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**UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA**

**GRADUATE COLLEGE**

**CHEROKEE AND DAKOTA LANGUAGE LETTERS:  
ILLUSTRATIONS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY DISCOURSE**

**A Dissertation**

**SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY**

**in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the**

**degree of**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**By**

**LAURA LEE ANDERSON**

**Norman, Oklahoma**

**1999**

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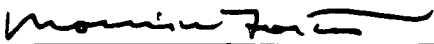
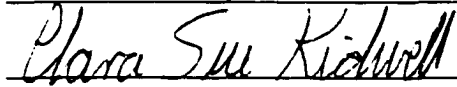
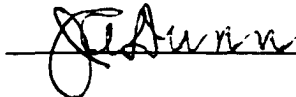
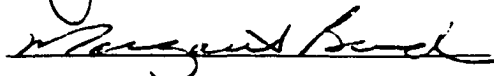
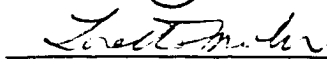

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CHEROKEE AND DAKOTA LANGUAGE LETTERS:  
ILLUSTRATIONS OF NINETEENTH CENTURY DISCOURSE

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE  
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation concerns nineteenth century Cherokee and *Dakota* discourse, exemplified by the individual writers of native language letters. The first chapter outlines the goals, the data, and the methods of this dissertation. Chapter two historically compares the nineteenth century Cherokee and *Dakota* literacy experience with the American's experience. Chapter three compares the norms of communication in letter form, the structuring, rhetorical presentation, the agency, and interaction in each language as manifest by native writers. Chapter four draws conclusions about the compared historical experience, adds a sociocultural description of nineteenth century Cherokee and a *Dakota* letter writing, and begins a description of Cherokee and *Dakota* discourse found in nineteenth century letters. Appendix I compares the orthographies as they pertain to language specific attributes influencing translation and the recoverability of language specific information.

**Key Words:** Cherokee, *Dakota*, native language, discourse, letters, writing, nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER I

NINETEENTH CENTURY CHEROKEE AND *DAKOTA* LETTERS

There are and will be only a finite number of documents recording the native languages of North America. It is necessary to make the fullest and most careful use of what there is, and to exercise the greatest diligence in preserving this corpus for the future in the most useful possible form. –Ives Goddard, 1976

This dissertation will portray, through a multilevel comparative approach, the discourse of letters as conceived, transmitted, and as used by Native American members. This dissertation shifts attention back in time to the initial letter writing experience of Cherokee speakers and *Dakota*<sup>1</sup> speakers, when the American nation was departing from its pluralistic experience of languages and narrowing its focus to prescribing an essayist English standard for English speakers. Since the eighteenth century, the shift in the United States has not been from total inability to read and write to the ability to read and write, “but from a hard-to-estimate multiplicity of literacies. . . , to a twentieth-century notion of a single, standardized schooled [English] literacy” (Cook-Gumperz 1986:22). This dissertation aims to show the nineteenth century native discourse of two separate languages’ writers, who often were literate before their white neighbors. This dissertation is valuable because as Joel Sherzer maintains, little attention is given to analysis through the discourse of literacy and its structure as conceived, transmitted, and acquired by members of native societies and by researchers (Sherzer 1987:305).

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<sup>1</sup>All Cherokee or *Dakota* language words or morphemes will be italicized.

Not only is little attention given to analysis through the discourse of literacy, but even less attention is given nineteenth century native discourse of Native American writers. Native American voices, even rendered in English, are rarer than frontier letters of prairie women, of soldiers, of mountain men and explorers that have informed our histories for years. When conducted, studies of native voices are often performed on English translations, substituting English as though the native language discourse patterns and rhetoric are the same as in the English language. It is the intent of this dissertation to consider native writing in the native language and to describe what we forego.

1.0 Goals and Outcomes. Chapter I of this dissertation outlines the goal, the data, and the methods of this dissertation. Chapter II compares historically the nineteenth century Cherokee and *Dakota* literacy experience with the American experience. Chapter III compares the norms of native language communication in letter form, the structuring, the rhetorical presentation, the agency, and interaction in each language. This chapter contains the example Cherokee and *Dakota* language letters by various native authors referred to throughout the dissertation. They are identified by the language, year, author and numbered in the order of occurrence. Chapter IV draws conclusions about the historical experience from these comparisons. It adds to a Cherokee and a *Dakota* sociocultural description of the nature of nineteenth century letter writing and it begins a description of Cherokee and *Dakota* discourse found in nineteenth century letters. Appendix I compares the

orthographies as they pertain to language specific attributes influencing translation and the recoverability of language specific information.

