' holiitoblichitok.

['Wado' a'shna poskosh toklo' holiitoblichitok.]

['Wado' he said and they blessed two babies.']

Ibaahilhacha <u>o</u>shobohlicha poskoshat oklakat <u>í</u>'ma.

[Ibaahi'lhcha oshobohlina poskoshat okla katihma.]

['They danced with them and smoked them off and the babies were still

people.']

[illegible]

Yammako tahlihma hilha ishtiliyatok.

[Yammako tahlihma hilhat ishtiliyyatok.]

['When these things were complete we began to dance.']

Chalakki' intaloowat ittimila kanikma.

[Chalakki' intaloowa'at ittimila kanihkma.]

['Sometimes Cherokee songs are different.']

Taloowa miyalitok.

['I tried to sing.']

Ittinkana' Hilha hootaloowacha hayichi' hilha hootaloowa-akookya.

[Ittinkana' Hilha hootalo'wacha hayichi' hilha'akookya hootaloowa.]

['They sang the Friendship Dance and the stomp dance too.']

10:00<u>a</u> ishtiliyatok.

[10:00a ishtiliyyatok.]

['At 10:00 we began.']

Ninakat alootowatok, naamoma pisa chokma'sitok aashli.

[Ninakat alótto'watok, naamóma pisa chokma'stok aashli.]

['The moon was full, and I'm saying everything was beautiful.']

Hattak <u>i</u>la lawakat aasha.

[Hattak ila lawa'hoot aa-áyya'sha.]

['There were many different people there.']

Kanamat losayyi, naahollo pisa chohmi, naaincho'li bíyyi'ka, tali' haksibish

aatakoht m<u>á</u>a, losa ihooakookya loksi' aashaalitok.

[Kanahmat losayyi, naahollo ahooba, naaincho'li bíyyi'ka, tali' haksibish

aatakoht máa, losa ihooakookya loksi' aashaalitok.]

['Some were brown, some resembled white people, [some with] tattoos all over, [some with] metal hanging from their ears, also a black woman who shook shells there.']

Chokma, anchokma bíyyi'katok ibaahilhahootokoot.

[Chokma, anchokma bíyyi'katok ibaahilhalihootokoot.]

['It was good, it was really good to me to be dancing there with them.']

American Meredith, Roy Boney, Joseph Erb, lawakat aasha ithánalitoka.

[American Meredith, Roy Boney, Joseph Erb, lawahoot aa-aasha ithánalitoka.]

['America Meredith, Roy Boney, Joseph Erb - I knew many people that were there.']

1:00a aanosi' falamat alalitok.

['At 1:00 I returned to the hotel.']

Satikahbi tahatok.

['I was completely tired.']

Yammak illa.

['That is it.']479

A later notebook, written in 2015, demonstrates a variety of entry types including daily reading entries, anompa himitta', paradigms, and translation attempts (Figures 122, 123, 124, and 125):

elever

Figure 122: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-019 (JHI-019 (2-1-2015 to 7-29-2015), 22, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

20 February 2015

⁴⁷⁹ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-007 (1-1-2014 to 4-14-2014), 173-177, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Kanihka asabikatok!

[Kanihka asabikatok!]

['I am really sick.']

Flu amaashatoka'ni.

[Flu amáyya'shatoka'ni.]

['I must have the flu.']

Toshpat pitsankanihma'ni anhili - nittak talhlhá'pikma Hawaii iliyya'chi.

['I hope I get well quickly - in five days we are going to Hawaii.']

Mika iitá'at ilibaa-aya'chi.

['Mika and I are going to go together.']

Х

Nanniksho bíyyi'ka ishbachali.

'You speak an infinite deal of nothing.'

Shakespeare

- The Merchant of Venice.480

⁴⁸⁰ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-019 (JHI-019 (2-1-2015 to 7-29-2015), 22, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

15 ch

Figure 123: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-185 (2-1-2015 to 7-29-2015), 64, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

15 April 2015

Kochchaat chokma - hashotoomina kapassa chohmi.

[Kochcha' chokma - hashto'mina kapassa chohmi.]

['Outside is nice - the sun is shining and it is sort of cold.']

Х

Judges 5:3, Acts 16:25 ittimanompolilitok.

['I read Judges 5:3 and Acts 16:25.']

Chihoowako intaloowali, intaloowali bílli'ya'shki.

['The Lord is the one I will sing to, I will sing to him forever.']

Х

Anoupa himitta': tokno hire, employ + - tem job show orden to do (I, I)isat mar notaam ayala'atooni satohustate. Chipeta totmolitok

Figure 124: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-185 (2-1-2015 to 7-29-2015), 65, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Anompa himitta':

['new words']⁴⁸¹

tohno

'hire, employ, commission (errand or short-term job), 'order to do something' (I,

II)

⁴⁸¹ This sense of new words is not neologisms, rather vocabulary that I was trying to acquire.

ggr tó'hno, toh<u>ó</u>no, t<u>ó</u>hno

['g-grade finally hiring, hiring and hiring, hiring (with co-occuring action)']

Charlesat satohnoh<u>o</u> ayalitok.

['Charles ordered me to go.']

Issatohnotaam ayala'chika?

['Did you order me to go?']

Potooni satohnotok.

['He hired me to house sit.']⁴⁸²

Chipota tohnolitok.

['I hired the child.']

⁴⁸² The three previous sentence examples and translations were taken directly from Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 344-345 and not elicited directly from speakers.

0

Figure 125: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-185 (2-1-2015 to 7-29-2015), 66, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Obyhm<u>a</u> Mikaat laaytit toksalitok.

[Obyahma Mika-at laayti' toksalitok.]

['Mika worked late this evening.']

Chipota aaittanaa ishtonalitok.

[Chipota aaittanaa' ishtonalitok.]

['I took the children to church.']

Onnakma Tahlequah ayalihookmaka'chi.

['Tomorrow I will have to go to Tahlequah.']

Anompa ittafama aaimaabachila'chi.

[Anompa ittafama' aaimaabachila'chi.]

['I will teach at a language meeting.']

Iksabanno ayalikat, satikahbihootokoot.

[Aya iksabanno satikahbihootokoot.]

['I don't want to go because I am tired.']

XXXX

Chompa'ni

'might / can [buy it]'

Chompaha'ni

'must [be buying it, have bought it]'

Chompach<u>i</u>

'wonder if [buying it, bought it]'

Chompa'na'n

'should buy [it]'

Ikch<u>o</u>'poka'niani

[Ikchopoka'nka'n]

'shouldn't buy [it]'483

I will conclude this section with a selection of entries related to my mentor, the late

Jerry Imotichey. The first dates to October 2016, and the last was captured at a meeting of the

⁴⁸³ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-185 (2-1-2015 to 7-29-2015), 66, Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK.

Chickasaw Language Committee in May 2019 (Figures 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133,

134, 135, and 136): 484

3 October 2016 Himmelya' nittes

Figure 126: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 139.

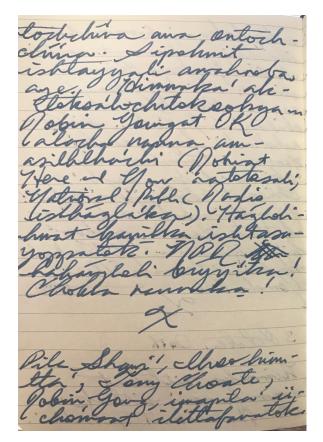


Figure 127: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 140.

⁴⁸⁴ My daily journaling has been sharply curtailed since 2018 by the demands of managing the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw project development as well as the writing of this dissertation. I hope to return to my daily practice in 2020.

obra

Figure 128: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 141.

3 October 2016

Himmaka' nittakat amaafammi nittak.

['Today is my birthday.']

Asafammikat pokoli tochchí'na awa ontochchí'na.

['I am thirty-eight years old.']

Sipoknit ishtayyali amahooba, aye.

['It seems to me that I am starting to get old, aye.']

Himmaka' aktoksa'lochitokookya Robin Youngat OK a'lacha nanna

amasilhlha'chi (Robinat Here and Now aatoksali, National Public Radio

ishhángla'ka).

['Today I was not going to work but Robin Young is coming to Oklahoma and

going to ask me some things (Robin works at Here and Now, you can hear it on

National Public Radio.']

Hánglolihmat kan<u>í</u>hk<u>a</u> ishtasayoppatok.

['When I heard this I was really happy about it.']

NPR hahángloli bíyyi'ka!

['I am always listening to NPR!']

Chokma nannaka!

['It is something good!']

Х

Pila Shawi', Ihoo himitta', Tony Choate, Robin Young, imapila' iicho'maat

ilittafamatok.

['So Shawi' [Jerry Imotichey], Ihoo himitta' (Hannah Pitman), Tony Choate, Robin

Young, her assistant and I met.']

Robinat nanna anompa ayiimak<u>a</u> ishpomasilhlhatok.

['Robin asked us things concerning the language.']

Ittafamat iitahlihmat ilibaaimpatok.

['When we finished meeting we ate together.']

Pomimpa' inchampolitok amahooba.

['It seems to me that they enjoyed our food.']

X⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁵ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 139-141.

1 Cointhians 8:5 13-14, Marlin 100--6, Gol anompoliti Y. an min 0

Figure 129: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 150.

15 October 2016 \$ \$ \$ El 19 La.

Figure 130: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 151.

Onno 75 in un 20 11 n 11 1

Figure 131: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 156.

c aus 5 AITA 18 01 6

Figure 132: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 157.

tach ilon ani Tha 1 in

Figure 133: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 158.

to 19

Figure 134: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 159, 14 October 2016

Nittaki yamma Shawi'at loshomatok.

['Shawi' passed away this morning.']

Jerry Imotichey holhchifoat.

['His name is Jerry Imotichey.']

Ilittafama'chitok tabookolikm<u>a</u>, Shawi'at fani' hopoona'chitok.

['We were going to meet at lunch, Shawi' was going to cook squirrel.']

Pila taanicha loshomatok, nittaki yamma.

[Pílla ta'nicha loshomatok, nittaki yamma.]

['He just got up and passed away, this morning.']

Kan<u>í</u>hk<u>a</u> ishtasanokhánglo.

['I am very sad about it.']

Shawi'aashoot ank<u>a</u>na' finha', aashli.

[Shawi'aashoot ankana' fínha', aashli.]

['The aforementioned Shawi' was my good friend, I say.']

Yammak illa.

['That is it.']

Х

15 October 2016

[entry not transcribed]

Х

Onnoklhilikm<u>a</u> Shawi' <u>i</u>wake iliyya'chi.

['This evening we will go to Shawi's wake.']

Binohmáat ishtilanompola'chi Shawi'a.

['We will sit and talk about Shawi'.']

Hattak yammakaashoot choyyokma bíyyi'ka aashli.

[Hattak yammakaashoot chóyyokma bíyyi'ka, aashli.]

['That aforementioned man was a very good man, I say.']

Inchokka-chaffa', imokla, imanompa <u>i</u>hollomank<u>o</u>.

['He loved his family, his people, his language (I know).']

Aashlimanko.

['I am saying this [of things that I know].']

Х

Haatoko Robin Youngat awaacha Shawi' nanna aiimaka amasilhlhatok.

[Haatoko Robin Youngat a'wacha Shawi' nanna ayiimaka amasilhlhatok.]

['So Robin Young called me and asked me things concerning Shawi'.']

Pila nanna iman<u>o</u>lilikmat y<u>á</u>at ishtayyalitok.

[Pílla nanna iman<u>o</u>lilihmat y<u>á</u>at ishtayyalitok.]

['When I was telling her something I just started to cry and cry.']

Sahofahya chomikya kan<u>i</u>km<u>a</u> yaali.

[Sahofahya chohmikya kan<u>i</u>hkm<u>a</u> yaali.]

['I am kind of ashamed but sometimes I cry.']

Yammat yahmi.

['That is how it is.']

Shawi' ishtanokfillilikmat yaat ishtayyali.

['When I think about Shawi' I start to cry.']

Х

herchi -> hayoochi

['find, discover (Jerry's version -> described variety)']

chokoshmo -> chokoshkomo

['play (Jerry's version -> described variety)']

Jerryat ánchinattook.

['Jerry used to say [these] all the time.']

herchi / hirchi (?)

['find, discover (unsure of spelling)']

Hershli / hirshli

'I found it.'

Chokoshmoli.

['I am playing.']

Ishchokoshmotaa?

['Are you playing?']

Etc.

Х

18 October 2016

Shawi' iihoppitok obya yamma.

['We buried Shawi' this afternoon.']

Tabookolihm<u>a</u> Tishomingo ilona ta'cha aaittanaa Calvary Baptist aachi ilona ta'tok.

[Tabookolihma Tishomingo ilona tahacha aaittanaa' 'Calvary Baptist' aachi

ilona tahatok.]

['At noon we arrived at Tishomingo and got to the church called Calvary Baptist.']

Dyson, Governor Anoatubby iicho'maat tikba' ilibaabinoht máatok.

['(John) Dyson, Governor Anoatubby and I sat together at the front.']

Language committeeat poashaka' pila binoht máatok.

['The language committee sat at our backs.']

48, Amazing Grace iitaloowatok.

['We sang 48 (to the tune of) Amazing Grace.']

Haatokoot funeralat towwapahm<u>a</u> aaholoppi' iliyyacha Shawi' iihoppitok.

[Haatokoot funeralat tíwwa'pahma aaholoppi' iliyyacha Shawi' iihoppitok.]

['So when the funeral was over we went to the cemetary and buried Shawi'']

Mashkooki intaloowa' taloh<u>ó</u>wahm<u>a</u> iihoppitok, 'final handshake' aachi.

[Mashkooki' intaloowa' taloh<u>ó</u>wahm<u>a</u> iihoppitok, 'final handshake' aachi.]

['While they sang and sang Mashkooki' hymns we buried him, the 'final

handshake' they call it.']

Freedom Fellowshipako ilibaaimpatok.

['We at together at Freedom Fellowship (church).']

John, Terry, iicho'maat [ilibaabinohm<u>a</u>atok].

['John and Terry (Dyson) and I (sat together).']

Janice-at sapi'scha amaachikat ishántakat<u>í</u>'mak<u>a</u> ishtasayoppa.

Yammat yahmi.

[Janice-at sapi'scha amaachikat ishánta katihmaka ishtasayoppa.

Yammat yahmi.]

['Janice (Imotichey) saw me and said to me I am glad that you are still here.

That's how it is.']

lim<u>ó</u>t iláya'shakat ishtaponokhánglokya Shawi'at Chiisas ibaabínni'lik<u>a</u> ilith<u>á</u>na.

['All of us there are sad but we know that Shawi' is sitting with Jesus.']

Nittak fokha'chikm<u>a</u> an<u>o</u>wa' iipisa'ch<u>o</u>.

['One day in the future we will see him again.']

CPL, Shawi'.

[CPL (chipisala'cho), Shawi'].

['I will see you later, Shawi'.']

X⁴⁸⁶

GA.

Figure 135: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (1-1-2018 to 5-21-2019), unarchived, 105.

⁴⁸⁶ Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (7-1-2016 to 10-31-2016), unarchived, 150-151, 156-159.

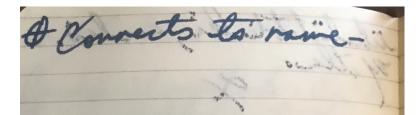


Figure 136: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (1-1-2018 to 5-21-2019), unarchived, 106.

21 May 2019

ikshokaash

'the deceased'

Jerry Imotichey ikshokaashoot

['The late Jerry Imotichey']

Jerry Imotichey loshomakaashoot

['The late Jerry Imotichey']

'* This is old, deep, strong culture.*'

'* Connects to name - ' 487

⁴⁸⁷ We encountered this form of noting persons who have passed by name with a verbal phrase roughly translating as 'the aforementioned one who is gone' and 'the aforementioned one who has passed away' in a story told by Kosi' Sam Johnson. Ancestrally we had name avoidance, wherein we would not say the name of the deceased for the period of mourning. Strategies like this enabled our Ancestors to speak of the dead after the mourning period was over. This discovery was happenstance, but as I noted above is 'old, deep, strong culture' that has rapidly faded away, along with the associated funerary and mourning practices. We are recovering what we can and this is one powerful example. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Moleskine Pocket notebook, (1-1-2018 to 5-X-2019), unarchived, 105 and 106.

Facebook

I joined Zuckerberg's grand experiment in 2008 at my wife's urging. What began as a simple way to reconnect with old friends became a powerful platform for sharing my language with the world. Some of my first posts were language-related, if not directly written in Chickasaw (Figures 137, 138):



Figure 138: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 24 November 2009.

I would soon begin to post in Chikashshanompa' with English translation for my

friends who did not speak Chikashshanompa' - namely all of them (Figures 139, 140).⁴⁸⁸



Asaokchaookya asayoppa ki'yo. I'm awake but I'm not happy

3 Comments

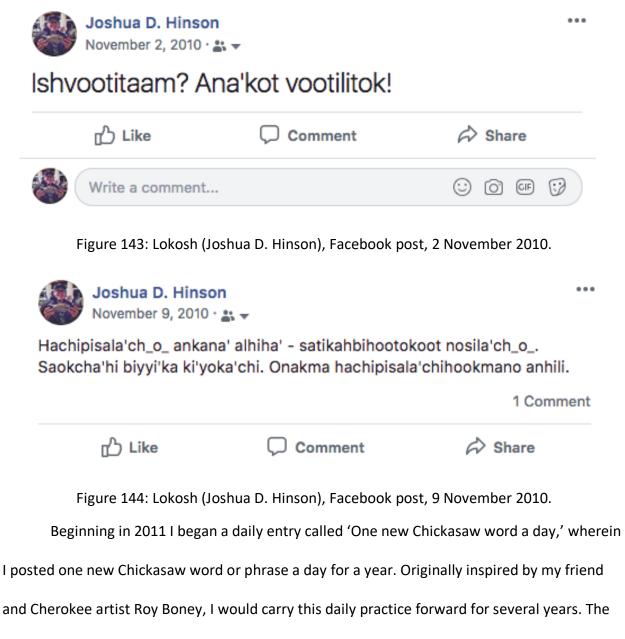
Figure 140: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 7 December 2008.

⁴⁸⁸ At the time there were no native speakers of Chikashshanompa' who had joined Facebook, although as of this writing in 2019 there are at least two whom I am personally friends with.

There were occasions where I would post entirely in Chikashshanompa' (Figures 141-144):



Figure 142: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 8 October 2010.



first ONCWD post was posted on 17 February 2011 (Figures 145 and 146):

...



One new Chickasaw word a day -

February 17, 2011:

nita' waaka' 'panda bear'

🕑 Jen	ny Davis		7 Comments 1 Share
	பீ Like	Comment	A Share
	Jason Conley No Like · Reply · 8y	ow how do they have a word	for panda bear?
	Joshua D. Hinson If we have a word we want to say that's not already a Chickasaw word, we create a new word. There's a whole committee of Chickasaw speakers that create new words.		
	Like · Reply · 8y		
	Jason Conley Oh Like · Reply · 8y	n. That's pretty interesting.	

Figure 145: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 17 February 2011.



Jason Reed How did the committee choose the words for panda bear? I know bear is 'nita'.

Like · Reply · 8y

Joshua D. Hinson Waaka is 'to be spotted'. Waaka' is cow, which happens to often be spotted. It may have been some kind of extension from the noun cow to the verb 'to be spotted'. Maybe Dr. Munro will chime in.

Like · Reply · 8y



Jason Reed So it means 'spotted bear'? I never thought of it that way!

Like · Reply · 8y



Joshua D. Hinson Sure does. It's a new word, only about 31 hours old ha ha ha.

Like · Reply · 8y



Write a comment...

(...)

[0]

(GIF)

Figure 146: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 17 February 2011.

ONCWD posts became a primary vehicle to share anompa himitta' that had been created by the Chickasaw Language Committee (CLC). The interactions above were above average for a ONCWD post, which were generally liked by Facebook friends but were not necessarily interacted with. Some posts were concerned with deep cultural knowledge including prophecy (Figure

147). In other instances, a post recorded something personally significant, including my naming

(Figure 148):

Joshua D. Hinso August 19, 2011 · 🔐		***
Caught a bit of old time Chickasaw prophecy today, straight from the mouth of one of our eldest speakers, Mrs. Willmond: 'When the last speaker of Chickasaw dies, the world comes to an end.'		
		12 Comments
பீ Like	Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 147: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 19 August 2011.

	Joshua D. Hinso March 10, 2010 · 🔐 een given a new na i l'm a real Chickas	▼ ame: Lokosh. It means 'gou	•••• rd' in Chickasaw. I
			6 Comments
	பீ Like		🖒 Share
7	Jason Reed When Like · Reply · 8y	e did the name come from?	
٩	an old name and s saying Joshua in C	Beats me. One of the speake aid it was a good one for me. Chickasaw comes out "chosh n. I think Lokosh is better.	. I always joke that
	Like · Reply · 8y		
5	Jason Reed agre	e - Lokosh is better!	

Figure 148: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 10 March 2010.

In some cases, posts reflected the hard realities of being a language learner in your

own community (Figure 149).

Joshua D. Hinson June 15, 2010 · 🔐 🗸		•••
Language is hard		
🕩 Jenny Davis, Regina Wes	t Pereira and 1 other	6 Comments 1 Share
لك Like	Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 149: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 15 June 2010.

The majority of the ONCWD posts related to novel or personally interesting vocabulary -

vocabulary that I hoped would also be of interest to other learners (Figures 150-187):

Joshua D. Hinson January 7, 2011 · 🔐		***
One new Chicka January 7, 2011: holhchifo' lohma	-	-
ے Like	Comment	A Share

Figure 150: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 7 January 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson January 12, 2011 · 🔐 🗸	•••		
Repost - last one had a typo. Thanks Pam!			
Η Προσευχή του Ιησού			
Κύριε Ιησού Χριστέ, Υιέ του Θεού, ελέησόν με τον αμαρτωλόν.			
The Jesus Prayer			
 Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me, a sinner. Chiisas Anompa' Ilbashsha' AsilhIha' Minko' Chiisas Klaist, Chihoowoshi', iss_a_nokhángla'shki,			
nannashshachi' saya.			
Like □ Comment ⇔ Share			

Figure 151: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 12 January 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson				•••
One	new Chicka	asaw word a day -		
Janu	uary 15, 201 [°]	1:		
ishk	obo' alhiipiya	a' 'hoodie'		
🕐 Am	y Bruton-Bluemel ar	nd Courtney Parchcorn	9 Comments 1 Sh	are
	Like	Comment	🖒 Share	
	-	it! By the way, I was wonderir r 'mac and cheese' .	ng last night if we	
	Like · Reply · 8y			
٩		Hmm. Well the word for pasta ili'kolhkomo' shila' pishokchi'		•••
	Like · Reply · 8y			
		nel Ishkobo is headRight? S e way I really love these daily		
	Like · Reply · 8y			
۲	Joshua D. Hinson object).	Chokma Amy - it means 'to b	e covered (of a sg.	
	Like · Reply · 8y			

Figure 152: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 15 January 2011.