1.1 The Data Sources. The sources of data for this dissertation are threefold: history, letters, and language. A topic this broad touches a wide range of important literature. However, due to the concentration on the Cherokee and *Dakota* languages, the discussion listing important literature is narrowed to those found directly applicable to this task (full citations are in the bibliography). Jeffrey Kittay (1988) examined the relationship of European documentation to the concepts of space and time, that eventually defined movement and access. Beginning with this concept of documentation's intrusion on temporal spatial logical systems, a comparison was made of the Cherokee, the *Dakota* and the English experiences to provide a social-historical context for this study. Kjell Ivar Vannebo's (1984) and Harvey Graff's (1981) social histories were also provided a general background on Euroamerican literacy.

There are several histories of the Cherokee and the *Dakota*. This dissertation narrowed the histories to the topic of literacies specifically for a diachronic comparison. Therefore, James Mooney (1992, 1932, 1892, 1890, 1889, 1891), William G. McLoughlin (1986, 1984), Theda Perdue (1995, 1994, 1979), Willard Walker (1993, 1981, 1975, 1969), Renard Strickland (1982), Jack F. and Anna Gritts Kilpatrick (1967, 1966, 1965, 1964), Raymond Fogelson (1978, 1961), Jill Norgren (1996), Carmaleta Monteith (1985), Ruth Arrington (1971), and Catherine Corman (1998, n.d.), besides primary sources in the Western History

Collections proved essential in addressing the Cherokee. Considering the historical literature on the *Dakota*, Roy Meyer (1967), Gary C. Anderson (1997, 1993), Samuel and Gideon Pond (1940, 1908, 1842, 1839), and Stephen Riggs (1968, 1893, 1880, 1852), in addition to the papers of the last two and holdings of various archives were crucial. This is not a comprehensive history of the Cherokee nor the *Dakota* people but narrowed from these sources to the specifics of language and writing.

The second source of data, the Cherokee and Dakota language, is crucial to a description of the native language's writing. As I am not a speaker of either language, translation was a necessary component of this dissertation. I learned the Cherokee and *Dakota* languages through reading, translating, and doing analysis of the old written documents of native speakers. In addition, I studied Lakota with Calvin Fast Wolf at the Newberry Library and worked with George Pumpkin, Polly Reed and Bobby Blossom while teaching Cherokee at the University of Oklahoma. Each language has its specifics. The authors helpful to understanding the workings of the Cherokee language were Durbin Feeling (1995, 1991), Willard Walker (1975, 1969), Janine Scancarelli (1987), William Cook (1979), Duane King (1977, 1975), Lawrence Foley (1980), J. T. Alexander (1971), Prentice Robinson (1988), Ruth Holmes and Betty Smith (1977). The authors most critical to *Dakota* language specifics were Stephen Riggs (1893, 1889, 1852), John Williamson (1902), Eugene Buechel (1970, 1939), Trudi A. Patterson (1990), and Ella Deloria (1932). Beyond these references, the best source for learning the language was the letters

themselves. Also beneficial by comparison were the descriptive analyses of minority languages maintaining integrity: on BEV (Black English Variety) by John Baugh (1983), on AE (Appalachian English) by William Stewart (n.d.) and on Louisiana French Creole by Becky Brown (1993).

The third sources, the Cherokee and *Dakota* language texts, often provide more historical context, but allow us to describe the written medium through analyses of the letters on various levels for varied purposes. An analysis was conducted on all the letters using an ethnography of writing and a multilevel discourse centered approach. This approach emphasizes the vital role of language, as the connecting point of interpretation of individuals in society living history. A basic premise of this study is that language, society and culture are viewed relationally. The following works fit on various levels of language use. The works that lent themselves to this project were: Dell Hymes (1984, 1981, 1980, 1977, 1972, 1964, 1962) who considered speaking as an act in context, and became the thrust for looking at language use in its diverse applications in social, cultural, and historical context; Erving Goffman (1988, 1974, 1973, 1967) and John Gumperz (1984, 1982, 1978, 1961) who both brought language use back into the realm of agency, strategy, and interaction; Shirley Brice Heath (1982) who looked at literacy events; William Labov (1984, 1972, 1966) who focused on narrative as a natural speech event rather than as an artificially manufactured product and Gary Singleton (1979) who applied Labov's method to Cherokee; and Hugo Schuchardt (1989), William L. Leap (1993, 1982, 1981, 1980, 1977, 1974, 1973), Ralph Cooley and



Philip Lujan (1982) who contrasted Amerindian and Native American languages with English. The methods of the above authors, contributed to my overall view of language as used.

Approaches most applicable to discovering and describing discourse in Cherokee and *Dakota* were Joel Sherzer's multilevel and inclusive approach. It is pivotal in the integration of ethnography of language use and discourse analysis. Others include Wallace Chafe (1987, 1985, 1984, 1982, 1980, 1976, 1973, 1964, 1963) and Deborah Tannen (1989, 1987, 1985, 1984, 1982, 1979). They demolished the oral/written crevasse and turned attention to specific issues and critical elements in discourse. Ron and Suzanne Scollon (1979), Keith Basso (1990, 1974) and Dell Hymes (1984, 1981, 1980, 1977, 1972, 1964, 1962) applied their methods to written Native American discourse. Finally, Bernard Spolsky (1982) and Patricia Irvine (1989) turned the focus onto vernacular literacy. When it came to looking at specific native linguistic items in discourse, approaches in the works of Barbara Johnstone (1996, 1994, 1990, 1987), Katherine Fererra (1994, 1988), Douglas Biber (1988), Karen Beaman (1984), Sandra Thompson (1984), and Deborah Schiffrin's (1981, 1977) proved helpful for parallels in problem solving. When I began this project in 1988, discourse analysis was not specifically addressing Native North American languages on its multiple levels inclusively. Therefore, the task was to learn the languages, find parallel cases, select methods and ideas that seemed to apply, and then describe the findings.

1.1.2 Definitions. For this dissertation, literacies are considered as patterns of discourse. The text written by individuals, to individuals, to newspapers, or as public notices is the focus as instances in the use of literacy. The term literacies is used to remind us of the diversity of languages documenting nineteenth century America. Both history and letters by individuals are looked at in the light of narrative and of recounting events. The letters are in the native languages of the individuals. Therefore, the language is a major focus. For the purposes of this dissertation, a “Cherokee,” is any individual whose discourse patterns are the result of socialization to a group identified as Cherokee by use of the Cherokee language in literacy. A “*Dakota*” is any individual whose discourse patterns are the result of socialization to a group identified as *Dakota* by use of the *Dakota* language in literacy. Finally, an “English speaker/writer” is anyone who is socialized to the discourse patterns that are characteristic of white middle-class educated Americans who use English language essayist prose in writing (Scollon 1997).

Following Joel Sherzer (1987:296), “text” is taken as samples of a synchronic moment. This is a literacy event, historically diachronic and individually synchronic. These texts are not just fixed inscribed objects in terms of form, but in terms of text-context and language-in-use relationships. The term “context” is to be understood in three senses: first, the sociocultural backdrop, which includes the ground rules and assumptions of language usage (described by Hymes’ norms, conventions, social functions); second, the immediate, emerging, and ongoing dialogue of the event (including Hymes’ use, genre, key, situation); and third, the

particular specific surroundings of the aspect of language focused on Hymes (setting, participants, goals, possible variables of use and function, prior text. See Sherzer and Darnell 1972:548-554; Hymes 1972:52-71; Sherzer 1983). Context is not simple additional details that attach to findings about language use, but rather context provides the very vantage point from which to observe and study language (Hymes 1974).

1.2 Native Language Letters. In the process of this dissertation, the scope of study was narrowed from the entire repertoire of initial literacy to the genre of the written letter. Although analysis of all genres would be beneficial, brevity influenced the exclusion of creative narrative, local legend, or specifically spiritual texts. These latter genres would evidence a different range of patterns and information.

Since 1992, I have read nearly a hundred Cherokee documents written between 1825 and 1900, many of them letters. I have performed narrow translation of thirty letters and analyzed most of them in some fashion. These documents are in manuscript form, on microfilm, and in newspapers found in the Western History Collections, as well as in published books and papers donated by various University of Oklahoma students. Since 1972, I have read nearly nine hundred letters in *Dakota* by over seventy different authors written between 1840 and 1900. I have performed narrow translation of one hundred letters of that collection and analyzed fifty for various purposes. I have collected letters from any source encountered copied by hand, photocopy, microfilm, or hard copy as available. These documents

are in the National Archives, the Minnesota Historical Society, the South Dakota Historical Resource Center, the Center for Western Studies, the Newberry Library, and smaller depositories. From this translated group of letters, ten individual letters were chosen for exemplary discriminating analysis in this dissertation.