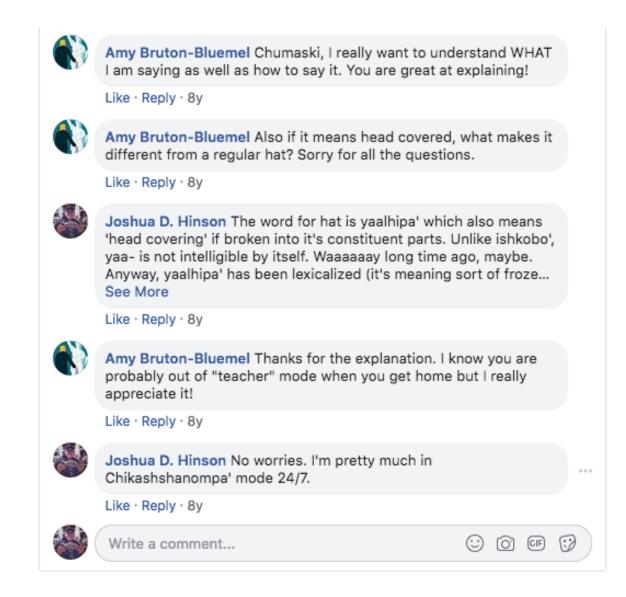


Figure 153: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 15 January 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson January 16, 2011 · 👪 🗸			
One new Chickasaw word a day - January 16, 2011: illit n_o_wa' 'zombie' (lit. 'the dead walking')			
Roy Boney, Colleen Fitzgerald and 1 other 2 Sh			
Like		A Share	
Write a comment			

Figure 154: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 16 January 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson January 27, 2011 · 👪 🗸		•••		
One new Chickasa	One new Chickasaw word a day -			
January 27, 2011:				
Talaanompa' isht_a_a' 'cell phone'				
🕩 Waymon Hinson				
Ľ Like	Comment	🖒 Share		
Write a comment		0000		

Figure 155: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 27 January 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson January 31, 2011 · 👪 🗸		•••		
One new Chickasav	One new Chickasaw word a day -			
January 31, 2011:				
toksala'pa' sikopa' 'Dinosaur'				
🕑 Colleen Fitzgerald		2 Comments		
பீ Like	Comment	⇔ Share		

Figure 156: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 31 January 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson February 8, 2011 · 🔐 🗸			•••
One new Chickasaw word a day -			
February 8, 2011:			
Ishshoka' Holisso 'F	acebook'		
🕩 Regina West Pereira, Fran Pa	archcorn and 2 others		
Like	Comment	⇔ Share	
Write a comment		0000	2

Figure 157: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 8 February 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson February 11, 2011 · ♣ ▼			
One new Chickasaw word	a day -		
February 11, 2011:			
imaalhlhi 'to be tired, worn out'			
🕐 Waymon Hinson			
Like ♀ Comment ↔ Share			
Write a comment		0000	

Figure 158: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 11 February 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson ••• February 20, 2011 · ♣: ▼ ••• One new Chickasaw word a day - February 20, 2011: impa salami 'to eat too much' See More •••				
🖒 Col	lleen Fitzgerald and Way	mon Hinson	2 Comments	
	Like	Comment	Share	
۲	roast!!	nis in about 30 minutes-	my grandma made	
	the brunch buffet at th	as about right for me tod e Gaylord Texan w my in ot in the proportions that	-laws. It was all on	
	Write a comment			

Figure 159: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 20 February 2011.

March 5, 2011 · ♣ マ		•••		
One new Chickasaw word a day -				
March 5, 2011:				
hónkso 'to fart'				
🕩 Brandon White Eagle and Rocky Rockholt				
🖒 Like 💭 Comment 🖒 Share				
Write a comment				

Figure 160: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 5 March 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson March 20, 2011 · 👪 ▼		***			
One new Chickasaw word a	One new Chickasaw word a day -				
March 20, 2011:					
iloobinohm_á_a 'we (inclusive) are sitting (triplural)'					
Like ♀ Comment ♀ Share					
Write a comment					

Figure 161: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 20 March 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson March 25, 2011 · ♣ マ		•••	
Chickasaw acronyms:			
CPL: Chipisala'ch_o 'I'll see you later'. OLL: Ollalili. 'I'm laughing'. NIK: Nanta ishkatihmitaa? 'What are you doing?'			
Laura Marshall Clark, Amanda John and 3 others 6 Comments			
Like	Comment	🖒 Share	

Figure 162: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 25 March 2011.

March 30, 2011 · 🔐 🗸				
One new Chickasaw word a day -				
March 30, 2011:				
Iksamponnok_í_sha. 'I'm not good at it yet.'				
incomposition_i_onar rinn	lot good at it jou			
Like	Comment	A Share		

Figure 163: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 30 March 2011.

	Like	Comment	⇔ Share		
🖒 Coll	een Fitzgerald and Waym	on Hinson	4 Comments		
okti' yokli' 'snow cone'					
April	April 12, 2011:				
One	One new Chickasaw word a day -				
	Joshua D. Hinson April 12, 2011 · ∷ →		***		

Figure 164: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 12 April 2011.

May 4, 2011 · ♣ マ		***		
One new Chickasaw word a day -				
May 4, 2011:				
Fochik Ittibi' 'Star Wars'				
Nathan Hale, Howard Thompson and 7 others 3 Comments 1 Share				
Like	Comment	🖒 Share		

Figure 165: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 4 May 2011.

	Joshua D. Hinson May 10, 2011 · औ →		***		
One	One new Chickasaw word a day -				
May	May 10, 2011:				
holisso palhki' 'email'					
Ashley Creek, Linda Shafer and 3 others 1 Comment 2 Shares					
	பீ Like		🖒 Share		

Figure 166: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 10 May 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson January 4, 2011 · 🔐 🗸		***		
One new Chickasaw word a d	One new Chickasaw word a day -			
January 4, 2011:				
ibilhkanat lhatapa 'to have a runny nose'				
🕐 Charla S. Hinson and 1 othe	r			
பீ Like	□ Comment	🖒 Share		

Figure 167: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 4 January 2011.

May 28, 2011 · ♣ マ		•••		
One new Chickasaw word a d	lay -			
May 28, 2011:				
shokha' hakshop kallo' / shokhata' / hattak illapa' 'armadillo'				
Colleen Fitzgerald and Waymon Hinson 2 Comments 1 Share				
Like □ Comment A Share				

Figure 168: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 28 May 2011.

Joshua D. Hinsor July 7, 2011 • 👪 🔻	ı	***	
One new Chicka	saw word a day	-	
July 7, 2011:			
holba' ishchokoshkomo' 'video game'			
		1 Share	
டு Like	Comment	⇔ Share	

Figure 169: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 11 July 2011.

Wermber 26, 2011 · Ada · ♣ マ			•••	
So I just made Skype a Chickasaw verb: Liiskypeitok 'We Skyped'. Take that, those-who-say-our-language-is-dying!				
You may substitute ii+ or kii+ for lii+ if you are so inclined.				
Jenny Davis, Roy Boney and 5 others 5 Comment				
Like ♀ Comment ♠ Share				

Figure 170: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 26 November 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson December 17, 2011 · 👪 🔻	•••
One new Chickasaw word a day -	
December 17, 2011:	
hattak s_á_wa' okchamali' 'Smurf'	
Amy Lyons-Ketchum, Colleen Fitzgerald and 2 others	1 Share
Like Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 171: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 17 December 2011.

Joshua D. Hinson January 4, 2012 · 🔐 🗸		
One new Chickasaw word a c	lay -	
January 4, 2011:		
hosi 'pound corn in a wooder	n mortar'	
		1 Share
Like	Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 172: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 4 January 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson February 27, 2012 · ♣ マ	***
One new Chickasaw word a da	y –
February 27, 2012:	
hatip malli' 'hip hop'	
🕑 Jenny Davis	1 Comment
பீ Like 🗘 Comment	⇔ Share

Figure 173: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 27 February 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson March 2, 2012 · 🔐 🗸		***
One new Chickasaw word	a day -	
March 2, 2012:		
naki' palli' 'bad medicine (lit. arrow hot)'	
🕩 Christina Reynolds Mead	I	
لنke		⇔ Share

Figure 174: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 2 March 2012.

April 14, 2012 · 🔐 🗸		•••
One new Chickasaw	v word a day -	
April 14, 2012:		
oktaak ofi' 'prairie do	og'	
🕑 Rose Byars, Colleen Fitzgerald	d and 1 other	1 Share
Like	Comment	🖒 Share
Write a comment		0050

Figure 175: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 April 2012.

April 17, 2012 · 🔐 👻	
One new Chickasaw word a day -	
April 17, 2012:	
yaatala' 'traditional hair ornament'	
🕩 Traci Morris, Taylor Stewart and 3 others	1 Share
Like Comment F	Share

Figure 176: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 17 April 2012.

	Joshua D. Hinson April 23, 2012 · ≛: →		•••
One	new Chickasav	v word a day -	
April	23, 2012:		
sinks	siya 'whine (of a	dog)'	
🕐 Rob	ert Pickens		1 Share
	டி Like	Comment	分 Share

Figure 177: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 23 April 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson May 5, 2012 · 🔐 🗸		***
One new Chickas May 5, 2012: lokosh 'gourd'	saw word a day	/ -
لنke	Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 178: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 5 May 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson May 8, 2012 · ♣ -		•••
One new Chickasaw word a da	ay -	
May 8, 2012:		
Ihonk Ihonk Ihonk aachi 'soun	d of a grunting pig'	
🕑 Daniel Swan, Christina Reync	olds Mead and 2 others	2 Comments 1 Share
Like		🖒 Share

Figure 179: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 8 May 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson August 2, 2012 · 👪 🗸		***
One new Chickasa	w word a day -	
August 2, 2012:		
fatpo itti' 'wand'		
🕩 Ezra Johnson, Christina Rey	nolds Mead and 1 other	2 Comments
பீ Like	Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 180: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 2 August 2012.

May 11, 2011 · 🔐 🗸	•••
Some Chickasaw textisms:	
AYM Ayali makila 'I've got to go', equivalent to gtg CCT Chinchokmataa? "Are you good?', equivalent to CHL Ch_i_holloli 'I love you', equivalent to ilu CPL Chipisala'ch_o_ 'I'll see you later', equivalent to FLC Falamala'ch_o_ 'I'll return', equivalent to brb OLL Ollalili 'I'm laughing', equivalent to lol SMS Shooli micha sh_o_'ka 'Hugs and kisses', equivalent	cul8tr, cu
🕩 Howard Thompson, JL Impson and 4 others	1 Comment 3 Shares
Like Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 181: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 11 May 2011.

August 10, 2012 · 🔐 🗸	***
One new Chickasaw word a day -	
August 10, 2012:	
Kiih_a_! 'Wow!'	
Jerry Imotichey's riff on kiih_i_!	
🕑 Christina Reynolds Mead	2 Shares
Like Comment	⇔ Share

Figure 182: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 10 August 2012.



Figure 183: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 20 August 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson August 28, 2012 · ♣ マ	***
One new Chickasaw word a day -	
August 28, 2012:	
hobak ishtikbi' 'birth control'	
🗅 Christina Reynolds Mead, Colleen Fitzgerald and 2 others	2 Comments
Like Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 184: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 28 August 2012.

Joshua D. Hinson October 28, 2012 · Ada · 2	å ▼	***
lihilha'ka pobannahookmat Chink_a_na' ilantachicha'ka Chinkana'at hilha ki'yohootok Ikhi'lhohookm_a_ Pílat ank_a_na' ki'yo	_0_	
We can dance if we want to We can leave your friends beh Cause your friends don't dance And if they don't dance Well they're no friends of mine	ce	
'Safety Dance' Men Without Hats		
0 9		3 Comments 1 Share
Like	□ Comment	🖒 Share

Figure 185: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 28 October 2012.

	Joshua D. Hinson November 10, 2012 · Ad	a · 🎒 🔻		•••
One	new Chickasaw word a	day -		
Nove	ember 10, 2012:			
lhikkachi 'to have muscle aches from exertion'				
	Like	Comment	🖒 Share	

Figure 186: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 10 November 2012

Joshua D. Hinson August 12, 2012 · 👪 🗸		•••		
One new Chickasaw word a da	ау -			
August 12, 2012:				
Saháwwashko. 'I'm really sweaty.'				
🕑 Ezra Johnson, Christina Reynolds Mead and 1 other		2 Comments		
Like	Comment	⇔ Share		

Figure 187: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 12 August 2012.

In some instances, I combined text and image and created a series of Chikashshanompa' riffs on popular memes, or just created my own for pure enjoyment. These two examples are based on a boyhood school photograph of my good friend, Ca-te George Jesse (Chickasaw-Seminole), and are captioned KATAHAAT HÓNKSO? and BUH.⁴⁸⁹ Both of these have appeared numerous times across all three social media platforms (Figure 188):

⁴⁸⁹ 'Who farted?' BUH is Oklahoma Indian English, generally used to express some displeasure or disbelief. The Chikashshanompa' word for 'buh' is haatookya.



Figure 188: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Chikashshanompa' Memes, June 2019.

Instagram

My first Instagram post on 31 July 2011, was actually language-oriented. Under @lokosh I put up an image of one of the bilingual Chickasaw-English stop signs that I had produced for the Chickasaw Cultural Center campus. My hashtag skills were undeveloped, so I ran the processed image with a single caption 'Chickasaw stop sign' (Figure 189):



Figure 189: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 31 July 2011. @lokosh

The second image I posted was of Mrs. Catherine Willmond, native Chikashshanompa' speaker and with Dr. Pamela Munro, co-author of *Chickasaw: An Analytical Dictionary* and *Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli*' (Figure 190):

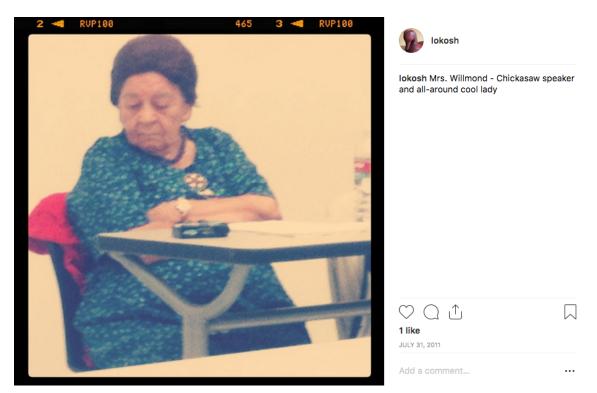


Figure 190: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 31 July 2011. @lokosh

For me it is significant, not only of the time and place but also of my personal and professional language journey, that my first two posts in this new and compelling platform were language-related. In the first, Chikashshanompa' was represented in the physical world in a wholly new form and function. In the second, Chikashshanompa' was personally embodied in the physical world, in a native speaker born when survivors of the forced removal from our Homeland were still living. Both images, one of a recent past and one of the immediate present, were injected into a new form of life for Chikashshanompa', a virtual world of text and image.

- a form of ittonchololi' that exists solely in the digital world.

Other early posts were simply informational, sharing with others who might have been following me. They include images of a Choctaw Bible and the ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic iPhone app. Others were intended to be instructional, with accompanying images and Chikashshanompa' text, but without translation. Followers were expected to figure out the meaning on their own as a learning exercise (Figure 191):



Figure 191: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 7 September 2011. @lokosh

Others were extensions of my visual production, sharing images of a current work generally be titled in Chikashshanompa' (Figure 192):



Figure 192: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 15 October 2011. @lokosh A postdated 24 October 2011 recorded language journaling discussed earlier in this chapter (Figure 193):



Figure 193: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 24 October 2011. @lokosh

Some posts are related to historical documents pertaining to Chickasaw including an early nineteenth century traveler's journal, a prayer by Chickasaw governor Nelson Wolfe, and records of Okchamali' (Blue) Baptist Church (Figures 194, 195, 196):

lokosh Che prota nock eh na il Chup pota taic hildren Chup Kota lokosh Chickasaw manuscript Beh bah haw H Jas Koo faich fo haw Baw-law for Kah ch-chik Bla Nah-foo-quak ah wah tin ch cheat . _1↑_ \square Be the first to like this **DECEMBER 18, 2011** man Cold Add a comment... •••

Figure 194: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 18 December 2011. @lokosh

lokosh July 26 1924. Blue Baptist church conference lokosh Blue Baptist Church records. #chickasawlanguage #indianchurch chigat talowat, anumpa itbusha asi #chickasaw #chickasawculturalcenter #myjobiscoolerthanyours chlopulli ma, moderator ut Hebrew. timanompolit Uba anumpa isht chit, okhiara tiwa viena isht ablops Atti bapishi achuffa kat otani Illibapishi otani tuk vietoria case ibo isht anumpat, hochiffo hut church ib integula hokbano achit chi ho h ilistic hokbans achit &the hut mos ayakpanchi kut asha vote hoyo Olbal minute toba tok, tochowa hakes hokbans achit 8. W. & hat mos \heartsuit Q 1the ayok/sanchi kat asha and 4 others Liked by jayscotfife22 and 4 others Minute Toshowa kut uhlpera APRIL 15, 2014 itablit ilishi hokban ac Add a comment.. ...

Figure 195: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 15 April 2014. @lokosh

-1 Pinki ma n the isle bindi ma; lokosh Chitokaka 67 mitak moma ka ita pe kashofi die ish pieblu tu aiopix me chi talli chatuk a pi chunkush the aialini hosh ilittalokosh Prayer by Nelson Wolfe, memorializing Chickasaw Governor Douglas H. Johnston at the dedication of a new grave monument, 18 October, 1947. kinht one tok that lot ish pi hallali tuk Klasst pulla okla & mikes, Dauglas H. a hoch ittafamat se hieli Helson Walfe ahi elike. Micha im aiokla ciechi tukia, Chishno islit ich pin a hohogo tuk ish pina na afami & hulls, micha hopo yerks $\heartsuit \bigcirc \bigcirc$ to tuk a yak oke. Liked by dustign and 1 other JUNE 9, 2014 fillami tuk Add a comment... ...

Figure 196: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 9 June 2014. @lokosh

Other posts were images of my journals as artifacts of either language learning

(illustrating a term or terms I tried to acquire) or of creative processes wherein I was creating or



documenting neologisms visually: (Figure 197):

Figure 197: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 15 April 2014. @lokosh

In one instance I posted an image of an article I had written for the Chickasaw Times about the Chickasaw Language Committee and their work on neologisms (Figure 198):



Figure 198: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 5 February 2015. @lokosh

In several instances I posted images related to matters within the department, including Rosetta Stone Chickasaw announcements and the publication of A Concise Chickasaw

Dictionary (Figures 199 and 200):



Figure 199: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 3 October 2015. @lokosh



The Chickasaw Nation Yesterday at 8:09 AM - Edited - 🚱

Gov. Anoatubby announces a partnership with Rosetta Stone to create new Chickasaw language resources.

Rosetta Stone will collaborate with the Chickasaw Nation Language Committee to develop "Chickasaw Level One," a set of 40 interactive lessons.

Read a full recap of the 2015 State of the Nation Address: http://ow.ly/2bvA5C



lokosh #rosettastone #chickasaw #chikashshanompa #saysomethinginchickasaw

...



Figure 200: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 6 October 2015. @lokosh

Sometimes my posts were intensely personal but I felt some urgency to post them that I cannot quite pin down. One instance was when my language teacher and mentor the late Jerry Imotichey passed away. I posted an image of the last text exchange between he and I (Figure 201):

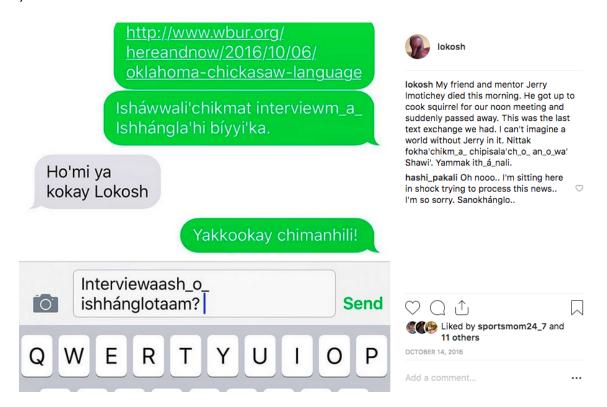


Figure 201: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 14 October 2016. @lokosh



A post from May 2017 concerned the writing of this dissertation (Figure 202):

Figure 202: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Instagram post, 23 May 2017. @lokosh

The last I will show is a post written in the aftermath of the burning of Notre Dame Cathedral and the subsequent worldwide response. Indigenous people worldwide responded with their own Notre Dame. In this case, I was thinking of Our Mother as the collective languages of Native North America and of course, Chikashshanompa' in particular. It was an acknowledgement, of sorts, of languages long silent and those struggling to remain on the tongues of their people (Figure 203):

Our Notre Dame Wasn't an edifice She had no bricks	Iokosh Ada, Oklahoma
No mortar No stone Our Notre Dame Was carried on air Through vibrating cords She was articulated by tongue	 roadsideshaman Once again you've found words for the nonverbal thoughts and feelings rumbling through my consciousness. Chokma'shki for your generosity and your vulnerability. You are highly honoured 19w 3 likes Reply
On lips On teeth Our Notre Dame Was the words we'll never hear Phrases we'll never know Thoughts we'll never have Mysteries we'll never own	 View replies (1) aogfx Yes. Very yes. 19w 1 like Reply bethltnbrgr Our ceremonies too 19w 1 like Reply
Our Notre Dame Never had physical form She burned out hot and fast	 ○ ① ① ○ □ ○ ○ □ ○ □<!--</th-->
With the last speaker's breath Pomihooat iksho	Add a comment Post

Figure 203: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Pomihooat iksho (Our Lady is No More), Instagram post, 15 April 2019. @lokosh

Twitter

Chikashshanompa' @Chikashshanompa · 14 Mar 2010 Chikashshanompa' (Chickasaw language) is an endangered American Indian language spoken in the Chickasaw Nation, located in Oklahoma.

Figure 204: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 14 March 2010. @Chikashshanompa

I joined Twitter in March 2010 under the handle @Chikashshanompa, inspired by other Indigenous people worldwide who shared their languages thereby. It was a personal initiative, sharing my language as Lokosh rather than in any official capacity as CLRP director for my tribal nation. I did freely borrow, on occasion, passages from documents I created for the program. My first tweets were from such a document created in 2008 that discussed the history of our language, its changes over time, its place in daily life, and our efforts to revitalize it (Figures 204 and 205):



Figure 205: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweets, 16 – 25 March 2010. @Chikashshanompa Examining these early tweets now, they are still largely correct. However, I regret, but refuse to delete, the posts relating to dialect. I refrain from deleting historic posts, even when they show errors, cast negative light on my judgment or knowledge, or even prove to later be embarrassing. Such deletion changes the historical record—the archive of communication I build much of this dissertation on—and I cannot see how it serves any purpose other than bowing to my vanity.

I first described Chickasaw as having two dialects in a PowerPoint document I created in early 2008 for various trainings around the Chickasaw Nation. I was relatively new in my role as director of the Chickasaw Cultural Center and the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program. I sensed an ongoing tension among our speakers about 'right' and 'wrong' ways of speaking. What I attribute now to intense pangs of loss that come with language decline and the intensity of belief around personal and familial idiolects was best understood at the time as regional dialects.

This is not to say that I was not experiencing real differences between the two regions, perhaps best characterized as a rough areal continuum between Kullihoma, Happyland, and Ada down to Connerville, and then another south of Connerville to Tishomingo, Fillmore, Madill, and Ardmore. I chose to highlight the two words for 'thank you' that I generally associated with these two distinct areas: chokma'shki, which I considered to be northern, and yakkookay which I considered to be southern. I also highlighted hallito, a southern greeting, and chokma, a northern greeting.

These were chosen based on their regular use and the regularity which speakers accused other speakers of speaking Choctaw when the opposing word choice was not in line with their own. This is not an outlier— recall that most speakers consider their idiolect to be correct, and that if one is speaking strangely then it must be Choctaw. We note that speakers of certain dialects of Choctaw, in particular those from Atoka, Oklahoma, are said by other Choctaw speakers to be speaking Chick-Choc, or sounding 'Chickasaw.'⁴⁹⁰

⁴⁹⁰ Dillon Moore, native speaker of Choctaw, Atoka, Oklahoma, Facebook message, 15 March 2019.

Speakers from around Kullihoma tend to truncate words like alhiha - > sia 'a bunch' (as well as express voiceless lateral fricative lh as voiceless alveolar fricative s). Other shortenings included the word for 'school' holisso aapisa' - > holissaapisa' - > saapisa' and the word for 'yes, affirmative' ho'mi as mi'.

Speakers from Fillmore had maintained or developed the k-initial hortative 'let us' seen in *Let's Speak Chickasaw: Chikashshanompa' Kilanompoli'*, akin to Mrs. Willmond's use. They also had certain words that they shortened (I am thinking of the late Jerry Imotichey) chokoshkomo 'to play' -> chokoshmo 'to play.' They also maintained the use of focus markers including h<u>o</u> / hoot and object marking <u>a</u> whereas northern speakers generally avoided using them.

I was attempting to reconcile two or more distinct ways of being in the language, under the general covering of Chikashshanompa', while respecting the differences. Family idiolects are strong, particularly in highly endangered situations where all other variations can be seen as inauthentic at best, and outright assaults at worst. To use the word dialect in this instance was misleading and I wish I had not written or said it or repeated it ad nauseum for years until I realized what I had done.

Yammat yahmi.491

Some tweets grew out of my own learning efforts, wherein I would discover a word, add it to my learning journal, and repost the passage from whatever source I was using at the time, in this case Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 348 (Figure 206):

⁴⁹¹ That's how it is.



toompallit ishtayya: 'to be spring'. Los Angelesat toompallit ishtayya. 'It's spring in Los Angeles.' Munro and Willmond (1994) pp. 348.



Figure 206: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 3 April 2010. @Chikashshanompa Some tweets were related to holidays or particular days of the year (Figure 207):



Figure 207: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 4 April 2010. @Chikashshanompa

The Easter 2010 tweet is revealing in several ways. First, the technology did not allow

Chikashshanompa' diacritics including nasal underlines—note that inittak is displayed without

nasality. Second, the phrase, Hashayoppa'shki, is a relic of learner error / incomplete learning.

The verb ayoppa / ayokpa is stative, and takes a stative second person plural marker hachi- not

hash-, which is an active second person plural marker. As written, it is nonsensical Chickasaw.

The final phrase should have been hachiyoppa'shki, 'y'all shall be happy,'

Other early tweets were related to some happenstance in my day that I found amusing or interesting. They are documents of my ongoing language acquisition as I struggled to express whatever it was in Chikashshanompa' (Figure 208):



Figure 208: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweets, 28 July – 7 August 2012. @Chikashshanompa These July 2012 tweets are further documents of incomplete / imperfect language learning. I failed to write glottal stop on Amofi'at (amofi' 'my dog') and Saoshi'at (saoshi' 'my son'). The 7 August tweet could be more perfectly translated 'When / if I am here I do not like it,' and the second part of the phrase should have been written akayoppa'cho, which reflects

the glottal stop insertion and loss of the grade form ayoppánchi when negated for any person.

Other tweets are productive and/or creative, wherein I used the language skills that I had at hand to produce new or novel translations, prose, and poetry (Figure 209 and 210):



à.	Chikashshanompa' @Chikashshanompa · 16 May 2010	/
6	Shalaklakat	
·	aba pilama hoowakaa.	
	Hoopisali.	
	Because 4 is a sacred number, this haiku's syllable structure is 4-8-4, rather that	n
	5-7-5.	



Chikashshanompa'	@Chikashshan	ompa · 15 I	May 2010		
Chikashshanompa' haiku:					
Shalaklak pisli.					
Aba' pila' hoowakaa.					
Hashtolaat ona!					
S Translate Tweet					
9 U	1	ilt			

Figure 209: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweets, 15 and 16 May 2010. @Chikashshanompa⁴⁹²

⁴⁹² Tweet of 15 May 2010 translates, 'I see the geese / They (more than two) are flying above / Winter is arriving there.' Tweet of 16 May 2010 translates, 'The geese / high above they (more than two) are flying / I see them.'



Chola chaaha' chonnaat chinchokka' chaaha' chonn_a_ chichokkowacha'chi.

#saysomethinginchickasaw				
Translate	Tweet			
P	ţ,	2	🛛 з	ılı

Figure 210: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 27 January 2015. @Chikashshanompa⁴⁹³

This tweet was responding to a popular song entitled 'What does the Fox Say?' (Figure 211):



Q 2 t] 2 ♡ 2

Figure 211: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 21 February 2015. @Chikashshanompa

ılı

In other tweets I shared neologisms that had recently been created by the Chickasaw

Language Committee (CLC) or ones that I myself had created and intended to submit to the CLC

for approval (Figures 212-214):

⁴⁹³ The tongue twister translates as 'The tall skinny fox will make you go into your tall skinny house.'



Figure 212: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 15 March 2015. @Chikashshanompa



Chikashshanompa' @Chikashshanompa · 11 Mar 2015 A new Chickasaw textism:

YPL - Yoppolali 'I'm joking', equivalent to JK 'just kidding'.

♀ ኂ ♡1 嶋

Figure 213: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweet, 11 March 2015. @Chikashshanompa



Figure 214: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweets, 14 August 2015. @Chikashshanompa

In other instances I tweeted out old words that the CLC had approved for reclamation

(Figure 215):



Figure 215; Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). Tweets, 17 April 2017. @Chikashshanompa

In 2013 I added a Soundcloud account - Chickasaw ONCWD (One New Chickasaw Word a Day) and began to make an audio recording of the word of the day that was posted to Twitter

(Figure 216):

Chickasaw ONCWD One new Chickasaw word a day - August 26, 2013: sakk_a_a 'to flick the forehead of a child with your finger as a mild form of punishment'	5 years ago
	000 98

Figure 216: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson). OWNWD Soundcloud Tweet, 26 August 2013. @Chikashshanompa

The archive there is relatively small, composed of 156 tracks and accessible at https://soundcloud.com/chickasaw-oncwd. I stopped updating the account several years ago, but may begin recordings again at some point.

I have continued updating the @chikashshanompa Twitter account as of this writing, with no plans to stop. It is a creative and social outlet for language production and a way to share Chikashshanompa' with the broader world. It is also another form of life for Chikashshanompa', a form that I am committed to engaging with until I cannot continue.

Chapter summary

In this chapter I explored creative visual production as an instrument and product of my journey to become a speaker of Chikashshanompa'. I addressed the manner in which I have incorporated my expanding knowledge of Chikashshanompa' into my creative visual production. I have provided numerous examples of both types of visual production, the first being Chikashsha naaholba',⁴⁹⁴ and the second being Chikashsha holissochi.⁴⁹⁵ I presented exemplars of Chikashsha naaholba' including shikonno'pa' paintings⁴⁹⁶, nannimilhIha' paintings⁴⁹⁷, and naaholba' deriving from nannan<u>o</u>li' <u>á</u>lhIhi¹⁴⁹⁸. I then presented exemplars of Chikashsha holissochi in multiple contexts including social media and my extensive journaling practice.

Mediated Language Change is present as I mediated the new forms of life emerging in my own personal ittonchololi' - mediated change as a form of perseverance. In mediating and changing the forms of life of Chikashshanompa' I was able to express myself as contemporary Chikashsha person, just as our Ancestors did. The new forms of life explicated in this chapter are fundamentally new forms of ittonchololi' that sprouted from our tibi kolofa'.

⁴⁹⁴ 'Chikashsha pictures.'

⁴⁹⁵ 'Chikashsha writing.'

⁴⁹⁶ 'Possum story pictures.'

⁴⁹⁷ 'Animal pictures.'

⁴⁹⁸ 'True stories.'

Chapter Seven: Anompa himitta'at ikshokma anompa'at ikshoka'chi (If there are no new words there will be no language): The Role of Lexical Expansion in Chickasaw Language Revitalization

Lokosh: Katishtchi ishaacha'ni 'computer'? 'How might you say computer?'

Im<u>o</u>shi': Akitha'no. Nannanompa'at ikshoha'ni. 'I don't know. There must not be a word.'⁴⁹⁹

This was the sort of conversation I had on a regular basis after 2004, the year my family and I moved to the Chickasaw Nation from Albuquerque, NM. I joined a small group of other young Chikashsha L2 learners passionate about the language. We wanted to converse about things relevant to our daily lives, like new media, technology, social media, the constant stream of English neologisms, and whatever else we cared to talk about. It became quickly apparent that Chickasaw had ceased to grow among the youth of the last generation of native speakers born in the 1940s. The lexical gaps were huge. However, the job of filling them wasn't insurmountable. We saw an opportunity to work with native speakers to create new words in our language, using strategies for lexical expansion employed by our Ancestors. In fall 2007 I sat down with the Chickasaw Language Committee at the Chickasaw Community Center in Ada, and distributed a single document titled, 'The Need for New Words.' After some words of introduction about who, what, when, where, how, and most importantly, why, our work began.

The role of Anompa Himitta' in Mediated Language Change

Anompa himitta^{'500} are a significant part of our Mediated Language Change approach to growing our language in a culturally-appropriate manner, respectful of both our elder speakers and the word formation strategies of our Ancestors. Anompa himitta' creation is a product of the application of the values of Chikashsha poya in our revitalization context. Lexical expansion affirms the inherent sovereignty of Chikashsha poya,⁵⁰¹ as we grow the language in the manner and time of our choosing. It helps ensure that our language will live into the future by embracing the values of Iilhak<u>ó</u>ffi.⁵⁰² Creation of anompa himitta' is most strongly associated

⁴⁹⁹ Im<u>o</u>shi' (Stanley Smith), personal interview with the author, fall 2007.

⁵⁰⁰ 'New words.'

⁵⁰¹ 'We are Chikashsha.'

^{502 &#}x27;We survive.'

with the value of Ilachónna'chi,⁵⁰³ as we actively mediate language change in order to account for the new and expanding world around us, just as Posipóngni⁵⁰⁴ did. By mediating change we are able to persevere as a people, and as a speech community. By growing our language in a culturally respectful manner we are able to stand as a speech community and say Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihma, and Anompa himitta' ilintoshooli.⁵⁰⁵

Neologisms and Language Revitalization

Languages inevitably change, regardless of whether speakers are aware of it. Modern English has markedly changed since Chaucer's time, as had the Chikashshanompa' of our Ancestors in our Homeland five centuries years ago as compared to the Chikashshanompa' we speak today, in lexical, phonological, and grammatical ways. Such changes are a natural part of a healthy, intact language community that includes youth who are in touch with the broader world and its shifting technological and cultural developments. What if the language community includes no youth? What if the youngest speakers are in their sixties, seventies or eighties? Communities lacking the linguistic vitality necessary for healthy, living languages see theirs slide toward sleep. In communities with highly endangered languages that lack young speakers, lexical expansion must take place in deliberate, purposeful ways to ensure the languages can be brought to relevance once again, and can satisfactorily express modern concepts. L1 and L2 speakers of endangered languages can use new words to show that their

⁵⁰³ 'We persevere.'

⁵⁰⁴ 'Our Ancestors / our elders.'

⁵⁰⁵ 'We are Chikashsha and we are still here. We are translating new words for them.'

languages are vital, dynamic and capable of life in the modern world.⁵⁰⁶ Lexical expansion can become a vital element of Mediated Language Change, which is key to our efforts to ensure that our language continues into the future.

The need for new words

Creation of new words is necessary to language revitalization for many reasons. New words expand language into new domains, and ensure relevance of an endangered language in the modern world. That relevance is particularly important for the young speakers who are most actively engaged with modern media and technology. It allows them to avoid code-switching into English or another majority language. Also, new words can be incorporated into language planning and immersion education curriculum.⁵⁰⁷

New Domains

American Indian languages changed by necessity at contact. They created words to account for foreign animals, foods and religious concepts, and designations for previously unknown classes of persons. These changes were possible because there were intact speech communities to coin neologisms.⁵⁰⁸

Such is not the case among present endangered-language communities.

A lack of children speaking the language is an initial symptom of impending language decline. With no younger native speakers, languages have no need for words to account for new

⁵⁰⁶ Oliva Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon' (master's thesis, University of Oklahoma, 2009), 14.

⁵⁰⁷ Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon,' 15.

⁵⁰⁸ Shirley Silver and Wick Miller, *American Indian Languages: Cultural and Social Contexts* (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 1997), 241; Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon,' 15.

technologies, cultural innovations, or other such ideas. An endangered language that has ceased to expand or be used for communication in a given community will have difficulty with domains outside its historical experience. Revitalization programs may discover lexical gaps for topics including the sciences, technology and other domains.⁵⁰⁹ For endangered languages to become functional and vibrant for daily communication, they must account for new domains and realms of experience.

Code Maintenance

Avoidance of the intrusions of foreign codes into Indigenous language communicative spheres is important for a number of reasons. In language learning environments it is critical that English be avoided because it is counterproductive to language acquisition. Hinton discusses multiple strategies for keeping English out of the learning environment, relying instead on gesture, context, and a repertoire of memorized phrases in order to remain within the target language.⁵¹⁰ Sammons notes avoidance of code-switching for two primary reasons: 1) avoidance of English in naming objects and concepts and 2) avoidance of English in communicating about domains like science or technology.⁵¹¹ Communities including the Alutiiq, the Hawaiians, and the Chikashsha are dedicated to the creation of new words and the avoidance of code-switching in all domains.⁵¹²

⁵⁰⁹ Leanne Hinton, *Flutes of Fire: Essays on California Indian Languages* (Berkeley, CA: Heyday Books, 1994), 15.

⁵¹⁰ Hinton et. al. *How to Keep Your Language Alive*, 15.

⁵¹¹ Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon,' 17.

⁵¹² Chikashsha speaker ideologies of code switching are interesting. Speakers reject English borrowings in isolation, yet freely move in and out of English and Chikashshanompa' in conversation. Our speech community has normalized fully proficient, bilingual speakers and in

Language Planning and Immersion Education

The creation of new words is but one part, and often a consequence of purposeful language planning among Indigenous communities. Language revitalization planning is complex, and must address matters including dialect variation, creation of orthography, curriculum development and teacher training.⁵¹³ Neologisms often emerge out of this planning process, as was the case in Hawaii.⁵¹⁴ In the Chickasaw Nation language planning process, neologisms emerged from our Mediated Language Change approach, in particular our commitment to growing the language. Our anompa himitta' creation addressed the needs of both curriculum developers and language students of various ages and backgrounds.

Two phases of lexical innovation

In considering Chikashshanompa' neologisms, it is helpful to think of two distinct phases of lexical innovation, the first a natural process of language innovation as a consequence of contact, and the second growing from the work of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program – an artificial process of Mediated Language Change in a revitalization environment.

Natural Language Innovation

Language innovations that our Ancestors incorporated into their speech in response to contact with Europeans and their material culture began with first contact in 1540, and in

our revitalization efforts we are increasingly pushing towards a healthy, balanced bilingualism but with a strong emphasis on Chikashshanompa' skills.

 ⁵¹³ Sarah Grey Thomason and Terrence Kaufman, *Language Contact* (Washington, DC: Georgegtown University Press, 2001), 38 and 39; Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon,' 18.
 ⁵¹⁴ Larry Kimura and April Councellor, 'Indigenous New Words Creation Perspectives from Alaska and Hawai'i' (paper presented at Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, Flagstaff, AZ, May 2008).

earnest after sustained contact beginning in the 1690s. Chikashsha speakers accounted for these new persons and technologies with a wide array of neologisms. This process of natural language innovation continued unabated until the middle of the twentieth century, when the natural processes of generational language transmission began to decline in our communities due to language shift, largely forced upon us, by economic, political, and social factors. As a consequence of interrupted lexical innovation, the 'newest' neologisms that naturally came into the lexicon are now quite old technologies and concepts, these examples predating the 1940s:

> itti' chanaa palhki' 'automobile' talaanompa', tali' anompoli' 'telephone' piini' wakaa' 'airplane' holba aapisa' 'television, motion picture' Abooha Tohbi 'The White House' ofi' palli' 'hot dog'⁵¹⁵ issi ahooba issoba

⁵¹⁵ This calque also has a secondary, euphemistic meaning: 'a sexually aroused dog.'

'horse; sawhorse' [short form: soba]

tali' holisso ta'osso 'money; dollar' tali' anompa' talaanompa' 'telephone'

Bringing the history of such neologisms to the speakers' attentions was an important way to gain acceptance of the process of lexical expansion. We are simply following our Ancestors' practices.

Revitalization Language Innovation

The revitalization phase of Chikashshanompa' language innovation began in 2007 with the establishment of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program and the Chickasaw Master-Apprentice Program. Our process of Mediated Language Change encompasses in part the simultaneous processes of language acquisition by anompa shaali' and the purposeful coining of neologisms in an effort to give new speakers ways of talking about their world – the ability to account for things unknown in the early to mid-twentieth century. Anomp<u>í</u>'shi' and anompa shaali' can now account for these new persons and technologies with a wide array of neologisms. Native speakers and second language learners have created hundreds of new words since 2008, in service to Mediated Language Change.

Who is creating new words?

The Chikashsha people most involved with creation of neologisms are second language learner employees of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program. We are at the forefront of lexical expansion, and are responsible for a majority of the English word lists presented to the Chickasaw Language Committee for review. The 25 speakers of the committee are also actively involved in the creation of neologisms, meeting monthly to work on an average of ten words each time. The remaining people involved at some level with Chickasaw lexical expansion are youth and adult second-language learners of Chickasaw.

Approach

Once a month, the Chickasaw Language Committee meets in Ada at the Department of Culture and Humanities administration building in Ada, Oklahoma. New words are coined either directly by the committee or are submitted for review. The process of neologism creation can be almost immediate if the committee reaches a consensus quickly. Otherwise the speakers debate the relative merits of the proposed term(s) until the group reaches a simple majority. If opposing terms have equal support and the committee agrees, both are included in the new-word list. If the committee stalls, the matters are tabled for the next month's meeting. Upon review, new terms are either accepted or rejected the month following the coining. Approved terms are added to the anompa himitta' list for publication.

Chikashsha processes of lexical innovation / anompa himitta' creation

Whether in the natural or revitalization phase of lexical innovation, the word formation strategies of Chikashshanompa' remain constant. Ahlers demonstrates that

language speakers, in the creation of neologisms, use their preferred formal (particular grammatical rules) and conceptual structures (a certain way of looking at and categorizing the word). Some of these dominant strategies are semantic shift, a process by which an existing word takes on a new meaning; borrowings, the borrowing a word from another language, whether related or not; cognitive metaphor, word based on a referent, the understanding of one item in relationship to another; image metaphors, word based on an image of what something looks like; metonymy, words based on one aspect of a lexical item; and calques, direct translations of words into the target language.⁵¹⁶

Semantic Shift

shokha'
'possum'
'hog' (likely 16th-17th century)
iksa'
'clan'
'church brethren' (pre-1940s)
'clan' (2010)
tak <u>o</u> lo
'native plum'
'peach' (17th century)

⁵¹⁶ Jocelyn C. Ahlers, 'Metonymy and the creation of new words in Hupa,' in *Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society: Special Session on Historical Issues in Native American Languages*, edited by David Librik and Roxane Beeler (Berkeley, CA: Berkeley Linguistics Society, 1996), 2-10.

Borrowings

kankalo'

'kangaroo' (2013)

waaka'

'cow' (likely 17th-18th century), from Spanish vaca.

bit

'money' (18th-19th century)

raba'

'rubber' (19th century)

iskaaypi

'to Skype' (2012)

kookli

'to Google (look up information via Google search)' (2011)

choosi

'to choose' (2010)

inchoosi

'to choose for (someone)' (2010)

Cognitive Metaphor

holisso kashoffi

'to divorce' (19th century)⁵¹⁷

ink<u>a</u>na' kashoffi

'unfriend (on Facebook)' (2013)⁵¹⁸

Image Metaphor

issoba, soba

'horse' (16th century)⁵¹⁹

ishkobo alhiipi'ya'

'hoodie' (2010)520

Metonymy

haksibish ishto'

'elephant' (pre-1940)521

illit n<u>o</u>wa'

'zombie' (2011)522

Attitudes and Language Ideologies

The creation of neologisms in the language revitalization process can be contentious,

often because of its deep connection to cultural change.⁵²³ Opposite to that are culturally

⁵¹⁷ Literally 'paper erase,' referring to Euro-American forms of marriage and divorce that involved paperwork and the legal system.

⁵¹⁸ Literally 'friend erase.'

⁵¹⁹ From issi' ahooba, 'resembles a deer.'

⁵²⁰ Literally 'head cover.'

⁵²¹ Literally 'ears big'

⁵²² Literally 'being-dead it-walks.' Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), 'Anompa Himitta': Chickasaw Neologisms,' (paper presented at the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas, Winter 2014 meeting).

⁵²³ Hinton and Hale, eds., *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, 15; Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon, 18.

held attitudes toward change including ideas of essential cultural purity, control, and prestige of speakers and coiners of new words.⁵²⁴ In the Chikashsha community, neologisms were not immediately accepted, even on a conceptual level. The idea that a language group could simply sit down and create new words was foreign to our speakers. The staff of the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program took specific, gradual steps in presenting the concept of neologisms through an open meeting and a document titled, 'The Need for New Words' that detailed the choices available to the Chickasaw Language Committee concerning neologisms and semantic domains for use by Chikashsha youth and adult language learners.

The members of the Chickasaw Language Committee had a number of choices in terms of how they would address lexical innovation. The first choice was to do nothing; simply, to use English words and concepts in Chikashshanompa'. That method was used in the past with certain borrowed words, though they are a distinct minority in Chikashshanompa', which has proven remarkably resistant to extensive borrowings:

leeti
'late'
kaa'
'car, automobile'
<u>i</u> riidi
'to read to'
kafi'
'coffee'

⁵²⁴ Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon,' 18.

The second choice was to borrow words from related languages including Choctaw and Creek-Seminole. This was a highly unpopular choice, excepting certain Chahta Bible words that have been a part of the Chikashsha lexicon for over 150 years. The third choice was the creation of anompa himitta', Chikashsha neologisms. The Chickasaw Language Committee agreed, some begrudgingly, to attempt to create a series of neologisms. The first list attempted dates from October 2007, and included a list of popular fast food restaurants and traffic signs. The fast-food restaurant list failed miserably. The speakers felt they had existing names and did not need to be translated into Chikashshanompa'. The traffic signs list (partialy reproduced below) was more successful:

Chikashsha <u>i</u>hina' an<u>o</u>li'

'Chickasaw Traffic Signs'

Hika

'Stop'

Ishchokkowanna

'Do Not Enter'

Hina' Aya Chaffa

'One Way'

Wayaachi Ki'yo

'No Parking'

Aashoppala' Homma' Aahika

'Stop Here on Red'

Hina' Okshílli'ta'

'Road Closed'

Tali' Hina' Aa-abaanabli'

'Railroad Crossing'

Hina' Ikpatho'

'Road Narrows'

Hina' Taha'

'Dead End'

Sala'si Aya - Chipota Alhihaat Hoochokoshkomo

'Slow - Children Playing'

Sala'si - Holissaapisa'

'Slow - School'

Tíngba Pí'scha Aya

'Yield'

Hina' Aya Chaffa'si

'One Way'

Aakochcha'

'Exit'

Alhfabi' Illa Aya Folota

'Left Turn Only'

Aalhpi'sa' Illa Aya Folota

'Right Turn Only'

Aachokkowa'

'Entrance'

Aachokkowa Illa

'Entrance Only'

Chokkowa

'Enter'

It was the beginning of a gradual process designed to encourage speakers of Chikashshanompa' to become comfortable with the process of lexical expansion. Four to five years passed before most members of the Chickasaw Language Committee accepted consideration of neologisms as a regular part of their committee meetings. During this period of time two remaining committee members at most did not actively participate in lexical expansion work, and one voiced their opposition. Their attendance at meetings was sporadic at best, so their opposition did not generally have any effect on the committee's ability to work. The most vocal of the two had a change of heart and has participated in the creation of anompa himitta' for the last six years.