1.2.1 The Influence of Ethnography and Ways of Writing. In the context inclusive tradition of ethnography, Hymes (1987:19) reminds us that insofar as authentic narratives are relevant to the understanding of Native American cultures, there is much work to be done with the command of linguistics, the command of Native American traditions and history, and “a sense of the voices behind the words.” Hymes continues that interpretation of the text, requires an attempt to approximate the skills that created the text. The integrative tradition of ethnography recognizes the importance of situating the language in natural context of use. Ethnography reflects the fact that culture itself encompasses the totality of knowledge and practices, and views all phases and aspects of communication as relative (Tannen 1994:142-3).

Within the “ways” of the literate community, Hymes (1974) distinguished “genre,” a unique combination of stylistic structure (discourse forms organized in terms of defining principles of development or recurrence), along with groupings of features and mode, from the “doing” of a genre. Hymes suggested the categories of situation, event and act. The events occur in a situation, which may or may not affect the choice of genre. Events are the largest unit for which one can discover linguistic structure and are not coterminous with situations, as several events can

occur in the same situation. Shirley Heath (1982:93) held that “any occasion in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants’ interactions and their interpretive processes” can be termed a literacy event. The socio-culturally defined way of using literacy within these roles will be termed a “literacy event.” Heath’s definition of a literacy event was rephrased by Wagner, Messick, and Spratt (1986:240) to include “any activity which involves one or more of the following: reading, writing, manipulation of written material or books with the intent to use them for some purpose, or any observed behavior or discussion that makes reference to reading, writing, or other activity in the material culture of literacy.” The relationship of events and acts is hierarchical. A literacy event may consist of a single act or several acts. Literacy acts are functional units that derive their meaning or value from community rules of interpretation. Each written text by an individual was an activity in which literacy had a role.

For each event, Hymes (1972) recommends the ethnographer initially provide data on the components of the event, the parameters, constraints, and defining criteria by attending to the components of s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g.<sup>2</sup> My first study for Dr. Kathleen Ferrera<sup>3</sup> considered my own collection of nineteenth century

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<sup>2</sup>This is an acronym for the components of the (s-p-e-a-k-i-n-g) event: S is setting/scene; P is participants, E is end as in goals, purpose and outcome; A is acts sequence; K is key, tone, or manner; I is instrumentalities as in channel or forms of speech from community repertoire; N is norms; and G is genre. See Keith Basso. 1974. “The Ethnography of Writing,” Jonathan Boyarin. 1993. Ethnography of Reading, and Muriel Saville Troike. 1989 The Ethnography of Communication

<sup>3</sup>Kathleen Ferrera. 1994. Therapeutic Ways with Words. New York: Oxford University Press; Ferrera, Barbara Johnston and J. Bean. 1994 “Gender, Politeness, Discourse Management in Same Sex and Cross-sex Opinion Poll

*Dakota* letters by seventy authors in light of Hymes' ethnography of "speaking." This approach lends itself quite naturally to looking at letters as literacy events. For example, one concern in description is of the letter's form. Therein, the heading often includes the letter's point of origin and the date on which the letter was written, and in effect, creates the setting or Hymes' *scene* (see section 1.2.3.1).<sup>4</sup> Another example is in this dissertation's analysis of function that considers Hymes' main *participants* as addressee and author, principal, audience and animators (see section 1.2.3.4).<sup>5</sup> These components also contribute insight concerning the context.

In addition, Hymes' *channel/instrument* is considered as written vernacular language, in either the medium of typeset or script, and as the use of spatial placements on paper or the organization of the letter form (see section 1.2.3.1). Further, Hymes' *norms* are viewed as the adherence to the grammar of the language, the style chosen, and the social rhetorical conventions (see section 1.2.3.2 and 1.2.3.3). Social registers considered for the Cherokee included historically defined reader's dialect said to be based on *Otali*, local dialects, formal and informal styles.<sup>6</sup> Social registers considered for the *Dakota* included historically defined regional dialects, formal and informal styles.

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Interviews." *Journal of Pragmatics* 18:145-170; Ferrera, Becky Brown, Keith Walters and John Baugh (eds.) 1988. *Linguistic Contact and Variation*. Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press.

<sup>4</sup>Goffman (1974) spatial and temporal boundaries in organization of events.

<sup>5</sup>Goffman (1976) expanded into speaker, addresser, hearer, addressee and Cooper (1985) included audience and allowed a principle and an animator

<sup>6</sup>Social registers are situational dialects of speech situations in which people occupy particular roles. Therefore, they are often linked to occupation, profession or topics. Registers are usually characterized by vocabulary and other differences.