Traditional versus Modern Language

Some of the traditional-versus-modern language debates are now absent from the Chickasaw Language Committee, but not necessarily in the community.⁵²⁵ Once the members of the CLC committed to doing this work they were, with few exceptions, fully committed to

⁵²⁵ Hinton and Hale, eds., *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, 16; Sammons, 'Updating the Sauk Lexicon,' 19. There is a perception, held by a vocal minority, that these new words are 'Josh's way of talking Chickasaw,' and that of the elders is 'the old way of talking Chickasaw.' In fact, these neologisms derive from the work of our speakers, not me. It was ultimately their choice, and they chose to act as our Ancestors did, and grow our world through lexical expansion.

it. They came to realize that they were using the same strategies as our Ancestors in creating anompa himitta'. The Chikashsha people have a long-standing cultural tradition of mediating cultural changes by taking items of foreign origin and remaking them as distinctly Chikashsha, from education,⁵²⁶ to material culture,⁵²⁷ to religion.⁵²⁸ Chikashshanompa' is no exception to this cultural practice of indigenization. For the most part objections to this process of lexical innovation have come from non-speakers (see the last section of this chapter).

Semantic Domains

The words created arise almost exclusively from the needs and desires of secondlanguage learners. With few notable exceptions, current L1 speakers have not coined new words without encouragement from Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program staff. Among the exceptions below are lexical extensions derived from liichi, 'to plow,' used for revitalization:

> okhata' aahónkopa' 'pirate'⁵²⁹ soba lapish chaffa' 'unicorn'⁵³⁰ liichi 'revitalization'⁵³¹

⁵²⁶ Cobb, *Listening*.

⁵²⁷ Hinson 'To'li','; Hinson, *Chikasha*.

⁵²⁸ Davis, *Talking Indian*.

⁵²⁹ Literally 'ocean locative-steal,' coined by Rose Shields Jefferson.

⁵³⁰ Literally 'horse horn be-one in number,' coined by Rose Shields Jefferson.

⁵³¹ This is a lexical extension of liichi, 'to plow,' coined by Stanley Smith.

Chikasha / Chikashsha Aaithana'

'Chickasaw Cultural Center'532

Contemporary Chickasaw Neologisms

Facebook is one of the most active and interesting sites for neologism creation. Chickasaw users of Facebook who possess some competency with the language have spontaneously created Chickasaw acronyms, or 'textisms.' Textisms are abbreviated forms of commonly used texting expressions, e.g. LOL (laugh out loud), LMAO (laughing my ass off), CUL8TR (see you later), etc. Some newly created Chickasaw textisms include:

> YKK Yakkookay 'Thanks' AYM Ayali makila. 'I've got to go.' CCT Chinchokmataa? 'Are you ok?' CHL

Ch<u>i</u>holloli.

⁵³² 'Place for Chikashsha learning.' This is the neologism that rose to the top, and was used throughout Rosetta Stone Chickasaw. Either spelling of Chikasha / Chikashsha is acceptable. This word was coined by Rose Shields Jefferson, Stanley Smith, Pauline Brown, and Luther John.

'I love you.'

CPL

Chipisala'cho.

'I'll see you later.'

FLC

Falamala'ch<u>o</u>.

'l'll return.'

OLL

Ollalili

'I'm laughing.'

LMIO

'Laughing my ishkish off.'

SMS

Shooli micha sh<u>o</u>'ka

'Hugs and kisses'

Other Chickasaw neologisms are technology-related, and are created by all parties involved in Chickasaw language revitalization including program staff, Chickasaw Language Committee members, adult and youth students of the program, and individual Chickasaw citizens.

tali' lopi'

'computer'

tali' lopi' lawa'

'internet'

talaanompa' isht<u>á</u>a'

'cell phone'

holisso palhki'

'email'

nannola'

'iPod'

holba' ishchokoshkomo'

'video game'

ilbakishki' anompoli'

'text message'

ilbakishki' ishtanompoli

Another class of neologisms consists entirely of nouns created by the members of

the Chickasaw language committee from 2008 to present:

aachalhka'		
'casino'		
to'wa' kallo'		
'baseball ball'		
tannafo' to'wa'		
'basketball'		
to'wa' pass <u>á</u> a'		
'volleyball'		

Another class of neologisms is specific to the Chickasaw Cultural Center (CCC) in Sulphur, Oklahoma. One of the first steps in the process of developing the CCC was a tribewide cultural survey conducted in 2001. A variety of responses were received from 1,548 tribal citizens. Among their primary concerns were the fate of Chikashshanompa' and a desire to see and hear Chikashshanompa' in use at the CCC. As a result, every effort was made to incorporate the Chickasaw language at each level of exhibit development, up to and including the creation and incorporation of Chickasaw place names:

Aaholiitobli'

'Honor Garden'

Aachompa'

'gift shop'

Aafoha'

'Rest Area'

Aba' Aan<u>o</u>wa'

'Sky Pavilion'

Holisso

'Holisso Center for the Study of Chickasaw History and Culture'

An<u>o</u>li'

'An<u>o</u>li' Theater'

Ittapatkachi

'Time Capsule'

For the exhibit center a descriptive phrase was chosen, one personally meaningful to many Chickasaw people:

Chikasha Poya

'We are Chickasaw'533

Challenges

Significant challenges exist in lexical expansion / anompa himitta' creation. After managing community acceptance, the greatest challenge for Chikashsha new words is dissemination and productive use. Dissemination is limited, as is the productive use by speakers. With rare exceptions, anomp<u>í</u>'shi' do not use anompa himitta'. Use by anompa shaali' is greater, tending to be confined to certain domains, in particular Facebook and textisms. Our camps and clubs have seen broad usage of athletic terms. Slang and humorous borrowings are incorporated into conversation by speakers and learners, for example conjugating an English word using Chickasaw affixes and phonological rules, for example the late Chikashsha pastor Charlie Carter would call Jesus 'Chiisas Life Givi.'⁵³⁴

Ideologies of Lexical Expansion

Ideologies surrounding Chickasaw lexical expansion are as many as there are speakers, and speaker attitudes as complicated as each person involved. Three ideologies rise to the surface: language purism, language and innovation as tool of cultural and social identity, and maintenance of historic and contemporary speech communities.

 ⁵³³ In this instance we used Chikasha, rather than Chikashsha.
 ⁵³⁴ 'Jesus Life Giver.'

Language purism is a dominant theme among speakers of Chickasaw. They can be opposed to any terms they feel are too 'Choctaw' except for 'Bible words' used in liturgical readings, either dislike English borrow-words or consider them 'slang,' and are generally unwilling to use words from related languages like Mvskoke Creek-Seminole, Choctaw, and Alabama-Koasati. They express negative feelings toward others whose Chickasaw includes too many Choctaw words or English slang like yuuzi or <u>i</u>riidi. They are often more willing to create a neologism for a new term than to borrow from a related language. In many cases they have accepted neologisms as a function of language purity, especially having been given historical precedence for neologism creation in Chickasaw.

For many speakers of Chickasaw, their racially 'pure' identity and language status are the sole remnants of cultural capital or power. The conservative members of the Chickasaw Language Committee often feel marginalized by the politically and numerically dominant mixed-blood Chickasaw population, most of whom have little to no cultural or linguistic knowledge. Their background in Chikashshanompa' and the expansion of the language into new domains are ideologically powerful matters for speakers who feel thus marginalized.

Related to language and lexical expansion as a tool of power is language as a tool of maintenance. For our speakers, the Chikashshanompa' is the defining feature of the historical Chickasaw speech community, and one they believe should define present and future communities. That belief ties deeply into ideologies of cultural belonging. Some also believe that without the language, the Chikashsha people will cease to exist.

First-generation descendants of native speakers who do not speak the language often have been vocal critics of the process of anompa himitta' creation, viewing it as a kind of violence to the language. I long ago learned to avoid attempting to educate such individuals. Our elders were the ones who chose to engage in neologism creation. They could have just as easily said no, but instead understood how our Ancestors did the same. Following is a Facebook exchange from 2014 with the adult child of a native speaker (here anonymized) who, though an enrolled citizen of another tribe in Oklahoma, felt that what I, and by extension the Chickasaw Language Committee, were doing was wrong (Figures 217 -222):

...



Language committee day! On the new words list agenda for today are 'restore', 'hot sauce', and 'jelly bean'. Good times.

Mika Jo Freeman-Hinson, Waymon Hinson and 13 others 22 Comments

	பீ Like	Comment	A Share
9	Jenny Davis What was somewhere, but can't f Like · Reply · 5y	lightsaber again? I wrote it find it.	down
	Joshua D. Hinson aashoppala' bashpo falaa' Like · Reply · 5y		
R	Richard Green How ab Like · Reply · 5y	out DNA?	
-		ou trying to make new word le? That's white man words	s when that
	Leroy Sealy Hot sauce Like · Reply · 5y	~ homi okchi	
	Leroy Sealy jelly beans Like · Reply · 5y	s ~ tobi na champuli	

Figure 217: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 January 2014.

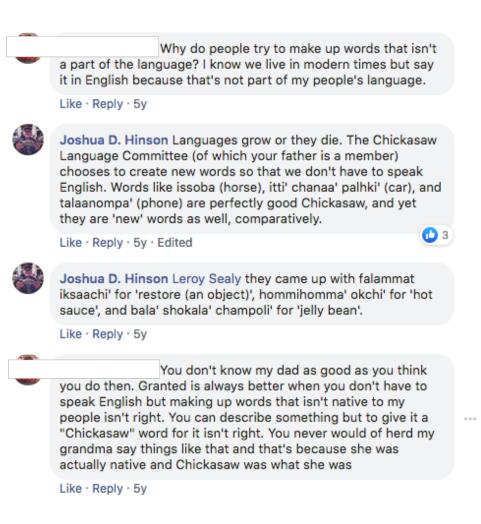


Figure 218: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 January 2014.

٩	Joshua D. Hinson I've worked with your father since 2003 so I get it. Your father doesn't always agree with language change. But when we talk together we do it in the language and we understand each other.			
	And your grandmother could account for everything in her life using only Chickasaw. She didn't need to talk about cellphones or the internet. I do. And I choose to describe it in Chickasaw rather than speaking English.			
	I respect your family greatly. Arguing about Chickasaw (in English) is completely unproductive so I'm bowing out of this one.			
	Like · Reply · 5y			
	Leroy Sealy Ok I can see the under meaning for each word. Chukma!			
	Like · Reply · 5y			
	Ignore me and my words if you want. But you're not a speaker and wasn't born native. I'm not trying to be mean but it's the truth. You wasn't born Chickasaw or ever really could be a true Chickasaw.			
	Like · Reply · 5y			
	That's all I have to say.			
	Like · Reply · 5y			

Figure 219: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 January 2014.

1

1

1 2



Joshua D. Hinson I'm a proud mixed blood Chickasaw-Choctaw-Creek-Cherokee. I'm descended from 13 generations of Chickasaw women, straight down the line. I still have my clan and my house, in the old way. I speak better Chickasaw than anyone I know, save actual native speakers. I'm completely comfortable with my identity, my status in the community, working daily for my people.

I'm sorry I don't make the Super Indian cut for you. We've always been good, you and I. Why you're attacking me, I don't know. I suppose I could just delete this whole thread but I'm going to leave it up. For posterity.

Like · Reply · 5y · Edited

I wasn't attacking you, but I can if ya want. My entire family is, was, and lives being native. That's who we are. I understand you have a job where you have to deal with more "modern" things and attempt to speak Chickasaw, but to try and to be true to being "Chickasaw" isn't making up words. Just saying. I have no harsh feelings towards you just don't think it is right. My father is opinionated but when it comes to the history or anything to with Chickasaw culture now he is the knowledge.

Like · Reply · 5y



Richard Green Paul, where would you stop including new words in the language? up to Removal? The Civil War? 1904, when the tribe elected its last governor until 1971? Oklahoma Statehood? If there is no cutoff, then how can you rule out what the language committee is doing today?

Like · Reply · 5y



Mika Jo Freeman-Hinson I am so proud of my husband who can handle absolute dribble like this with class and dignity. Way to go, babe.

Like · Reply · 5y

Figure 220: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 January 2014.

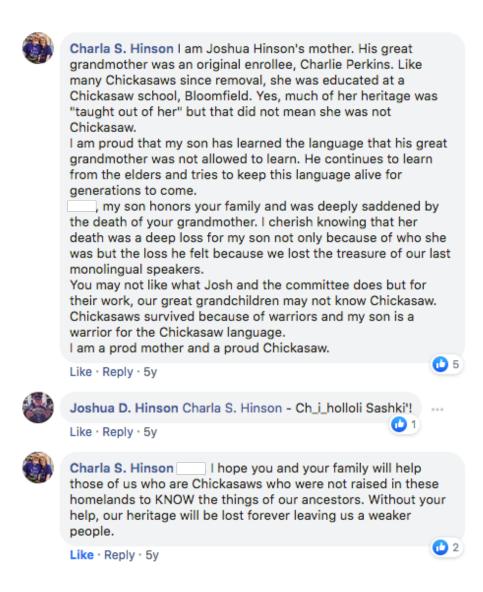


Figure 221: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 January 2014.



Janice Faye Schwartz I am Charla's sister, a proud Chickasaw, and a VERY proud aunt. Mema, Charlie Perkins Cox, original enrollee, took us to homecoming each year as we grew up. She wanted to pass down her Chickasaw heritage and stories that dated back to Mintahoyo (pls pardon my spelling) and Levi Colbert, our family. To challenge another's family, traditions, and attempts to keep our Chickasaw traditions alive is to challenge our great communal Chickasaw family. Josh is an instrumental part in seeking to keep the tradition of our language alive, along with you and all other Chickasaw speakers. Although there may be differences in opinion as to our approaches in keeping our traditions alive, they must be kept alive in each generation. Let's honor each other in our attempts to cherish tradition. 1 2 Like · Reply · 5y

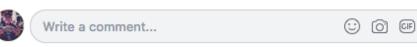


Figure 222: Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), Facebook post, 14 January 2014.

The above exchange really needs no explication. Our languages bring out the best and the worst in us. This exchange of lateral violence was predicated by the violence inflicted on us by the settler-colonials and their government. This is but one of many everpresent consequences of the colonial program and forced removal from our Homeland. If our language was still whole, vibrant, and healthy in whole, vibrant, and healthy communities, none of this would have occurred, and this dissertation would not exist, nor would my present job. Yet, yammat yahmi.⁵³⁵

Conclusion

The Chickasaw people are dedicated to keeping the language a living, vibrant and dynamic entity, a physical and spiritual presence on the tongues and in the hearts of the Chikashsha people. The language is kept alive in part by creating new words and place names

^{535 &#}x27;That's how it is.'

in Chikashshanompa', demonstrating an ongoing commitment to language survival through the creation of new words. The Chickasaw speakers are telling the world that they are a living, dynamic culture by naming their places and creating new words. Through naming and creating they are saying Chikashsha po'yacha ilaa-áyya'sha kat<u>í</u>hma: We are Chickasaw, and we are still here.

Chapter Eight: Nannan<u>o</u>li' ilimaaithana (We are learning from stories): Mediated Language Change and the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program

Our application of Mediated Language Change (MLC) in our ittonchololi¹ revitalization context, as outlined in Chapter 3, is perhaps most clearly seen in the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program (CAAIP). This modified group approach to Chikashshanompa' secondlanguage acquisition grew from our experiences with traditional, one-on-one Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP or MAP) approaches, the work of the Sac and Fox Language Program under former director Jacob Manatowa-Bailey, and the narrative-based approach of the Adult Salish Language Program under the direction of Chaney Bell on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. That last approach was modified by materials originally authored by Chris Parkin (Salish School of Spokane). I will briefly examine MALLP in general, our MALLP experience, reflect on that of the Sac and Fox and its influence on our decision to move away from traditional MA approaches, and describe in detail the application of MLC in the CAAIP program. I will conclude with a brief discussion of the modification of the Adult Salish Language Program materials for use in the Chikasha Academy.

Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program

The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP or MAP) was developed by Hinton, Richardson, and Abbott in 1992.⁵³⁶ It was created and implemented at a time when California Indigenous language vitality was at an all-time low, and there was increasing attention to language endangerment in the academy.⁵³⁷ Of the 100 California languages spoken

⁵³⁶ Hinton, *Flutes of Fire*, see Chapter 21.

⁵³⁷ Ken Hale, et al., 'Endangered languages.' *Language* 68, no. 1 (March 1992): 1-42; Hinton and Hale, eds., *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*; K. David Harrison, *When*

at contact, fewer than 50 continued to be spoken in 1992, and the majority was represented by no more than a handful of elderly native speakers; some only by one.⁵³⁸

Cognizant of these facts, Indigenous California people partnered with linguists including Leanne Hinton of the University of California at Berkeley to form the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival, the parent organization for the California Master Apprentice Language Learning Program. The first cohort of learners began in earnest in 1993 with ten pairs—one master and one apprentice each—representing many California Indigenous languages including Hupa, Yurok, Yowlumne, and Mojave. The program continued in 1994 and 1995 with more than twenty pairs, and has spread rapidly into various iterations beyond California.⁵³⁹

The program was designed with highly endangered languages in mind, and brought apprentice learners and master speakers together for ten to twenty hours a week at a maximum of 360 hours a year for up to three years. The effort was to bring apprentices to fairly high levels of linguistic and communicative competency in a short time. Pairs began their partnerships with two-day trainings focusing on the acquisition of target speech through immersion activities rather than overt grammatical instruction or translation exercises as done in traditional classrooms. The focus was language acquisition through living daily lives together. All matters were in the language – grocery shopping, eating, cooking, driving, bingo games,

Languages Die: The Extinction of the World's Languages and the Erosion of Human Knowledge (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2008).

⁵³⁸ Leanne Hinton, 'The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program' in *The Green Book of Language Revitalization in Practice*, edited by Hinton and Hale, 217-226.

⁵³⁹ In Oklahoma currently only the Cherokee and Chickasaw Nations have a modified group immersion approach to adult language acquisition.

walks, and traditional activities.540

The approach is drawn from communicative and comprehensible input strategies. The apprentice is required to be a dedicated, pro-active learner, and to drive much of the content acquisition. English usage is discouraged while strategies like Total Physical Response are promoted. MALLP pairs are encouraged to put away writing, and to 'play' with target vocabulary and phrases in multiple contexts so apprentices can hear their structures at least fifty times in fifty different contexts.⁵⁴¹

Effective language learning requires intelligible input. The apprentice must understand what is being said. The master may translate into English as a last resort, but that is not encouraged. MA pairs are directed to use English to plan their immersion sets and activities together until the apprentice is fluent enough to leave English behind. The participants design their approach around the '10 points of language learning':

- 1. Leave English Behind
- 2. Make Yourself Understood with Nonverbal Communication
- 3. Teach in Full Sentences
- 4. Aim for Real Communication in Your Language of Heritage
- 5. Language is Also Culture
- 6. Focus on Listening and Speaking
- 7. Learn and Teach the Language through Activities
- 8. Use Audiotaping and Videotaping
- 9. Be an Active Learner.
- 10. Be Sensitive to Each Other's needs; Be Patient and Proud of Each Other and Yourselves!⁵⁴²

These 'commandments' are heavily emphasized during the two-day immersion training.

⁵⁴⁰ Hinton, et al., *How to Keep Your Language Alive*, 15-16.

⁵⁴¹ Ibid.

⁵⁴² Hinton et al., How to Keep Your Language Alive, 10-19; Hinton, Leena Huss, and Gerald Roche, The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2018), 10-19.

Lesson topics include cooking and eating, chores, hunting, fishing, and gathering,

traditional arts, storytelling, dancing and singing traditions, and others. MALLP sessions follow a

general pattern:

- Greeting
- Rituals: prayer, weather, news, coffee, make breakfast
- Planning the activity / immersion set
- Doing the immersion set
- Discussing the immersion set
- Repeat sets or do different sets within a session, aim for at least 15 minutes in the language without interruption
- Free discussion
- Plan for next time
- Farewells

The lessons learned in these early approaches were published in *How to Keep Your*

Language Alive: A Commonsense Approach to One-On-One Language Learning (2002).

This text was foundational for the Anompa Ithána' - Ithána'chi' (Chickasaw Master-Apprentice

Program)⁵⁴³ that we implemented in 2007.

Anompa Ithána' - Ithána'chi' (Chickasaw Master-Apprentice Program)

We began our MAP approach in fall 2007 with sixteen planned groups, each meeting ten

hours a week. Group one was composed of persons who either had previous experience with

language learning or were formerly fluent, and at the time were passive-bilingual speakers of

Chikashshanompa'. The second group was chosen based on family connections to anompí'shi'

and their expressed interest in participating in this effort:544

⁵⁴³ 'The one that knows the language, the one that will know the language.' These are two early neologisms developed to accomodate new concepts in Chikashshanompa'.
 ⁵⁴⁴ We ultimately ended up with 14 active participating groups by the start of the program.

Master Apprentice Groups

Group One

<u>Masters</u>	Apprentices
Hannah Pitman	Joyce Wesley,
	Ruth Howard
Luther John	Scott Colbert, Regina Berna
Vera Tims	Michelle Wilson, Valorie Walters
Rose Jefferson	Suzanne Russell
Emma McCleod	Faye McCurtain, Ellen Chapman
Louise Gore	Rebecca Beniati
JoAnn Ellis	Vicki Penner
Betty Hamilton	Lori Hamilton
Stanley Smith	Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson)

Group Two

Ruthlene Jones	Curtis, Cheryl, Ryan, and Riley Walker
Sinamae Ogg	Mary Hartley
Vera Tims	Rachel Coon
Weldon Fulsom	Kelley Lunsford
Pauline Walker	Jeremy Wallace, Ashley Hart
Lloyd Parnacher	Caren Turtle
Luther John	Nancy Boston ⁵⁴⁵

Dr. Leann Hinton and Bo Taylor (Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians) provided us with indepth MALLP and comprehensible input approach trainings, respectively, taking a week. We provided all groups with an in-depth Chikashshanompa' MALLP manual to guide session content, and a copy of *How to Keep Your Language Alive*. We compensated masters at twenty dollars an hour and apprentices at fifteen dollars an hour. Ten of the original sixteen groups graduated in June 2009.

⁵⁴⁵ Internal Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program document, 1 April 2008.

Outcomes

We saw two truly conversational speakers emerge from this group. However, all apprentices acquired Chikashshanompa' beyond their initial fluency levels. The effort demonstrated the value of Chikashshanompa' to our community, and greatly increased the visibility of anomp<u>i</u>'shi' in the community as we honored them for their gift to us. Our MALLP approach also created a group of anompa shaali' that would go on to teach their families, work in Chikashshanompa' language revitalization on a full-time or contract basis, and stand as advocates for Chikashshanompa' in our communities. By paying masters and apprentices, the approach injected monies, motivated by our desire for Chikashshanompa', into our local community. Placing economic value on heritage language skills in a revitalization context is a significant aspect of valorizing the language as well as having additional, beneficial effects. Of this graduating class several apprentices continued their programs, reapplied to continue in our MALLP, and began teaching what they knew of Chikashshanompa' to their family members.

Though we consider all language efforts vital and significant and attempt to validate all forms of ittonchololi' and valorize the efforts of anompa shaali', we failed to meet our proficiency goals. Several groups quit during the first two-year MALLP effort. We had a proficiency-determined success rate of 10 percent.⁵⁴⁶ The programs are challenging under the best of circumstances. The process is not only mentally taxing, but it can have significant emotional effects, positive and negative.

Of the two truly conversational speakers who came out of this group, only one has gone

⁵⁴⁶ Of the sixteen original groups, we graduated two newly proficient speakers of Chikashshanompa'.

on to significantly higher proficiency levels.⁵⁴⁷ The groups that dropped out, early on and later, did so for a variety of reasons, lack of time to commit to the program being a primary one. The groups that remained in general failed to make significant language acquisition past ACTFL Novice Mid/High, having begun with no exceptions at Novice Low. Some community members became dependent on the discretionary and impermanent funds, and failed to understand the tax implications of the contract payments made under our MALLP. It is possible some apprentices may have been attracted to the program due to this educational stipend rather than a sincere desire to learn language, but this was not of significant concern to those of us in program leadership at the time. Most who essentially stopped their language-learning efforts saw significant decline in their language skills since graduation. Also, many have since taken on leadership roles in the Chickasaw Nation, and while not actively learning Chikashshanompa' in an immersive environment as of this writing, they are staunch language advocates.⁵⁴⁸

Efforts 2010 - 2015

We learned a great deal from our first two groups, and applied that knowledge to six long-term groups of one master and one apprentice each. With few exceptions, groups with

⁵⁴⁷Former tribal legislator Scott Colbert and myself. I was a more advanced learner coming into the program in 2007, whereas Scott had significantly fewer contact hours with Chikashshanompa' speakers. My ongoing success following the formal conclusion of my MALLP experience has as much to do with my predilection for language, personality, and commitment to become a speaker as it does with my leadership role in the CLRP.

⁵⁴⁸ I am thinking in particular of my Executive Officer Lori Hamilton (Division of History and Culture), Under Secretary Valorie Walters (Department of Culture and Humanities), and Valorie's sister, Director Michelle Wilson (Vocational Rehabilitation).

multiple apprentices in our traditional MALLP environment were not successful. We established a rigorous set of prerequisites to program acceptance, including a self-study program⁵⁴⁹, an assessment, an intake interview, and a detailed contract. If any group failed to make significant progress, it entered a probationary period, and risked removal from the program.⁵⁵⁰ Choosing highly motivated younger individuals who were also tribal citizens and carefully matching them with sympathetic anomp<u>í</u>'shi' was challenging.⁵⁵¹ Our hope was that at least ten percent would produce conversational anompa shaali' who would go on to teach language in their homes and communities. One outstanding long-term group was native speaker Hannah Pitman and Amy Gantt, who worked together about five years. Amy was able to advance to Intermediate Mid oral proficiency level, and to teach her daughter.

The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program has been moderately successful nationwide and in Canada and Australia. Our program was, also, but I say that with a caveat. Assuming that partnerships were not dissolved because of interpersonal conflict, death, or some other calamity, the apprentices completed their one-, two-, or three-year apprenticeships with more knowledge than they began with. As an example, assume that an apprentice began

⁵⁴⁹ The self-study was a packet of communicative language material applicants were given roughly two weeks to review, after which they were accessed as the next step in the hiring process.

⁵⁵⁰ Again, this was under our first model where the apprentices were contract employees rather than part-time temporary ones. That gave us greater leverage if the partnership did not prove fruitful. Accepted applicants were given a year's contract, subject to review and termination in the following fiscal year.

⁵⁵¹ Aside from some sort of psychological testing, I am not sure whether identifying an ideal second-language learner is possible. People are radically inconsistent. I also qualify 'young,' because we are not ageists in the Chickasaw Nation. However, we need an expanding base of young professionals in their twenties and thirties to replace us who are firmly middle-age as of this writing. We all have a shelf life.

the program as Novice Low on the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Language Oral Proficiency Scale. Novice Low is limited to stock phrases in only so many contexts, and usually single words (largely nouns) at that. At the end of year one, an apprentice should be operating at a Novice High or Intermediate Low level, whereby they can self-narrate, ask basic questions, indicate some preferences, and discuss past, future, and present events. In some instances, our learners achieved that level. In others it took two or three years.

Based on the three-year goal of Intermediate High to Advanced Low, wherein an apprentice can function in almost any given context with a sympathetic native speaker, the MALLP has perhaps a 10 percent success rate historically wherever the program takes place. Given the extremely low state of vitality for most of our languages, MALLP must do better than to achieve Novice High-to-Intermediate Low in twelve to eighteen months. Our new benchmark should be Intermediate High to Advanced low in that time frame if we are truly wish to claim we are creating a new generation of speakers.⁵⁵² For many of our languages this is our best and perhaps last hope to replace each native speaker who passes with a competent anompa shaali'.

Why is MALLP such a low-success-rate approach to language acquisition? One answer may lie in master-apprentice dynamics, wherein the learner assumes that the master, given his or her knowledge of the language, will also be a competent teacher, therefore the apprentice must simply show up and 'be taught.' We know from experience that is rarely the case. The most successful apprentices are highly motivated and take responsibility for their language acquisition. Such apprentices handle session design, back up lessons when they stall, remain

⁵⁵² Michelle Johnson's cohort was able to reach Novice High / Intermediate Low after roughly 1,000 contact hours. Johnson, 'n'łaqwcin,' 105.

accountable for their English production, and push their masters to speak only in Indian at great lengths. That is the recipe for any language acquisition success: leave English behind, and spend lots and lots of time talking Indian. It is easier said than done.

Sauk Language Program

I first met Jacob Manatowa-Bailey of the Sauk Language Program in 2009. The program operated in a small facility on the southern edge of Stroud, Oklahoma. The Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma was forcibly relocated to Indian Territory from Kansas in 1869. Oklahoma Sac and Fox are closely related to the Sac and Fox Tribe of the Mississippi in Iowa and the Sac and Fox Nation of Missouri in Kansas and Nebraska.

In 2005 the Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma had an estimated seven native speakers at most, and a handful of passive bilinguals. The three native speakers most closely connected to the Sauk Language Program were Jacob Manatowa-Bailey's aunts, Pahâmoki Maxine Cobb, now deceased, her sister Nayêshi Christine Williamson, and Mahwêtâ Henrietta Massey. At the time of our meeting Jacob was the lead apprentice, organizing and leading sessions with the help of his aunts for three learners: Kîyôkameki Orvena Gregory (Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma), Chakîhkwê Katie Grant (Sac and Fox Nation of Oklahoma), and Kîwêwa Mosiah Bluecloud (Kickapoo Tribe of Oklahoma).⁵⁵³

The team-based approach, which consists of a group of native speakers, a Master-Apprentice Team Leader, and a small group of apprentices, was developed in response to some

⁵⁵³ Kyokamekwa Orvena Gregory left the program to run for tribal office. Jacob Manatowa-Bailey left the program following the death of Pahâmoki, and Kîwêwa Mosiah Bluecloud left the program to pursue graduate studies. Chakîhkwê Katie Grant is now Chakîhkwê Katie Thompson, married with a new baby. She is currently the director of the Sauk Language Program.

of the deficiencies of traditional MALLP:

- 1. The team-based approach to Master-Apprentice sessions allowed for one or more Sauk elder speakers in tandem with the Team Leader to work with multiple apprentice speakers simultaneously.
- 2. A core group of committed Masters allowed a rotating, flexible schedule of different Sauk Elder speakers that can accommodate the absence on the part of a single Elder.
- 3. The consistent, direct participation of the Master-Apprentice Team Leader as a more advanced apprentice speaker able to teach language learners allowed for immersion learning to continue in the event that no Sauk Elder speakers are able to be present.
- 4. The Master-Apprentice Team Leader is able to direct the session to focus learning, increase comprehension, insist on No English within the immersion sessions, and intentionally utilize structured input and other proven SLA methods to rapidly expand the pace of acquisition.⁵⁵⁴

The motivations for the Sauk Language Program were beyond mere language

acquisition. Far from it, their stated objective was 'Build[ing] a critical mass of young,

professional, conversationally fluent teachers, workers, and leaders to carry the Sauk language

revitalization effort far into the future.'⁵⁵⁵ In three years of their intensive program they were

able to provide training in:

- Language teaching methodologies
- Classroom management
- Curriculum development
- Maintaining immersion environments
- Linguistic development for native language teachers
- Team building
- Organizational development
- Leadership
- Advanced Master-Apprentice techniques

⁵⁵⁴ Hinton et. al., *The Routledge Handbook*, 132.

⁵⁵⁵ Sauk Language Program, 'Half Black, Half White Striped Wild Horse That Comes from Africa: Speaker, Teacher, and Leadership Development and the Team-Based Master Apprentice Program Model,' (Powerpoint presentation, 29 October 2013).

Mosiah and Katie became conversational speakers within two years of entering the Sauk Language Master-Apprentice Program, and were able to direct learning by others and to develop content for the Master-Apprentice sessions . They developed and maintained 'foundational skills in immersion instruction, time management, decision-making, curriculum planning and development, classroom management, activity planning, research skills, and other areas important to apprentices overall development as language revitalization professionals.'⁵⁵⁶

The reasons such remarkable outcomes were possible are manifold, but the basic one is time and language input. The employees of the Sauk Language Program spent a great deal of time speaking only Sauk. They doggedly pursued a Sauk-only environment day in and day out, for years, and achieved 3,952 hours in Sauk over a three-year period: 2,952 in the Master-Apprentice session environment and roughly 1,000 more outside the sessions.⁵⁵⁷ They started with the single goal to remain in Sauk for four hours a day, but developed a comprehensive and stable plan directly tied to their goals of proficiencies in language and planning and teaching.⁵⁵⁸

We found that approach so compelling, particularly in light of the obvious deficiencies of the traditional one-on-one approach as we had applied it, that we immediately moved toward a modified group approach involving professionalized, full-time language learners working in what we would come to call the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program. We followed closely the Sauk Language Master-Apprentice Program Model, with some modifications:

> A Master-Apprentice Team Leader with some language ability and knowledge of immersion methods and capable of committing 20 hours

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁸ Ibid.

per week to leading Master- Apprentice sessions⁵⁵⁹

- 2. Initially, the Team Leader needs an additional five to ten hours per week to develop content for the Master-Apprentice sessions⁵⁶⁰
- 3. A minimum of two elder/fluent speakers willing to meet four to five days per week for team-based Master-Apprentice sessions⁵⁶¹
- 4. Two to four beginning apprentice speakers whose full-time job is to develop as language learners, teachers, and leaders⁵⁶²
- 5. Ideally, additional staff support for program administration, materials creation, program logistics, etc., equivalent to a half-time position⁵⁶³
- The political or institutional will to commit a significant amount of resources to the development of a small, team-based Master-Apprentice program⁵⁶⁴
- Initially led by the program director, the development of a serious commitment to minimizing the amount of English used within the Master-Apprentice program⁵⁶⁵
- 8. Serious commitment on the part of the apprentices to progress not just as language learners but overall as professionals within the field of language revitalization, with a strong emphasis on teaching⁵⁶⁶

Based on our conviction that we should pursue a modified group approach, we began in

earnest to change over to one in 2014-2015. In the following sections I will contextualize these

⁵⁵⁹ This was supposed to be the role I played, but two significant book projects and my lead responsibilities on Rosetta Stone Chickasaw (Chapter 5) prevented me from fully participating. Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood) became the program manager and de facto lead. His oral proficiency level prevented him from fully implementing the program as designed by Jacob Manatowa-Bailey and modified by CLRP, but he led his team to significant acquisition nevertheless.

⁵⁶⁰ This responsibility shifted to Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood) when I began Rosetta Stone Chickasaw. We have more recently begun to implement our new team-based approach centered on narratives (see below).

⁵⁶¹ We have worked in CAAIP with speakers including the late Jerry Imotichey, Hannah Pitman, Luther John, Virginia Bolen, and Rose Shields Jefferson. Jerry, Luther, and Stan Smith would become our main teachers until Jerry's passing. Now Luther and Stan are our main teachers.
⁵⁶² We began with two and now have three full-time learners in the program.

⁵⁶³ Program manager Teresa Workman provides this essential programmatic support.

⁵⁶⁴ Governor Anoatubby has always been an advocate for our language. He approved our Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program proposal unequivocally.

⁵⁶⁵ I was unable to lead as I had intended (see earlier footnote) but I plan to conduct advanced conversational immersion following the completion of this dissertation and other work on Rosetta Stone Chickasaw.

⁵⁶⁶ Hinton et al., *The Routledge Handbook*, 133.

efforts within our ittonchololi' efforts through Mediated Language Change, and describe in detail the process by which we create a narrative series. I will address the cultural and theoretical motivations for this type of approach, and imagine its future.

Mediated Language Change

MLC is a theoretically informed method by which we try to control language change that comes with any revitalization environment. In the context of CAAIP, MLC can be manifested in several important ways. Given the artificial nature of all language revitalization efforts, MLC applied through anompa shaali' narrative and interaction documentation and analysis, followed by exercises specific to non-standard or incorrect usage patterns, is a powerful interventional tool and an example of mediation in pursuit of survivance and change in pursuit of perseverance—lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi, 'We survive' and Ilachónna'chi, 'We persevere.' We desire for Chikashshanompa' to continue to be a spoken language of daily communication, so we intervene in CAAIP through MLC so anompa shaali' can become communicative and conversational. We also mediate their varieties of Chikashshanompa' so they reflect those of our teachers while allowing natural growth and change. Even then the end result is something we have attempted to cultivate, but in its wildness it will emerge as what it needs to be.

In the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program, MLC is operative in the following ways:

1. As a narrative-based approach, informed by traditional cultural practices, we choose stories that have the essential grammatical features needed by students at suitable points in time. The grammatical underpinning of the project is modified from the scope and sequence of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw (see Chapter 5), which was informed by the described variety and

scope and sequence of Munro and Willmond 2008. These choices, including ones of scope and sequence, the underlying grammatical elements, of narrative and other matters, are functions of MLC in our ittonchololi' context. We choose so that others can grow.

2. The creation of leveled narratives is another manifestation of MLC as we mediate the order and context in which students encounter and acquire new grammatical elements, lexical items, and whole language. The narratives are culturally significant teachings from Posipóngni', and as such they are carefully modified into a format that is accessible and level-appropriate for learners, leading to acquisition of the full, original narratives.

3. MLC motivates our analysis of learner narratives and interactions in the immersion environment. By examining the output of our students, we can determine at any time which features need more attention and design activities to reinforce them. This approach, wherein students are repeatedly exposed to challenging grammatical elements in a variety of wholelanguage situations without overt grammatical instruction, is an extension of traditional education practices in which our Ancestors conveyed essential knowledge in context. Tribal youth, ceremonial initiates, and others learned by observing and doing alongside their mentors.

4. MLC motivates our decisions concerning crafting emerging learner varieties. We are interested in Chikashshanompa' growing and remaining the medium of social interaction in our community. We must constantly balance our need to innovate with the expectations of our speech community, both anomp<u>í</u>'shi', anompa shaali', and the Chickasaw citizenship at large. We ultimately have little control over the varieties that will emerge and take hold, but we attempt to cultivate them every way we can.

Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program (CAAIP)

CAAIP was conceived as a full-time language immersion program for adult learners in response to the relatively low success rates of our traditional MALLP approach. After being piloted in 2015, we added two full-time learners, Chilita (Margeaux Smith) and Iknokchi'to' (Kendra Farve) in 2018, who joined Ofi' (Jason Burwell), a new learner hire during the transitional period leading to CAAIP, and Mahli (Sheina Wind), who is our Curriculum Development Coordinator and who participates regularly in CAAIP sessions. The program design is for twenty hours of instruction a week each year, with learners newly hired every two years. Graduates go on to work in the language program or in the Department of Culture and Humanities in various capacities.

Daily CAAIP sessions are conducted by high-level learners including program manager Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood) and <u>O</u>si' Tohbi' (Brandon White Eagle) with native speakers Im<u>o</u>shi' (Stanley Smith) and Osto (Luther John). A primary emphasis is placed on achieving conversational proficiency in a short time. The daily sessions are combined with independent study, journaling, Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, and grammar-focused activities.

Many later assessments showed a disconnect between native speakers' use of switch reference and discourse markers and adult learners' abilities to use such features productively in conversation. Through our MLC approach we determined to expose the CAAIP students to a variety of switch-reference and discourse-marking features, significantly those most commonly used by our lead masters Imoshi' and Osto. We turned to our Chickasaw Verb narrative corpus and looked for those significant features. To begin converting raw narratives into instructional materials, we chose a personal narrative about cooking frog legs by Foshi' (Virginia Bolen). I will

discuss how we chose this narrative for content, the use of switch reference and discourse markers, and the process of analyzing the text.

Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' - traditional childhood narrative by Virginia Bolen We chose this narrative to modify for a variety of reasons:

1. Its narrator, Virginia Bolen, is a native speaker of Chickasaw, born near Kullihoma (Red Springs), a traditional Chickasaw community east of Ada, Oklahoma, and one of our core Chickasaw Language Committee members.

2. Her variety of Chikashshanompa' (Kullihoma—Happyland area) is under documented.

3. The narrative is natural and humorous, and

4. it contains the switch reference and narrative features that learners need critical repetition of, in order to productively acquire them.

Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' – collection and analysis

Mrs. Bolen offered the frog story, recorded with a Marantz recorder and external microphone, in Chickasaw, with an English gloss, at grant-funded narrative collection workshop in 2015. Initial Chickasaw transcription was done by University of Texas at Arlington graduate student Kimberly Johnson, and second and third pass transcriptions by myself, Mrs. Bolen and Dr. Fitzgerald.

Three versions exist of Mrs. Bolen's narrative:

1. The original, with complex discourse marking and full switch-reference features, told in first person by Mrs. Bolen;

2. an adapted narrative focusing on lexical and phonological variations present in the speech of the narrator presented in third person, adapted by me; and

3. another adapted narrative focusing on discourse markers and simplified switch

reference markers presented in third person, also adapted by me.

Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' – Version One (Original narrative with complex discourse marking and full switch reference features presented in first person)⁵⁶⁷

file:///Users/Lokosh/Desktop/ELAN Overflow Folder/cic-6-2-2015-VirginiaBolenfroglegs-08112016.eaf

Tuesday, November 15, 2016 10:56 AM

A_Transcription-txt-cic Samiittakat i'mahmat saapisa' áana

A_Translation-gls-en When I was young I was at school all day and

A_Transcription-txt-cic obya chokka' onalihmat, Mama aachihmat⁵⁶⁸

A_Translation-gls-en came home in the evening. Mama said,

⁵⁶⁷ This version is presented in ELAN formatting as originally transcribed by Kimberly Johnson, with subsequent work by myself and Dr. Fitzgerald with the narrator Mrs. Virginia Bolen. Transcription and interpretation are an art—do not let anyone tell you differently. And I reserve the right to revisit this transcription at any time and declare it terrible, or fix it—or not. The tiers are presented in their ELAN order: Chikashshanompa' first, then English, then a third tier for comments from Mrs. Bolen. The translation and third-tier notes are from her. I contend that the original text and the subsequent translation are interrelated but independent texts. It seems bilingual native speakers like Mrs. Bolen unconsciously craft distinct narratives that attend to the standards of each respective language, in this case Chikashshanompa', and Mrs. Bolen's particular variety of American Indian English (William Leap, *American Indian English* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993).

http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.lib.ou.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=10444 &site=ehost-live).

⁵⁶⁸ With one exception, Mrs. Bolen ignores subject marking altogether in this narrative, which seems to be an increasingly common feature among other native speakers when the subject in its canonical, far-left position. Mama aachihmat vs. Mama-at aachihmat. See Morgan, 'Learner Varieties.'

A_Participant-note-en Virginia wanted to say ishki' instead of mama⁵⁶⁹

A_Transcription-txt-cic **'Chimpapa hoyyani'mat abit ishtalahmat ishhopoona'** biika?'

A_Translation-gls-en 'Your papa, he killed a frog and brought it in. Can you cook it?'

A_Participant-note-en chim chiinki' instead of chim papa and chunti instead of hoyyani'570

A_Transcription-txt-cic ' [i,' aashlito.⁵⁷¹

A_Translation-gls-en 'yes,' I said.

A_Transcription-txt-cic Yahmihmat 'Kat<u>i</u>sht ishhopooni?' imasithhali.

A_Translation-gls-en Then I turned and asked her, 'How do you cook it?'

A_Transcription-txt-cic Sashki' aachihmat

A_Translation-gls-en My mother said,

⁵⁶⁹ Mrs. Bolen, like many native speakers, freely uses borrow words from English in her speech but objects to examples in isolation or analysis.

⁵⁷⁰ I think Mrs. Bolen's edit is suggesting chinki', 'your father,' rather than chimpapa, both of which follow Chikashshanompa' phonological rules for dative affix im- 'his, hers, its, theirs.' See Munro and Willmond, *Let's Speak Chickasaw*. Mrs. Bolen's word hoyyani' is a variant of hoyo'kni' / hoyokni', 'frog, toad,' but in transciption she said she should have said ch<u>o</u>'ti', 'frog.' We have recorded all her comments in the third tier, but wanted to stay faithful to her first, spontaneous performance of this narrative in our session work.

⁵⁷¹ Mrs. Bolen regularly omits the final 'k' in relative past tense -tok and in general does not use remote past tense -ttook.

A_Transcription-txt-cic 'Tilo'ko' hapi' homma' losa' moma ishonashaachi.'

A_Translation-gls-en 'Flour it, put salt and black pepper on it

A_Transcription-txt-cic Yahmihmat

A_Transcription-txt-cic **'Awaatalichihmat niha' yamma palli makilla.'** A_Translation-gls-en And you've got to fry it and the oil has to be hot.'

A_Transcription-txt-cic 'Mi,' aashlihmat. Aksaasht tahli.

A_Translation-gls-en 'Okay,' I said. So I fixed it all up

A_Transcription-txt-cic Niha' pallit tahma

A_Translation-gls-en When the oil was all hot,

A_Transcription-txt-cic hoyyani' iyyobi'mat okaa-ashaashli.

A_Translation-gls-en I put the frog in the hot oil.

A_Participant-note-en Virginia wanted to say chunti instead of hoyyani'

A_Transcription-txt-cic i'ma amaami'aashoot aboochaffo'ma binni'li.

A_Translation-gls-en My mother is sitting in the other room

A_Participant-note-en sashki' instead of amaami'

A_Transcription-txt-cic Yammat aabínni'likat

A_Translation-gls-en from where she's sitting

A_Transcription-txt-cic nanna aahopoonilikat pisa' biikato.

A_Translation-gls-en she can see me where I'm cooking.

A_Transcription-txt-cic Yahmihmat ántalihmat

A_Translation-gls-en So, when I was there

A_Transcription-txt-cic 'Hmm nipi'ma nona iklannootko,

A_Translation-gls-en 'Hmm, because the meat's half cooked,

A_Transcription-txt-cic ootofililichi makilla' aashli.A_Translation-gls-en I've got to turn it over,' I said (to myself).

A_Transcription-txt-cic **Chofaak ma oot**<u>í</u>**'shli. Pitbaafali'chikat** A_Translation-gls-en I got the fork. And I poked it in there and A_Transcription-txt-cic hoyyani' iyyi' mat halalli.

A_Translation-gls-en the frog leg jerked.

A_Participant-note-en cho'ti' instead of hoyyani'

A_Transcription-txt-cic Maafka pat halallina yakohmikat 'Aaaaa!' A Translation-gls-en About that time, the frog leg jerked. 'Aaaa!'

A_Transcription-txt-cic aashaash sha' píilla pitmallili.

A_Translation-gls-en And I jumped way over there.

A_Transcription-txt-cic Mama'ashoot ooollali,⁵⁷²

A_Translation-gls-en Mama just laughed,

A_Transcription-txt-cic ollali salamikaash sahashiili.

A_Translation-gls-en she laughed so much she made me mad.

A_Transcription-txt-cic 'Katihmih chiksamano'lokoto yahmihchika'ni?'

⁵⁷² Ollali is the verb for 'to laugh' but here we have transcribed a triple-long ooollali, Mrs. Bolen's way of expressing an intense sort of laughter.

A_Translation-gls-en 'Why didn't you tell me this was going to happen?'

A_Transcription-txt-cic **'Oh, ishnaako kanihsh ishhopoonikat pisa** sabannatok,' aashto.

A_Translation-gls-en 'Oh, I just wanted to see how you(emph) cooked it,' she said.

A_Transcription-txt-cic Ántalihmat nonasht tahli

A_Transcription-txt-cic hoyyani' nipi' mat apas chokmookyat

A_Translation-gls-en the frog's meat tastes good but,

A_Participant-note-en chunti instead of poyoni

A_Transcription-txt-cic illakasaat nannakya chimanoli ki'yo.

A_Translation-gls-en nobody tells you nothing.

A_Transcription-txt-cic Yahmikya ishithana'chi kanihsh ishhopoonika.

A_Translation-gls-en No matter what, you are going to learn how to cook.

A_Transcription-txt-cic Makilla.

A_Translation-gls-en That's all.

Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' – Version Two (simple third-person retelling)

Foshi'at himittattook. 'Bird was young.' Holissaapisa' ántattook. 'She was at school.' Chokka' onattook. 'She got to her house.' Foshi' inki'at hoyyani' abittook. 'Bird's father killed some frogs.' Foshi'at hoyyani' iyyi'a tilo'ko' hapi' homma' losa' onashaachittook. 'Bird covered the frog legs with flour, salt, and pepper.' Hoyyani' iyyi' ma niha' palli' okaabohlittook. 'She put the frog legs in the hot oil.' Nipi' mat nona iklannattook. 'The meat was half done.' Foshi'at chofaak í'shittook. 'Bird took a fork.' Nipi' ma baafattook. 'She poked the meat.' Hoyyani' iyyi'at halallittook! 'The frog leg jerked!' Foshi'at 'AAAAAAAAAA!' tasahlittook. 'Bird yelled 'AAAAAAAAAAAAA!'' Milla. 'That's it.'

Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' – versions two and three comparison (addition of discourse markers and switch reference features, changes in italics)

(Version 2)
Foshi'at himittattook.
'Bird was young.'
Holissaapisa' ántattook.
'She was at school.'
Chokka' onattook.
'She got to her house.'
Foshi' inki'at hoyyani' abittook.
'Bird's father killed some frogs.'

(Version 3) *Chiiki mishaash* Foshi'at himittattook. 'Long ago Bird was young.' Holissaapisa' ánta*cha* obya chokka' ona*hm<u>a</u>* Foshi' inki'at hoyyani' abi*hchaa*ttook.

'She was at school and at evening time when she got to her house Bird's father had killed some frogs.'

(Version 2)

Nipi' mat nona iklannattook. 'The meat was half done.' Foshi'at chofaak <u>i</u>'shittook. 'Bird took a fork.' Nipi' ma baafattook. 'She poked the meat.' Hoyyani' iyyi'at halallittook! 'The frog leg jerked!' Foshi'at 'AAAAAAAAAA!' tasahlittook. 'Bird yelled 'AAAAAAAAAAA!'.' Milla. 'That's it.'

(Version 3)

Yahmimat nipi' mat nona iklanna*hm<u>a</u>* Foshi'at chofaak <u>í</u>'sh*cha* nipi' m<u>a</u> baafattook.

'When the meat was half done Bird took a fork and she poked the meat.' Baafahma hoyyani' iyyi'at halallittook!

'When she poked it the frog leg jerked!'

Foshi'at 'AAAAAAAAAA' tasahli, hoyyani' iyyi'at halallittookma.

'When the frog legs jerked Bird yelled 'AAAAAAAAAAA!'.'

Milla.

'That's it.'

Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program Process

Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' – Vocabulary Acquisition

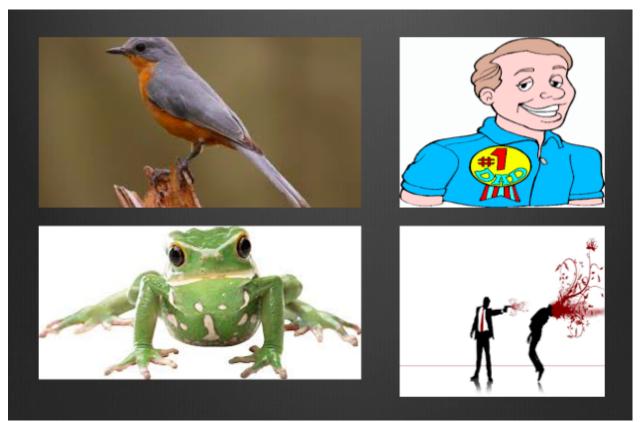


Figure 223: Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood), Hoyyani' Iyyi' 'Frog Legs' vocabulary, 2015.

Vocabulary acquisition for CAAIP is image based. In this case (Figure 223) CAAIP manager Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood) chose four images for the first portion of the Hoyyani' lyyi' narrative: foshi',⁵⁷³ inki',⁵⁷⁴ ch<u>o</u>'ti',⁵⁷⁵ and abi.⁵⁷⁶ These lexical items are acquired through visual reinforcement in multiple contexts, using a variety of input strategies.

After successfully acquiring the vocabulary, CAAIP participants work through the story,

⁵⁷³ 'Bird' (Virginia's name).

^{574 &#}x27;Father.'

^{575 &#}x27;Frog.'

^{576 &#}x27;To kill.'

beginning with the Level Two version (simple third-person retelling). The narrative is

introduced in this form, again with use of visual prompts acting as mnemonic devices so CAAIP

participants can accurately retell the respective version competently and confidently. The

process continues into the Level Three version which incorporates narrative devices and switch-

reference features. At the end of this process, the CAAIP staff continue to circle both versions

through a retelling in three persons, enabling CAAIP participants to encounter multiple

repetitions of critical features including markers in first and second persons:

Foshi'at himittattook. 'Bird was young.' Holissaapisa' ántattook. 'She was at school.'

*Chi*himittattook. 'You were young.' Holissaapisa' *ish*ántattook. 'You were at school.'

*Sa*himittattook. 'I was young.' Holissaapisa' ánta*li*ttook. 'I was at school.'

Yahmihmat nipi' mat nona iklannahm<u>a</u> Foshi'at chofaak <u>í</u>'shcha nipi' m<u>a</u> baafattook.

'When the meat was half done Bird took a fork and she poked the meat.' Yahmihmat nipi' mat nona iklannahm<u>a</u> chofaak *ish*<u>í</u>'shcha nipi' m<u>a</u> *ish*baafattook.

'When the meat was half done you took a fork and you poked the meat.' Yahmihmat nipi' mat nona iklannahm<u>a</u> chofaak <u>í</u>'sh*l*icha nipi' m<u>a</u> baafa*li*ttook. 'When the meat was half done I took a fork and I poked the meat.'

Following the first-, second-, and third-person retelling activities (which can take a week

or more before all participants become comfortable with additional features and content),

CAAIP staff utilizes Teaching Proficiency with Reading and Storytelling (TPRS) circling strategies

to reinforce critical question words and force communication with the program participants:

Foshi'at himittattook. 'Bird was young.'

Katahaat himittattook? Foshi'. 'Who was young? Bird.'

Hoyyani' iyyi' ma niha' palli' okaabohlittook. 'She put the frog legs in the hot oil.'

Nanta hopoonittook? Hoyyani' iyyi'. 'What did she cook? Frog legs.'

Chiiki mishaash Foshi'at himittattook. 'Long ago Bird was young.'

Katihkaash hopoonittook? Chiiki mishaash, himittakat <u>i</u>'mattookmat. 'When did she cook? Long ago, when she was still young.'

Chokka' onattook. 'She got to her house.'

Hoyyani' iyyi' ma niha' palli' okaabohlittook. 'She put the frog legs in the hot oil.'

Katekta hoyyani' iyyi' aahopoonittook? Inchokka'ko aahopoonittook. 'Where did she cook the frog legs? She cooked them at her house.'

Haatok<u>o</u> <u>i</u>mama-at Foshi'at hoyyani'aash<u>o</u> <u>i</u>hopoona'ni banna. 'So her mother wanted Bird to cook those frogs for (her father).'

Katihmit Foshi'at hoyyani' iyyi' hopoonittook? <u>I</u>mama-at bannattookootok<u>o</u> hopoonittook.

'Why did Bird cook frog legs? Because her mama wanted her to.'

After all CAAIP participants can confidently tell the target story in first, second, and third

persons (in past tense) without the mnemonic image devices, CAAIP staff move on to the next

narrative in the curriculum and begin the process again. Following completion of a narrative

set, learner recordings and assessments are analyzed to confirm acquisition of the grammatical

features we focused on, and to confirm that anompa shaali' are productively using these features as they communicate with other anompa shaali' and anomp<u>í</u>'shi'. We can revisit a narrative sequence or build more activities into the new narrative sequence if deemed necessary. We regularly strive to reach a balance of 75 percent new material and 25 percent review material, and to balance linguistic correctness with functional communication.

Theoretical motivations for this methodological approach

The approach of the CAAIP is motivated by our desires to create communicative speakers and to expand our rapidly shrinking speech community. We approach this work through our concepts of survivance and perseverance and the spirit of Chikashsha Poya and Iláyya'sha katihma. MLC is the manifestation of our will to keep Chikashshanompa' living, dynamic, and active, and our speech is the outpouring of that will. This is not to say this approach is not guided by other motivations, including theoretical ones emerging from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) approaches incorporated into Indigenous second-language learning (ISLL) approaches.

Dr. Hinton has discussed the Master Apprentice Language Learning Program as an approach rather than a method *per se*. The approach is based on sound second-language acquisition theory, and incorporates multiple acquisition methods, but it is not in and of itself a method (Hinton 2001, et. al. 2002). The theoretical basis of MALLP is found in Krashen's Input Hypothesis, also known as the Monitor Hypothesis / Model. Krashen proposed five hypotheses that are addressed under the singular Monitor Hypothesis / Model. The input hypothesis holds that language acquisition occurs when the input a learner receives is comprehensible and just

past their current level of acquisition (i + 1, or ci + 1).⁵⁷⁷

Krashen's definition of learning versus acquisition is also applicable to MALLP, wherein learning is knowing consciously the rules of grammar, or the linguistic code, while acquisition is a subconscious process by which the code is accessed. His Monitor hypothesis holds that learning, or the consciousness of the rules of the linguistic code, cannot be anything more than a monitor of a given spoken utterance, and that these conscious rules cannot be used in speech. Only acquired language set firmly in the subconscious can be productively used. Acquisition of language occurs when the linguistic input is comprehensible, just past the current level of the learner's ability, in an environment wherein the affective filter (e.g., stress) is low. Only then can the learner, when ready, produce natural speech flowing from the subconscious.⁵⁷⁸

Krashen's Compelling input theory holds that input must be comprehensible, interesting, and compelling. Compelling input moves past interest, and holds the learner in a 'flow state' wherein he or she becomes unaware that the input is in another language.⁵⁷⁹ In CAAIP we address compelling input through careful selection of narratives for additional development, our daily practice of storytelling including elaborations for interest, and through careful application of the novel Rosetta Stone Chickasaw videos outside the immersion environment.

⁵⁷⁷ Stephen D. Krashen, *Principles and Practice in second Language Acquisition,* (Oxford: Bergamon Press, 1982): 11-32.

⁵⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁷⁹ Stephen Krashen. 'The compelling (not just interesting) input hypothesis.' *The English Connection* 15, no. 3 (2011): 1. Also accessible at:

http://www.sdkrashen.com/content/articles/the_compelling_input_hypothesis.pdf

Another theoretical foundation of MALLP is Lee and Van Patton's Communicative Competence theory, which holds that full linguistic competence (accurate, near-native knowledge of the language and highly accurate use of complex forms) is not the goal.⁵⁸⁰ Rather, communication in culturally appropriate times, places, and manners is therein considered the goal of acquisition. MALLP holds rigorously to this standard. In MALLP programs nationwide the goal is real communication with sympathetic native speakers, not native-level production. The message can be communicated even if the words are imperfect. In our own CAAIP we first desire to communicate, and secondly to do so in ways that anomp<u>i</u>'shi' consider right, correct, and appropriate. We desire native-level production intensely, but not at the expense of our efforts to valorize anompa shaali' and their achievements. Native-level production is an idealized horizon we strive toward every day.⁵⁸¹

A fundamental method of MALLP is Asher 1994, Total Physical Response (TPR), wherein language is acquired through listening and doing without emphasis on speech especially before the apprentice / learner is ready to produce any. TPR and its offshoot TPRS (Teaching Proficiency Through Reading and Storytelling) have proven successful and popular in MALLP programs nationwide, as well as in public and private school settings where non-endangered languages are taught. TPR / TPRS were the base methods for the Chickasaw language classes

⁵⁸⁰ James F. Lee and Bill VanPatten, *Making Communicative Language Teaching Happen* (2nd ed.) (Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003).

⁵⁸¹ Native-level production in our context means being fully bilingual, flowing, communicative, and culturally appropriate, and handling code-switching, turn-taking, correction, and other communicative strategies that our anomp<u>í</u>'shi' employ. We reject the idealized monolingual speaker. That person does not exist.

conducted at Byng High School in 2010 – 2011 and are heavily incorporated into the CAAIP.⁵⁸²

Other approaches include target language linguistic elicitation, wherein learners acquire a base set of 'survival phrases' they can use to elicit additional details, language, ask questions, and otherwise maintain the immersion environment without resorting to English.⁵⁸³ We use these in circling story details for all learners. Chikasha Academy's narrative approach is both comprehensible and compelling, based on story content, relationships with speakers, and a leveled approach to acquisition that leads to comprehensibility.

Outcomes

Our preliminary analysis revealed that after more than 100 hours of working with Leveled narratives 1 and 2, anompa shaali' could retell both narratives with 80 percent accuracy. Anompa shaali' acquired the features (albeit imperfectly), and used them productively in their speech. Challenges in the immersion environment included speaker variations that changed lexemes during working sessions, or varied from the original narrative, or subtracted and added affixes (seemingly on a daily basis), and variations on features like rhythmic lengthening and –li deletion, all of which caused confusion for learners.⁵⁸⁴ Challenges aside, they became more proficient speakers of Chikashshanompa', and we honor their efforts.

Upcoming targets include development of leveled narratives from native speaker and

 ⁵⁸² James J. Asher, *Learning another language through actions: The complete teacher's guidebook* (7th edition), (Los Gatos: Sky Oak Productions, 2009).
 ⁵⁸³ Hinton et. al. 2002, 10-12.

⁵⁸⁴ This is a fundamental problem while working with story material captured from speakers other than those directly working in the immersion environment. Mrs. Bolen, with the exception of a few short months, has not participated in CAAIP immersion sessions. Her variety of Chikashshanompa' can be quite different from Mr. John's, but not incomprehensibly so.

CAAIP master Osto (Luther John). Our focus in part will be on the discourse markers and switch-reference features shared by Mrs. Bolen and Mr. John. We will address the issues from the first story by building upon Osto's narratives. The speakers who work most closely with CAAIP have little variation in their speech at the lexeme level. Core program speakers do have some variation in their handling of switch-reference features, but we will defer to Mr. John, whose handling of rhythmic lengthening, remote paste tense, and –li deletion is essentially as in the described variety. In a real sense, the base emergent learner varieties emerge from the varieties of our teachers. Our efforts to mediate tension between the described variety and Osto's, for example, are minimal.

The Future of CAAIP

The creation of our narrative curriculum approach was motivated by the efforts of the Salish School of Spokane, Paul Creek Language Association, Nselxcin Curriculum project, http://www.interiorsalish.com/nselxcincurriculum.html as used by S?ímla?x^w Michele Johnson, PhD, and the Syilx Language House in Penticton, British Columbia, Canada, and its modifications by the Adult Salish Language Program under the direction of Chaney Bell on the Flathead Indian Reservation in Montana. The curricular approach and its modifications are designed to bring new learners to an Intermediate Mid oral proficiency level, enabling them to effectively engage with native speakers. That is accomplished through consistent application of the Nselxcin Curriculum method, working through all six textbooks, with native-speaker led immersion

sessions and extensive language transcription over four years and constituting 2,000 hours.⁵⁸⁵

We conducted an in-depth examination of the Nselxcin Curriculum as modified by the Adult Salish Language Program in Montana. Using some of their base Salish narratives, we translated them into Chikashshanompa', and acquired them using their immersion and circling techniques. Using the oral narratives of another nation is potentially problematic, so we considered a more deliberate approach of using our Chikashsha oral narratives. Ayowa' (Dr. Juliet Morgan), Osi' Tohbi' (Brandon White Eagle), and Itti' Okchamali' (Ric Greenwood) and I traveled to Billings, Montana, in summer 2019 to see the modified Nselxcin Curriculum in use by students of the Adult Salish Language Program. We spent two days observing, asking questions of leadership including Chaney Bell, the lead teachers in the program, its students and native speakers including Stephen Small Salmon, a Pend d'Oreille tribal member and native speaker from the Flathead Reservation.

During a series of meetings there we decided to modify the scope and sequence of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw as the underlying grammatical architecture of our CAAIP approach. We discussed our particular responsibilities in the CAAIP environment, and set a production schedule for the upcoming fiscal year. We also discussed in detail our strategies to modify our narratives to work efficiently in this new CAAIP approach.

Emerging from this visit to Montana and internal discussions are documents guiding vocabulary acquisition, narrative acquisition, and the daily and weekly schedules for CAAIP in fiscal year 2020. We intend on meeting Monday through Thursday, 8:30 a.m. to 3 p.m.,

⁵⁸⁵ S?ímla?xw Michele K. Johnson, 'Syilx Language House: How and Why We Are Delivering 2,000 Decolonizing Hours in Nsyilxcn,' *Canadian Modern Language Review* 73, no. 4 (November 2017): 509-537.

beginning in October 2019. The first document is a series of 45 lessons with vocabulary words and sentence examples taken from Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One, taught entirely with images and circling activities and games, akin to 'N'səlxcin 1: A beginning course in Okanagan Salish.'⁵⁸⁶ The Rosetta Stone Chickasaw videos and associated lessons serve in this context as both a preloading and post-lesson reinforcement activity. The second document is a series of twenty stories with vocabulary derived from Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One. Each story has from thirty to forty sentences, and is taught in immersion exclusively with images and circling activities and games, again inspired by 'Capt' Ikwł 1: Okanagan stories for beginners.'⁵⁸⁷

Following these first two documents, we intend to create six more workbooks of Chikashshanompa' narratives with images, lexical items and exercises, extensive wholelanguage examples, and significant exercises for group and individual work. The eight-workbook series will make up the CAAIP basic curriculum, with plans for more advanced narrative workbooks for highly proficient anompa shaali'. All eight core workbooks and the supplementary narrative versions will include audio, either web-based or on a CD or drive. We hope this careful, measured, and thoughtful approach to CAAIP will prove as fruitful as it was for the many Salish groups in the United States and Canada.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I provided an overview of the Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP or MAP) as originally designed by Hinton et. al, in response to the

 ⁵⁸⁶ Johnson, 'Syilx Language House,' 513. We estimate our version will take 120 hours to complete, whereas Johnson estimated 90 hours of instruction to complete 45 lessons.
 ⁵⁸⁷ We estimate our approach will take 100-120 hours to complete. Johnson estimated that it took 100 hours to complete their first volume of stories. Ibid.

endangerment of California native languages. I then discussed the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program's experience with MALLP over eight years, including our outcomes, successes, and failures. I contrasted our experience with that of the Sauk Language Program, tracing its development under the direction of Jacob Manatowa-Bailey from 2005 to the present. I emphasized their amazing outcomes, largely as an outgrowth of contact hours in a no-English environment and reflected on their program design in contrast to our modified CAAIP approach.

I then re-presented Mediated Language Change as mediation in pursuit of survivance and change in pursuit of perseverance, contextualized in our CAAIP environment. I examined MLC at work in CAAIP in four contexts:

1. narrative-based approach and choice of underlying grammatical architecture,

2. the creation of leveled narratives,

3. the analyses of learner narratives and the design of interventional activities, and

4. our efforts to cultivate emerging learner varieties.

I then described in detail the 'frog legs' narrative from Foshi' (Virginia Bolen) and the creation of two-leveled, third-person past-tense narratives. I then discussed the process of acquisition in our CAAIP approach and described in detail the activities used to help learners acquire the features of the story and the story itself.

I then discussed the theoretical motivations for this methodological approach, including Chikashsha conceptions of survivance, perseverance, Mediated Language Change, and approaches from Second Language Acquisition and Indigenous second-language learning approaches. I further outlined the outcomes of our preliminary work with the 'frog legs' story and detailed our plans for CAAIP as we expand our Salish- and Sauk-inspired narrative approach.

Chapter Nine: Nittak fokha'chikm<u>a</u> Chikashsha alhihaat Chikashshanompola'chitaa? (In the future will the Chikashsha speak Chikashshanompa'?): The Future of the Chickasaw Language

Writing about the future of Chikashshanompa' is so self-indulgent. Who knows what our descendants will do with what we have left for them? I don't. I'm not a hopayi', that's not my job. What I know is that my job, and our job, is to cultivate the ittonchololi' that emerge from our tibi kolofa'. The Chikashsha people of the future will have to decide what they do with this blessing, and this burden.

Lokosh 8 September 2019

This dissertation, including its research, is antanap nannanoli', yammako hachimanolili, 'This is my story, this thing I am telling you all,' composed of two intertwining narratives, of naatanna', 'something woven,' that Kari Chew spoke about in her dissertation, the 'metaphor of finger weaving [that represents] the process of ensuring language continuance over generations.'⁵⁸⁸ One is a narrative of personal development as an anompa shaali' (language carrier) of Chikashshanompa', wherein I became a speaker of Chikashshanompa'. The second is a narrative of group development as anompa ibaashaali' (co-language carriers), wherein we undertook what is as of this writing a twelve-year quest to bring Chikashshanompa' back to prominence among our people.

I recount this story, as did my male Chikashsha Ancestors, while others stand with me to corroborate my claims. These individuals, Chikashsha and otherwise, testify that what I have done, that what we have done, as I represent it here, is truthful. Akloshko, 'I do not lie.' They testify that the critical frameworks I represent here are valid, derived from the Indigenous research paradigm that is the lived Chikashsha life. The assembled—my tribal community as a

⁵⁸⁸ Chew, 'Chikashshanompa'', 217.

whole, my speech community, my academic community, my immediate and extended family—they all determine whether what I have written on these pages is truthful, and they bestow my war name on me. Sometimes our war names manifest as 'BA,' 'MA,' 'PhD,' or 'Dr.' These are different times, so perhaps I will remain Lokosh in the absence of another, superior name, but with PhD added at the end.

I have attempted to push this research outside the bounds of Western thought and research, not by rejecting those traditions but by crafting a project out of my cultural context, as an Indigenous research paradigm that grows from our Chikashsha community. I have attempted to make connections as they occur between our Chikashsha experience and other, non-Chikashsha communities of thought and practice, Indigenous and otherwise. But largely this has been my attempt to craft a bilingual Chikashsha narrative through the practice of Chikashsha asilhlha. I embraced a subjective, personal, poetic, Chikashsha approach in order to counter the pressures of 'objective' Western researches. I have written in select passages much as I speak, a voice of one Chikashsha person who learned his language and shared it with anyone who would listen. I am not entirely sure I was successful, but I tried.

In Chapter Two I examined the diminution of Chikashshanompa' through the lives of my female Chikashsha Ancestors, from the powerful itti' it once was to the remaining ancestral root stock, the tibi kolofa' of the 1970s. I tried to contextualize the violence done to Chikashshanompa' and the terrible choices that our Ancestors were forced to make to remain Chikashsha in a changing world.

In Chapter Three I attempted as best as I could to provide a critical Chikashsha theory of survivance and perseverance as manifest in Chikashsha poya – 'We are Chikashsha,' lilhak<u>ó</u>ffi –

'We survive,' Ilachónna'chi – 'We persevere,' and Iláyya'sha katihma – 'We are still here.' Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihmakat Ihak<u>ó</u>ffit ilachónna'chi bílli'ya'shki – 'We are Chikashsha, we are still here and, having survived, we will persevere forever.' I detailed the powerful acts that our Ancestors performed, mediating their changing world in order to survive, and changing in order to persevere. Doing so allowed our Ancestors, and us, to maintain our Chikashsha identity in the face of interminable odds.

I then described ittonchololi' - a Chikashsha framework for language loss and revitalization. Deriving from the word ittonchololi' meaning 'new growth on a tree,' I crafted this metaphor for our nation's experience with language loss and revitalization from ancestral metaphors for the Chikashsha people and Chikashshiyaakni', as conveyed by Itti' Aaomba' Levi Colbert to the United States at the failed treaty negotiations of 1826. He spoke of the nation as a metaphorical itti' 'tree' in three instances, the first as 'an old tree', the second as a 'tree of the forest', and the third as a 'fruitful tree.' He argued in deep, rich, cultural metaphors that 'an old tree' would not be able to survive transplantation, that a 'tree of the forest' could be a 'fruitful tree' if cultivated and tended to in its native place. By extension he argued the same for his people, who desired nothing more than to remain in their native place, because '[Though] poor for money . . . we love our lands better.'⁵⁸⁹

I built on this powerful image-metaphor and envisioned Chikashshanompa' as a great, majestic, ancient tree of the forest, reduced by violence, forced removal, forcible education, extensive cultural loss, and economic and political disparities. Our once-powerful itti' had become tibi kolofa' at the simultaneous nadir of Chikashshanompa' and nascence of its

⁵⁸⁹ 'Refusal of the Chickasaws.'

revitalization. The ancestral root stock still lived, though greatly diminished, and our people were becoming more aware of it.

Ittonchololi', sprouting from the ancestral rootstock of tibi kolofa', is the flush of new growth that constitutes our revitalization. The cultural framework of Chikashshanompa' is a metaphorical tibi kolofa' bursting with new growth (forms of life for Chikashshanompa') that comes fully alive as ittonchololi'. We, the Chikashsha people, are much the same. From the root stock of Posipóngni',⁵⁹⁰ we spring forth, putting out new shoots, growing back, sprouting— Ishtilaaonchololi – 'We sprout from them', Ishtaaonchololi' poya – 'We are their descendants.'

I then position the entirety of this research as a traditional war narrative, tanap nannan<u>o</u>li', followed by an examination of the theoretical and critical frameworks derived from Second Language Acquisition (SLA) and Indigenous Second Language Learning (ISSL). I then outlined briefly the dissertations and theses that most informed the present research.

Following this I outlined Mediated Language Change (MLC), positioning it as a theoretically informed method and set of processes by which we consciously control, to some degree, language change that comes with any revitalization environment. I laid out the motivations for MLC taken from Chikashsha theories of survivance and perseverance. I demonstrated that this form of mediation is simply an extension of long-held cultural practices—mediation for survivance and change for perseverance—that enabled Chikashshanompa' to remain living, active, and fundamentally Chikashsha. I examined MLC from a variety of perspectives, including underlying beliefs, tensions inherent in the process,

⁵⁹⁰ 'Our Ancestors.'

MLC in its fuller cultural and political contexts, MLC as a toolbox and its application, and the goals of the MLC process.

I then outlined the Chikashsha asilhlha research methodology developed for my 2007 master's thesis and later adopted by Kari Chew in her 2016 doctoral dissertation. I demonstrated its connections to greater international Indigenous thought, namely Wilson's 'Indigenist Research Paradigm,' a transformative model for me. I then discussed my operative definition of autoethnography, a methodological approach that underpins most of the present research, and Chikashsha-specific modifications I made to that approach.

In Chapter Four I presented a language autobiography of sorts, being a broad narrative about my development as second-language learner of Chikashshanompa', intertwined with descriptions of significant persons, including my language teachers, and program initiatives over the past twenty years. I also traced my conversational proficiency, and later more fully explicated my acquisition of Chikashshanompa' in Chapter Six.

In Chapter Five I examined the forms of life—ittonchololi'—emerging from the ancestral rootstock of tibi kolofa'. I identified two related, complementary and often co-occurring categories: enrichment products and learning-focused products of our revitalization efforts. I described branding and marketing tools including logos, shirts, and hats co-developed with Ryan RedCorn. I also examined in considerable detail the multiple flash card sets we made with Ryan and his Buffalo Nickel Press staff. I examined the language channel we created with Ackerman McQueen and the various content types available at www.chickasaw.tv/language / and www.chickasawlanguage.com. I also examined our first new-media language education effort, the iOS ANOMPA Chickasaw Basic application and its companion website

chickasaw.net/anompa, where its web application is housed. I described its development, application, and ongoing use as a free tool for language acquisition.

The remainder of Chapter Five was devoted to examining Chickasaw Press and Rosetta Stone Chickasaw. I contextualized Chickasaw Press as an act of sovereignty growing from Chikashsha anompoli, 'Chikashsha speech,' and Chikashsha holissochi, 'Chikashsha writing.' I traced products of Chickasaw Press as an outgrowth of our oral traditions, provided a survey of narrative types, and described the Chickasaw Verb documentation grant and our efforts to use that incredible archive of tribal oratory in learner-focused projects. I then discussed in detail a group of language-specific titles we produced in collaboration with Chickasaw Press, positioning these titles as a new form of life for Chikashshanompa', emerging as ittonchololi' from tibi kolofa'.

To end the chapter I traced the developmental history of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw and our motivations for pursuing our partnership with them. I described in detail the development of the scope and sequence and the process of developing the video scripts with the members of the Chickasaw Rosetta Stone subcommittee, composed entirely of native speakers of Chickasaw. I then described the structure of the product itself, including the 'Introductory' video, 'Vocabulary,' 'Usage intro,' 'Usage,' 'Usage practice,' 'Reading aloud,' 'Writing practice,' and 'Test' components. I discussed the content arc of the full 160-lesson product, and examined the role that Chikashsha narratives played in the final two levels. I then discussed learner reception of the product and concluded with a contextualization of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw in our broader ittonchololi' context.

In Chapter Six I examined the role of our language in my creative production, including two-dimensional art, my language journaling practice, and use of Facebook, Instagram, and Twitter. Chikashshanompa' is integral in all these creative efforts as a motivation for creating and a process of creation. These highly personal forms of ittonchololi' are evidences, in part, of my journey to speakerhood.

In Chapter Seven I examined the process by which we expanded the Chikashshanompa' lexicon, which had ceased to grow among the last generation of native speakers born in the 1940s and 1950s. I detailed the nature of the problem, explained the need for new words in our community, and provided the history of how we came to coin anompa himitta' with the Chickasaw Language Committee. I recounted the process by which we examined old neologisms with the language committee, explored our ancestor's tools for lexical innovation and how, when presented with the options of borrowing from English or a related language like Choctaw, or creating new words, the committee chose to innovate and thereby mediate the changes in Chikashshanompa' and its domains, in pursuit of survivance.

In Chapter Eight I examined in depth the development of the CAAIP that grew from traditional MALLP approaches, and related our experiences with the Sauk Language Program's modified group approach and the Salish narrative-based approach. I detailed our early efforts at MALLP and examined possible reasons why our success rate was relatively low. I discussed our initial forays into a modified group approach and described how we used a Chikashsha narrative for our strategy. I explained our approach to development, assessment, and language variety mediations as outgrowths of our Mediated Language Change approach. I examined the

theoretical and cultural motivations for our group language-acquisition efforts and our MLC approach. I concluded the chapter with a discussion of plans to implement a narrative-based workbook series for CAAIP.

The dual narratives that I have described in this research and summarized above are records of what we have done: we have reclaimed, and continue reclaiming, Chikashshanompa' in its fullness. Out of nanninokshoopa – 'fear,' morphing into ihollo – 'love,' and nannanhi – 'hope,' we picked up what those first revitalizationists left us and walked forward with it. We do everything we can to ensure that all Chikashsha people, regardless of where they live, have access to their language.

In 1913 Chickasaw governor emeritus William Malcolm Guy drafted a letter to Czarina Conlon (Choctaw-Chickasaw), the archivist for the Oklahoma Historical Society, for inclusion in a time capsule to be opened one hundred years later in 2013 (Figure 224).⁵⁹¹ The letter begins with Governor Guy's personal history of birth, education, military service during the American Civil War, and his return to Indian Country to lead the Chickasaw Nation from 1886 to 1888.

He turns to his future readers for the rest of the letter, defining his legacy as one in which he gave 'time, money, and influence for the education and advancement of my native people.'⁵⁹² He expresses great pride in his Chikashsha people and their 'love of peace and

⁵⁹¹ This time capsule, sealed at the First English Lutheran Church of Oklahoma City on 22 April 1913, was opened on Monday, 22 April 2013. https://www.okhistory.org/kids/centurychest, accessed 23 October, 2019.

⁵⁹² William Malcolm Guy, 'Letter to Czarina Conlon, April 19, 1913' (Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, OK), M2013.133.006.

education.'⁵⁹³ He concludes with what he hopes will be the product of his legacy in the eyes

of his readers one hundred years hence:

My life's work will end with my humble service to aid the children and unfortunate of my tribe and I devoutly pray that the representatives of the living one hundred years hence, will be in full enjoyment of the civilization and advancement that I have always stood for and longed so much to see my people reach.⁵⁹⁴

Sulphur Okla April 19th 191 Mrs branna b, bon Oklahoma the Brickasaws have that the proneers in the civilization dear Mrs bonlan; This Country, have never been rules or atement for e requesting and up to every treaty place in the cheat mention & beg to pary; them and the Government native of this Country States, and made a record t will be always a monument in fore of peace and education, Boggy Dehot 1845, in the schools of The educate in school in the state umble service to aid the chu miss. and unfortunate of my tribe deroutly fixay that the repre answered The call arms m Confederate army in 1861 the living one hundred the through the war, at the close of will be in full enjoyment war, returned to my mative country. elected Governor og was have always stood for and longed much to be my heards reach, With kindest personal regards to you I am nation. in 1886 and served m capacity for two years those who may read this word eling in 2013, I can only say Sincerely yours Sing William Malcolm Guy my mile in the added the for influence money and education and advancement native people. I pride in of my

Figure 224: William Malcolm Guy, letter to Czarina Conlon, April 19, 1913. Oklahoma Historical Society, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. M2013.133.006.

A copy of his letter is on display at the Holisso Center for the Study of Chickasaw History

and Culture at the Chickasaw Cultural Center in Sulphur, Oklahoma. I have often read it there as

if it were written personally to me, a Chikashsha person living in 2019. It was, in part. I remain

⁵⁹³ Ibid.

⁵⁹⁴ Ibid.

particularly struck by its elements that valorize civilization and civilizing. In one instance, it is clearly we who are civilized, in contrast to the United States: 'The Chickasaws have always been the pioneers in the civilization of this country, have never been disobedient to the rules or laws of the United States and have stood by and lived up to every treaty entered into by them and the Government of the United States.'595 This letter on the surface may be seen by some to convey an undercurrent of pro-assimilation bias, but I read it differently. The choices our Ancestors made, and that Guy therein valorizes, were made in pursuit of lilhakóffi, 'we survive.' Rather than an endorsement of passive assimilation with its emphasis on Euro-American-style education beginning in the early nineteenth century, Guy's letter seems emblematic of Cobb's statement that education was for the Chikashsha people 'not a practice of freedom but a practice of control—a way to create an acceptable place for themselves in a different world.'596 This and other attempts to control vast cultural change are continued in our Mediated Language Change efforts, our practice of education and application to ensure our language will never fall asleep. Like our Ancestors, we adapt in pursuit of survivance and perseverance, and remain Chikashsha.

The content of Guy's letter displays two fundamental Chikashsha tenets operative in the present: 'that we remain steadfastly committed to preparing for the future of our people as Chickasaws, [and] that we have a full knowledge and understanding that we pass that future forward through education and service.'⁵⁹⁷ They ring powerfully true across the Chickasaw

⁵⁹⁵ Guy, 'Letter to Czarina Conlon.' In contrast, the only treaties the United States has *not* violated are the ones its government *never ratified*.

⁵⁹⁶ Cobb, *Listening*, 37.

⁵⁹⁷ heather ahtone, email to the author, 10 September 2019.

Nation of 2019. We continue to prepare for the future of our people through the power of education and service, considered in an operating philosophy that Governor Anoatubby has called apilat pihlí'chi, 'servant leadership.'

In the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program we picked up where the late Mrs. Humes, the late Yvonne Alberson, the late Geraldine Greenwood and others left off. We realized our once great itti' had been reduced by generations of violence to tibi kolofa' by the 1970s. We saw their efforts to keep our language alive, and began to follow their examples about 2007. We nurtured new and old forms of life for our language through interpersonal communication with our native speakers, as well as cultivating emerging forms of ittonchololi' like new words, new media, new branding and merchandising, a Chikashsha literature, and new speaker varieties of Chikashshanompa'. We found Itti' Aaomba's 'old tree' replanted in Indian Territory, hanging onto existence. It was reduced to tibi kolofa', but rather than despairing over loss, we worked to return it to its greatness, 'to cultivate and improve it, in order that we may bring forth good fruit.'⁵⁹⁸

This is where we sit in early fall 2019. We work to complete Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level Four and create an expansion curriculum so it can be more fully integrated into public and home-school language approaches. We actively develop materials for use by the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program. We consider ways to improve our programs, expand our audience, and encourage more Chikashsha people to realize the value of their language. We plan to produce new flash card sets of medicine plants and wildlife of the Homeland and rerelease the Chikashsha playing cards we developed with Ryan RedCorn. We continue to teach in

⁵⁹⁸ 'Refusal of the Chickasaws.'

the community and online. We remain committed to reaching any Chikashsha person, regardless of where they live. At home we meet with native speakers every day and talk to one another, and imagine a future wherein our speech community is greatly expanded, flourishing, bringing back the essence of Chikashsha to the people. We speak our poorly crafted, muddled learner variety of Chikashshanompa' to anyone who will listen, and are not ashamed. We do what our Ancestors want us to do. We think and speak and try and write and create and communicate and live through the medium of Chikashshanompa'. We are ourselves ittonchololi', and we are still here.

What if I wrote a letter to the Chikashsha people of 2120, one hundred years after the completion of the Rosetta Stone Chickasaw project? Would it be directive, or reflective? I could imagine Chikashshanompa' returning in its fullness, as a language of the home reaching outward to community again. I could also see it carried by a select few who mediate for their people with the power of Chikashshanompa'. I could despair and see no one who could still have a conversation in our language, but I refuse to. Revitalization is a fundamentally positivistic enterprise.

Ilanhi.599

I could imagine a rich literature, solely of Chikashshanompa', written for the present and for the ages. I can see a young learner combing through records, archives, journals, recordings and images we left for her or him. I can see fifth-, sixth-, seventh-generation anompa shaali' meeting monthly to determine how to accommodate some innovation or new idea in Chikashshanompa'.

⁵⁹⁹ 'We hope.'

What could I say to the future of Chikashshanompa'? After all, determining its future is not my responsibility, nor ours collectively in CLRP. Our responsibility to Posipóngi', Chikashsha okla, and Chikashshanompa' is to *create opportunities in the present*. We do this to the best of our ability.

I could write something like, 'Your responsibility, Chikashsha people of 2120, is to care for, cultivate, and tend to all the outgrowths of tibi kolofa' that we cultivated for you. Your responsibility is to nourish new forms of life that have emerged, or are emerging, from the tibi kolofa' that we left behind for you to tend. What will you have done with this responsibility? What are you doing for yourselves, and for your descendants? Are you still mediating the constant changes around you in pursuit of survivance and perseverance? Are you intact politically, socially, culturally? Do you still dance around lowak holitto'pa' in the night? Do you leave an arbor open so our spirits can join you in the dance? Do you still play to'li' during the hot days of summer? Chikashsha hachiya katihma?, 'Are you all still Chikashsha?' Can you say, Chikashsha po'yacha iláyya'sha katihma, 'We are Chikashsha and we are still here'?'

We cannot know, of course, because we would be gone. While a Chikashsha person reads these words 'one hundred years hence,' I molder in the ground, my spirit having joined my Ancestors and Aba' Bínni'li' at the end of the Ofi' Tohbi' <u>I</u>hina'.⁶⁰⁰ Perhaps we, your Ancestors, can still visit and see what you have been doing. Even then, we are only bystanders. You, and you alone, can choose what is to come for Chikashshanompa'. Only you can tell us what you have done for us, for yourselves, and for your people.

⁶⁰⁰ 'White Dog's Road,' the pathway of souls.

Yammak illa.

Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson)

Ada, Oklahoma

Chikashsh<u>i</u>yaakni'

14 September 2019

Appendix: A series of informed suggestions for similarly-situated language programs and persons

This appendix presents a series of informed suggestions for people learning their heritage languages and/or working in language revitalization. It will outline personal and program-derived approaches as responses to problems or questions encountered within our greater Indigenous language revitalization contexts. I explore the choices I made as a learner and that we have made within the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program, and demonstrate that much of what we accomplished as a program can be done at minimal expense.

This appendix is meant to supplement other excellent language learning and program development texts including *How to Keep Your Language Alive: A Commonsense Approach to One-on-One Language Learning* by Leanne Hinton, Matt Vera, and Nancy Steele (2002) and the *Awakening our Languages* handbook series from the Indigenous Language Institute.

I adopt a very direct tone to much of what I write herein. Telling others what to do is not a community value. However, our languages are at such a critical point that action must be taken; hence my forceful tone.

In this appendix I write from the academic-personal voice Wilson describes in his dissertation to the anonymous reader and to his children. I dispense with the academic / personal font distinction in this appendix and write in a unified voice that recalls the academic portions of this research and a personal voice that attempts to connect with you as we together

live out Wilson's Indigenous Epistemology in developing relationships with one another, and with the ideas presented in this research.⁶⁰¹

Themes of Chikashshanompa' personal learning⁶⁰²

Banna ('Desire')

I wanted to *know* my language, not merely learn it to some self-determined degree. Sparked by my wish to pass its rich heritage to my son, and motivated by a desire to be accepted into the traditional Chikashsha community, my ambition to become a speaker of Chikashshanompa' took hold. Realizing one's true internal motivation(s) for acquiring a heritage language is critical to a learner. After understanding the 'why' of personal language revitalization, one can move forward to determine the 'how' in a personal context.

Application

The nature and degree of your desire to acquire your language will influence decisions about your goals. Let's say you want to know how to pray on ceremonial occasions. That may lead to decisions to connect with elders, locate archival materials, among other applicable strategies. If you find examples, you can work through self-study and guided study with a native speaker, assuming your community has them, to become more proficient at prayer. Once the skill is mastered, you can perform the function at the appropriate times and places.

⁶⁰¹ Wilson, *Research*.

⁶⁰² Many of these themes are drawn from a journal entry from 2011. Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson), *Lokosh (Joshua D. Hinson) Collection*, JHI-009 (8-27-2010 to 11-4-2010), 16-17 (Sam Noble Native American Languages Collection, Norman, OK).

Another learner may want to acquire basic social language—for example, to introduce oneself properly. The idea is based on relatively accessible functional language and its success can be met through a variety of acquisition strategies. In contrast, a learner whose deepest desire is to acquire their language to a deep degree of linguistically correct, effectively communicative and culturally relevant speech will require appropriate strategies over a longer period of time.

Naahoyo ('Searching')

Even while young (See Chapter 4) I went looking for Chikashshanompa'. It was not until my young adulthood and the birth of my eldest biological child that I began seriously to search out Chikashshanompa' speakers, historical documents, journal articles, books, and recordings. Unexpected finds including traveler's journals, recordings housed in archives, communitydeveloped teaching materials and YouTube videos would increase my archive of Chikashshanompa' and help me to become a speaker. The search continues as we seek out Chikashshanompa' materials worldwide while documenting varieties from all known native speakers and searching for others.

Application

The state of a tribal nation's native speaker population and its language archive will influence your choices while searching for your language. If you belong to a tribal community that has a great deal of historical documentation, linguistic documentation, and perhaps even a descriptive grammar or similar teaching materials, you are well situated. You may freely seek to expand the archive. If not, you may need to go to extraordinary lengths, even to recovering the

language and creating its archive, as did jessie little doe baird (Mashpee Wampanoag) and Daryl Baldwin (Miami Tribe of Oklahoma).

Regardless, in that search you may encounter materials that do not relate to your primary interest, but nonetheless contribute to language acquisition. The search, in the same manner as any effort to acquire language, is a lifelong effort that though it may ebb and flow, will always be present.

Holisso pisa ('Studying')

Early on I made a significant commitment to regular language study. Much of my practice was manifest in list-making, note-taking, and journaling (see Chapter 6). Before relocating to the Chickasaw Nation, my resources were published materials, and I worked through all I had at hand. I created Post-It notes full of vocabulary and useful phrases, and stuck them all over my work cubicle. Once I discovered the audio materials published by Various Indian Peoples Publishing, I used them extensively in self-directed study. After I relocated to the Chickasaw Nation and began serious and regular study with native speakers, my practices changed some, but I continued to review notes, created daily journal entries and reviewed recordings created with our elder teachers.

Application

Regardless of its focus, a committed language study practice will assist you greatly in acquiring useful aspects of language. Whether you use computer-aided products like the Anki flashcard decks⁶⁰³, daily journaling, physical notecards, daily conversational practice, talking to

⁶⁰³ https://apps.ankiweb.net/

yourself—including on-the-fly translations that can later be confirmed with native speakers or any other strategy, the key to successful language study is regular, daily practice.

Inchokkaalaat nannimasilhlha ('Visiting and questioning')

My deepest friendships and most productive professional relationships grew from community traditions of visiting. Inchokkaalaa is a word that means 'to visit,' and calls to mind ancestral practices of the custom. It was traditional to visit clan family and friends without advance notice, and to stay a day or longer. When guests arrived, a meal was prepared, regardless of the time of day. The practice has faded among recent generations, but our elders recall such instances fondly.

These customs heavily informed my approach to in-person language learning with native speakers. If a tribal community's native speakers are accessible, the reasonable course of action is to spend as much time as possible with them, preferably in the language. I regularly sat and visited with any native speaker who would have me, whether in public, at ceremony, at church, in the office, or in their homes. Wherever native speakers were, I was there, learning from them. I learned early the forms I needed to ask questions, which in turn allowed me to navigate the often-frustrating process of communicating in the language more efficiently. This practice of asking, nannimasilhlha, informed my Chikashsha asilhlha research methodology (see Chapter 3).

Application

A learner's responsibility is to acquire the language and share it with others. The most efficient way is through regular visiting and talking with speakers. I regret many things in my

professional life, but never spending time communicating with our treasured anomp<u>í</u>'shi'. A learner must use his or her community's protocols to approach native speakers and become known by them, and to begin the process of regular visiting and asking.

Wihat kanalli ('Relocation')

I made the decision in 2004 to relocate my family to the Chickasaw Nation from Albuquerque, New Mexico. The move was motivated by a job offer from the Chickasaw Nation and the prospect of regular language work with native speakers. After I settled in as photographic archives manager, I made connections with anomp<u>í</u>'shi' including JoAnn Ellis, Vera Tims, and Carlin Thompson. Through those relationships I was able to become a better language learner and communicator. I came to realize I had a true desire to become a speaker, and they have helped me for many years.

Application

Using one's language is challenging for many Indigenous people who do not reside in their main community. Learning is best where the language was created, from the people who have carried it forward, in full communication with native speakers. If you can return home and reclaim the language by co-working with native speakers, you should. It will change your life. If you cannot, do your best in your current environment to bring the language back into your home.

Ikimilhlhot anompoli ('Speaking without fear')

This theme was dominant during my acquisition of Chikashshanompa'. I grew up outside our tribal service area, phenotypically white, and possessed minimal cultural knowledge. So, I was not expected to know community standards of behavior and interpersonal communication. Because I lacked any culturally grounded sense of decorum, I was able to aggressively go after the language in a way that helped me become a speaker rather quickly. I spoke freely, without fear. My willingness to be wrong was often an asset, because as a result I learned through the firm but caring correction of my teachers. I have since been taught how to behave and function as a respectful, culturally competent community member. But I am still bold in my speaking, unafraid to be wrong.

Application

Speaking without fear can be a challenging idea for learners living in their home communities, especially if they have been raised to understand community protocols. Some may even feel the burdensome expectation that they *should already be* speakers. The sense of shame that emerges from language loss is often palpable among our communities. This consequence of settler-colonialism often can actively discourage our people from acquiring their languages, and affect one's ability to speak without fear.

However, if you give yourself to the language, then push daily to be bold and communicative, some resultant traumas can be mitigated. Our languages are powerful, and through them we can heal and become more fully human.

Naaishtanokfilli ('Thinking')

This theme may seem self-evident, but it is nonetheless significant. Much of an individual language learner's time is wrapped up in acquiring new words, phrases and features of the language, and often one might forget to sit down and review. Making review a habit can significantly affect language acquisition. I revisit old notebooks, publications, and recordings regularly, to re-engage with the material, and often find my understanding has changed, and see how erroneous patterns can be corrected. It also helps me to appreciate the distance I have walked with my elder teachers, as an anompa shaali'.

Application

Develop a practice of reviewing and deeply thinking about your language and your progress as a language learner. Carve out specific times of day to review materials and recordings, and consider imaginative ways to do so.

Ithahána bíyyi'ka ('Constant learning')

If I have learned anything from twenty years in language revitalization, it would be how little I truly know. I am constantly taken with new and surprising information or sudden epiphanies about how some features are used by our speakers after they had for years eluded me. Our native speakers were raised in many cases wholly in Chikashshanompa'. They carry within in them their personal varieties of the language. The breadth and depth of our language is therefore vast, and not something one can ever hope to master. However, lack of mastery is no impediment to our work. Our ideologies of speakerhood may change, but we now valorize the efforts of all anompa shaali' and anomp<u>í</u>'shi' for keeping our language alive. All of us who

carry the language, and all who have it, are miracles that remind us of what we have overcome to remain intact tribal nations. If your community still has native speakers, that also is a miracle for which we all should express gratitude.

A significant manifestation of a deeply held desire to acquire one's languages is a commitment to constant lifetime learning. This daily walk with the language can be taken in many different ways, from talking to yourself or narrating whatever you do in it, to small talk over coffee with a speaker, to in-depth linguistic research like mining journal articles for data or a one-word-a-day practice of vocabulary acquisition.

Application

Be motivated by your passion for learning your language. Never rest on your present achievement of proficiency. Commit to a lifetime of learning. Seek out new, novel, and interesting ways to stay on your path.

Nannikbi ('Creation')

Creativity is a significant part of my language learning journey. As my understanding of Chikashshanompa' increased, I began to use it in creative efforts (see Chapter 6) including social media, visual production like painting, drawing, mixed media works, and journaling, which often combined writing and visual production. Such regular engagement with creative forms of life for Chikashshanompa' reinforced my acquisition and use of language with anomp<u>í</u>'shi' and other anompa shaali'. This theme connects to Hinton's directive to present language information in multiple contexts over time, as well as to Krashen's compelling input hypothesis.

In this case the relationship is reversed, where output derives from some compelling internal knowledge.

Application

People are fundamentally creative. Our Indigenous communities have brought forth deep, rich, centuries-long traditions of creativity in forms including visual and musical production, movement and dance, oratory and others. Tapping into traditions through language can have powerful effects on your language acquisition, cultural knowledge, and application of those forms of knowledge. Active creativity also will have powerful effects on your acquisition and use of language. You may soon find yourself doing the work of growing your language into new domains using the same strategies your Ancestors used for thousands of years.

Chikashshanompa' personal learning summary

Banna ('Desire') is the true internal motivation to acquire your language by focusing on the domains with which you connect most intimately.

Naahoyo ('Searching') is the constant quest for new materials in and about your language, and the search for and documentation of native speakers.

Holisso pisa ('Studying') is the commitment to pursuit of a committed language practice that includes self-directed study through a variety of materials.

Inchokkaalaat nannimasilhlha ('Visiting and questioning') grows from ancestral practices of inchokkaalaa, 'visiting.' By visiting and speaking with our elders we create deep, lasting bonds with them. From this place of mutual respect and trust our

questioning practice leads to great advances in our ability to communicate with our elder teachers.

Wihat kanalli ('Relocation') signifies the willingness to undertake radical commitments to learn your language—in my case, moving more than six hundred miles to live near native speakers. That may not be possible for everyone. However, other similarly radical acts can move us closer to reclaiming our languages.

Ikimilhlhot anompoli ('Speaking without fear') can be a powerful tool to acquire your language. If you are not naturally inclined to be forward, it can pose a challenge, and hesitation for fear of being seen or heard as wrong is understandable. But being wrong only provides opportunity for correction. Some of my strongest learning grew out of mistakes. For example, that was how I learned Asombiniili! is *not* the same as Sabaaombiniiili!⁶⁰⁴. The challenge for you as an Indigenous heritage language learner is to mediate any boldness, whether natural or cultivated, so as not to stray from the bounds of acceptable behavior.

Naaishtanokfilli ('Thinking') means regularly reviewing and deeply pondering your language and your progress as a learner, while continuing in pursuit of improvement. As second-language learners, we always will find some aspect of our knowledge we can improve.

Ithah<u>á</u>na bíyyi'ka ('Constant learning') is a commitment to walk daily with our languages and efforts to learn. It comprehends a variety of forms and focuses. As long as

⁶⁰⁴ Asombiniili, 'Sit on me,' and Sabaaombiniiili, 'Sit on it with me.' I made this mistake in 2007, to uproarious laughter from speakers in the room.

we constantly learn, communicate, and stretch ourselves, we do right by our languages and our Ancestors.

Naaikbi ('Creation') is engaging with your language through creative production, in whatever forms that may take. Creation is a fundamental to who we are as Indigenous peoples. We make and remake our worlds, just as our Creator made us.

Themes of Chikashshanompa' revitalization

Anompa holiitoblichi ('Valorization of the language')

Early in our program's development we sought to raise the prestige of Chikashshanompa' and anomp<u>i</u>'shi' in our communities. Chikashshanompa', like many other native languages, had been so long absent from so many families, it seemed in some cases as if it had never existed; it had been 'nothinged.' In families where native speakers were still active there was a greater appreciation for it, but little personal motivation to acquire it among younger generations. It was not that anyone actively denigrated the language. Those days were long gone, even if their memories are ever present. In most cases, our language was subject to a benign neglect, but one that needed to be addressed.

In collaboration with Ryan RedCorn (Osage), we developed a visual language for Chikashshanompa' connected to ancestral Chikashsha design including color symbolism (homma, losa, and tohbi)⁶⁰⁵ and patterns (spiral motifs from ancient pottery). The first element in our visual vocabulary was our ANOMPA logo (see Chapter 5), reproduced as pins, bumper stickers, flashcards, hats, shirts, and in various other ways, especially online. The aesthetic of

⁶⁰⁵ 'Red, black, and white.'

the logo is woven throughout our branding and promotional products, and ensures that a consistent visual message is conveyed.

We also used powerful modern media tools to bring Chikashshanompa' back to visibility among our people. Through our ANOMPA web and iOS apps to the video-based approaches of www.chickasaw.tv and Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, we worked to meet our people wherever they are. As of this writing we move toward more and greater engagement as a program with multiple forms of social media because, again, that space is where our people, in particular our young people, spend much of their time. We believe we can foster online speech communities and provide quality enrichment programs to our citizens through social media and other technologies yet to be developed.⁶⁰⁶

Application

Much of your early efforts to valorize your language will depend on its status and that of speakers in your home community. You may realize a number of approaches and activities are necessary to raise the prestige and profiles of both. Hosting community dinners for native speakers, establishing community classes co-taught by them, and regularly asking them to contribute to ceremonial life, like public prayer, can be effective tools for raising speaker prestige.

As for raising the visibility of the language in the community, many strategies can be employed. A simple one is labeling public areas in your language. We have bilingual signage throughout our facilities, including the Chickasaw Cultural Center in Sulphur, Oklahoma (where

⁶⁰⁶ Maybe one day the IBM Watson Supercomputer will be able to speak Chikashshanompa'.

we even installed bilingual stop signs), the Chickasaw Nation Medical Center and our headquarters building in Ada, Oklahoma. Such ideas can be relatively inexpensive, and help raise public awareness.

Means to expand online presence for your language have been democratized by the availability of high-quality smartphone cameras and HD video, widespread access to video editing software, and the popularity of platforms like YouTube. You can accomplish mighty things in raising the prestige of the language in your community through such modern media. If your community is limited in its access to the internet, you can use more traditional approaches like speaker groups, means of connecting learners and speakers, community-focused events including skits, plays, and singings in the language, and other ideas appropriate to your culture.

Okloboshlichi ('Immersing')⁶⁰⁷

It would be difficult to overemphasize this part. If your community has native speakers still living, you should do whatever you can to engage with them, in the language, for as much daily time as they will allow you. There is no magic bullet or perfect method—just spend time with them, in the language. You will learn, and as you learn, you can teach others. Without immersion at the heart of your language revitalization efforts, you only will stand in place, a status that does not serve our languages. We need to move, to walk, to run, to sprint, to chase

⁶⁰⁷ Okloboshlichi means to 'to baptize (in the Baptist way); to dunk, push under,' Munro and Willmond, *Chickasaw*, 275. This lexical extension perhaps seems a little strange, but we also have a word for 'zombie.' So, who is to say what is strange or is not?

after our languages, every way we can. If possible in your community, immersion should be done, now.

Application

Find a copy of Hinton et al. 2002 and follow it. You will make changes to its guidelines; it is not 'one size fits all.' Examine what other communities have done to create immersion environments. Talk to those of us who have done it, and we will help you as best as we can. Whether your approach ultimately is one-on-one, group immersion, structured immersion or some other way, your efforts will lead to increased proficiency for yourself and your colearners. If you take an integrative approach and live your daily lives with your speakers, you not only will become more grammatical and linguistically proficient speakers of your language, you also will become more culturally competent . You will be changed. It is simply how this works.

Chokmali ('Enriching')

In our experience, the work of enrichment can grow to a point that can often seem to overshadow immersion efforts. However, it is an essential tool and a valid partner for your community's immersion program. The average learner does not have the time, energy, or commitment to become a truly proficient speaker of a language, but that does not mean such learners should be left out. All learners we gather into a large, enriching net can become powerful language advocates, even if only a select few emerge to join our efforts. Otherwise, they have no opportunity to develop a passion for their language or join in the work. If we are committed to creating positive experiences for learners, they will in turn repay us with their energies, and create a feedback loop of love and support for our languages and our efforts to revitalize them. That result alone is worth the effort of enrichment.

Application

Enrichment efforts can take many forms, as detailed in this research and elsewhere. The main directive is to institute fun, engaging and accessible activities and programs that draw our people in. This kind of language work can be very satisfying. Enjoy it.

Ittibaatoksali ('Collaboration')

The Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program believes in the Americanist tradition, including the Boasian triad of dictionary, grammar, and interlinearized texts. When we began our work as a dedicated program in 2007, we had the community-originated Humes dictionary and the Munro-Willmond dictionary (see Chapter 2). One year later Dr. Pamela Munro and Mrs. Catherine Willmond published their teaching grammar. In 2007 there were some short texts in Dr. Munro's publications, followed by several narratives published in the 2008 teaching grammar. A single dissertation (Walker 2000) had interlinearized versions of Chikashshanompa' conversation. Overall the collection of interlinearized texts of Chikashshanompa' were extremely limited in 2007, but we have collected over two hundred new narratives and conversation sessions since 2013.⁶⁰⁸

The work of dedicated linguists, principally Dr. Munro and Mrs. Willmond, resulted in a significant body of documentation that has proved invaluable to our language revitalization efforts. This body of work comprises the described variety of Chikashshanompa', based largely

⁶⁰⁸ Fitzgerald and Hinson, 'Approaches to Collecting Texts,' 522.

on Mrs. Willmond's speech. We have since begun to expand that variety to reflect the individual ones used by our speakers living in the Chickasaw Nation boundaries in Oklahoma. We find generally that their speech conforms to the described variety, yet there are significant and noteworthy variations we shall work to document in the next few years.

The program under my direction has embraced selective, collaborative relationships with partner linguists who have demonstrated a commitment to our cause. Our first formal relationship with one was with Dr. Bill Pulte, who first described the morphological differences between Chickasaw and Choctaw.⁶⁰⁹ We began to work with Dr. Leanne Hinton in 2007 while she assisted us with our Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program efforts.

Dr. Munro and Mrs. Willmond also traveled to Oklahoma in 2009 for a speaking tour following publication of their teaching grammar. They would regularly visit and conduct workshops titled, 'Chickasaw: The World's Best Language.'⁶¹⁰ Dr. Munro would later sign on as a consultant on our Documenting Endangered Languages Grant, and has contributed to several Chickasaw Press titles. She and Mrs. Willmond are currently working on a second edition of their 1994 dictionary.

The late Dr. John Dyson was a partner linguist early on, beginning in 2007. Dr. Dyson, a retired professor of Spanish and Portuguese at Indiana University at Bloomington, engaged deeply with the ethnolinguistic and historical linguist aspects of Chikashshanompa', and moved to Ada to work with our program. He and I co-taught language courses for tribal leadership for some years and collaborated on publications for Chickasaw Press including the Chickasaw

⁶⁰⁹ Pulte, William, 'The Position of Chickasaw.'

⁶¹⁰ Of course, we agree that Chikashshanompa' is the world's best language.

prayer book and his *The Early Chickasaw Homeland: Origins, Boundaries & Society*. He developed a deep and abiding friendship with my mentor, the late Jerry Imotichey, and they worked together on a weekly basis until Jerry's passing on 14 October 2016.

One of our longest-standing and most productive relationships has been with Dr. Colleen Fitzgerald (Texas A&M University - Corpus Christi).⁶¹¹ We began our professional collaboration with Dr. Fitzgerald in 2010. That has resulted in numerous publications, conference presentations, and a collection of over two hundred new narratives and conversation sessions recorded under the auspices of the Chickasaw Verb grant since 2013.

Most recently we hired Dr. Juliet Morgan as our full-time staff linguist. Her dissertation, completed in 2017, was produced in collaboration with myself and the learners of the Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program. Dr. Morgan has played an integral role in the creation of all four levels of Rosetta Stone Chickasaw, first as a contractor and now as an employee, and assists us in creation of curricula for the CAAIP. She is deeply committed to Chikashshanompa' revitalization and plays an integral role in our Mediated Language Change approach / Chikasha Academy Adult Immersion Program.

Application

Clearly we believe in the power of linguistics and linguistic description to help us document and revitalize our language. Perhaps you do not need linguists to accomplish your work, but productive partnerships can lead to indispensable results. The key to a successful partnership is first determining whether a potential linguist partner is compatible. The products

⁶¹¹ We call Dr. Fitzgerald, Chiskilik, 'blackjack oak,' for her curly hair that resembles the leaves of the blackjack. Native speaker Kosi' Sam Johnson named her some years back.

of their research must be developed in community with you, and focused on your learners. They must agree to accept the responsibilities of community research protocols, and learn to interact in a manner acceptable to your conservative native speakers. We have successfully navigated multiple linguistic partnerships through careful vetting.

We have been able to focus on expanding the corpus of narratives—documenting speaker variation in the tribal service area and the emergent learner varieties of Chikashshanompa'—precisely because we have a described variety and extensive research dating back to the 1970s, as well as an archive of historical documents, if a limited one.

We acknowledge that the work of Dr. Munro and Mrs. Willmond gave us an exceptional foundation on which to build. If your tribal language community is not similarly situated, you will have to make some difficult choices. Let us assume you have living speakers, but minimal documentation and perhaps few or no tribal citizens younger than middle age who can hold a conversation in their language. Given those limits, should you throw all your energies into a dictionary and a descriptive grammar? The answer—for me, anyway—would be, 'No.' The challenge would be to accept the difficult work of language acquisition, including an immersion approach that simultaneously creates reference materials.

If you have a dictionary, but no text corpus, capture the stories from native speakers as quickly as possible. Worry about transcribing and analyzing them later (or lean on a partner linguist to do at least some of that). You will never regret having too many stories, though they entail years of work. Those narratives and conversations are treasures for us and our descendants.

A takeaway from that discussion is that linguistic partnerships should be entered into carefully to ensure respect and mutual benefit. Some communities resist engaging with linguists, given a history of scholars helicoptering in, taking what they want, and leaving nothing behind for the community. Another takeaway is evidence of the power of the Boasian triad, and the wonderful resources that can emerge from community-led documentation efforts in full concert with revitalization. Amazing things can emerge from these partnerships.

Hofantichi ('Growing')

I cannot emphasize this theme enough. Our communities' language growth has been too long stunted by consequences of settler colonialism. Living languages grow and change, but our languages in many cases have been moribund for decades. It is our responsibility to carry our languages toward vitality. That responsibility also means engaging with our contemporary world and emergent technologies. We worked with our elders, and through a lengthy process of explanation, discussion, and debate, we arrived at a point where our native speakers chose to engage in neologism creation. We realize that may not be so for all communities.

Application

Any changes to a language may prove controversial, and growing a language through purposeful and focused lexical innovation can be challenging. If the elders of your community decline to participate in these processes, you will have to decide whether to pursue them or not. It is not in our teachings to go against our elders. I do not know what to say beyond that.

Even without such efforts, you can focus on new forms of life for your language. As you acquire your language from elder speakers, bring it into new domains where it has not lived

before. Those can include social media, texting, video, teaching materials, and published texts. Each new form of life for the language extends its existence.

Atobbi ('Spending')

Large-scale language revitalization is a very expensive endeavor. In the Chickasaw Nation, however, we have not had to beg for funding or persuade tribal leadership that language efforts were worth the investment. Governor Anoatubby has always been a leader in tribal language revitalization and an advocate for our language, our speakers, and our learners. We have been able to use tribal funds to pursue any effort to improve our people's quality of life through Chikashshanompa'.

Still, not every tribal community has economic resources to pour into language revitalization. That lack does not have to pose an impediment. Some of the most successful efforts started as grassroots, community-based projects that blossomed into powerful movements.⁶¹² Efforts that pay dividends can be begun or made with minimal investment.

Application

Mobile technologies and popular web-based and desktop publishing programs enable language workers to produce high-quality language learning materials at little cost. Printing to PDF formats and housing on web hosting sites for no or nominal cost allow learners worldwide to access your materials. Flashcard apps like Anki can be effective, no-cost tools for your revitalization.

⁶¹² I am thinking in particular of the Māori and the Hawaiian peoples.

Smartphones with HD cameras, desktop video editing software, and video sites like YouTube enable us to create and host powerful and effective language content. Therein and on other platforms we find many excellent examples of community-produced, language-focused, entertaining and educational videos.⁶¹³

Chikashshanompa' revitalization themes summary

Anompa holiitoblichi ('Valorization of the language') raises the profile of native speakers and languages in our communities. These valorization efforts may seem basic, but they have significant effects.

Okloboshlichi ('Immersing') is a practice of, and commitment to, immersion learning with native speakers. Whether done one-on-one or in group settings, immersion is the foundation of successful language revitalization. If you have speakers in your community, you should approach them and begin developing the relationships necessary to successful immersion work.

Chokmali ('Enriching') is a commitment to balancing the needs of the few (immersion) with the rights of the majority to access their heritage language (enrichment). We empower our people to access their language, and they in turn give us their support.

Ittibaatoksali ('Collaboration') is the practice of developing lasting, long-term relationships with linguist partners. These relationships can produce invaluable results for our language and our people.

Hofantichi ('Growing') is the commitment to moving our languages toward health and vitality through lexical expansion and seeking out new forms of life for them.

⁶¹³ As of this writing you can view Rosetta Stone Chickasaw Level One videos at www.chickasawlanguage.com, and there are numerous examples of excellent language videos on www.youtube.com.

Atobbi ('Spending') is the practice of leveraging human and financial resources in creative ways to accomplish our ends, particularly among communities less able to financially support language efforts.

Appendix Summary

This appendix is a series of informed suggestions for individual language learners, as well as outlining a framework for program-derived approaches that we have utilized in the last twelve years. I explored my own choices as well as those made within the Chickasaw Language Revitalization Program. I have offered low or no-cost alternatives for many of our revitalization program approaches. My sincerest desire is that these ideas, in concert with existing resources on language revitalization, will prove useful for other Indigenous learners and communities worldwide. Bringing out languages back to full vitality is an often long, difficult, and winding road. I hope my, and our, experiences will help make the path for you and your people a little straighter.

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