Also, Hymes' genre, native language letters for this dissertation, is determined by the structural level in addition to the letter form (see section 1.2.3.2 and 1.2.3.1). Then again, when the focus turns to considering involvement, or those norms that involve the addressee, principal, or audience with the author (section 1.2.3.4), the visual signals in the grammar and in the sequence structuring are noted (section 1.2.3.3). Here Hymes' act sequence of the message structured is considered as narrative events and as rhetoric devised (content). Finally, Hymes' key is determined as a result of how the sequential structuring prepares the visual content signals of the message. As a result, the key suggests the "tone, manner or spirit" of the letter. Key also results from noting if norms are adhered to, if there is a greeting, a closing, a salutation, a postscript, and how they are arranged. These are both forms of structure and the parameters of norms.

As interaction is considered as the culmination of form, function, context and content, the author is viewed as strategist, as agent, with a repertoire at the author's disposal to effect a goal. This involves the following: positioning the author, addressee, animator, and principal; considering whether roles or solidarity are marked (section 1.2.3.3 and 1.2.3.4); the use of the message form (section 1.2.3.1 and 1.2.3.2); sequencing options; and content presentation to effect a goal (section 1.2.3.3). This also entails goal assessment or a statement of purpose. It involves

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Regional dialects are defined geographically and historically and a reader's dialect is defined by representation of the written form. Styles are a linguistic variety effected by the participants, the situation, the physical setting or the occasion in which the activity is taking place, usually considered formal, informal, intimate, familiar, polite, deferential, plain, or authoritative.

assessment of whether the author is using a statement, request, report, question, or summation and in what arrangement (section 1.2.3.3 or analysis of rhetorical devices) to achieve the ends (section 1.2.3.4 functional analysis). Moreover, the outcome of the text is assessed to determine the resultant function of the letter. Hymes' final component, the ends, includes both the goal/purpose and the function/outcome of each event. Therefore, Hymes' components for the ethnography of speaking overlap with each of this dissertation's various levels of discourse analysis. This dissertation will consider Hymes' "speaking" components within a multilevel arranged analysis described below in sections 1.2.3.1, 1.2.3.2, 1.2.3.3 and 1.2.3.4, and again with each letter analyzed.

### 1.2.2 The Influence of Discourse Analysis

Discourse includes and relates both textual patterning (including such properties as coherence and disjunction) and a situating of language in natural contexts of use. The two intimately involve sociocultural and interactional features and these must be attended to analytically....Rather than ask does grammar reflect culture or is grammar determined by culture, etc. a discourse centered approach enables a reconceptualization of the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis. We start with discourse, the nexus, the actual and concrete expression of the language-culture-society relationship. It is discourse which creates, recreates, modifies, and fine tunes both culture and language and their intersection. It is in discourse that the potentials and resources provided by grammar, as well as cultural meanings and symbols, are exploited to the fullest and the essence of language-cultural relationships become salient. It is in discourse that the potential, power, and possibilities inherent in grammar are actualized.--Joel Sherzer (1987:296)

Discourse involves several levels of information and more than one type of organization (Sherzer 1981). This dissertation is particularly concerned with the organization of the specific languages; organization within the discourse as it is used



in the genre of letters; and the implications of these letters within the larger socio-cultural organization. Circourel (1978:26) argues that the importance of formal structures of discourse (grammar) is contingent on the local conditions of interaction in the assignment of semantic significance to what is said in specific discourse events. Grammar rules must be understood as aspects of the general processing system that reflects on and interacts with information from a local communicative context (natural setting, social context, content of discourse, ethnography, history).

The methods used to reach these socially significant realities (language use, content of discourse, social context, ethnohistory) are: narrative discourse analysis, used to determine the basic structure supporting the event sequence and the point of the narrative (see Hymes 1972, 1977, 1980, 1981); interactional analysis, used to determine rhetorical presentation devices used to portray oneself and others (Goffman 1976; Schiffrin 1981, Gumperz 1982); and functional analysis employed on text to determine the perceived situational roles participants are playing. Sherzer (1987) claims that discourse can be oral or written and can be approached in textual or sociocultural and social-interactional terms. It can be brief like a greeting, and thus smaller than a single sentence, or lengthy like a novel or narration of personal experience, and thus larger than a sentence and constructed out of sentences or sentence-like utterances. "My definition of discourse is purposely vague," Sherzer announced. "This is because discourse is an elusive area, imprecise and constantly emerging and emergent interface between language and culture, created by actual

instances of language in use and best defined specifically in terms of such instances (Sherzer 1987)."

The choice of the ten letters used as examples in this dissertation was influenced by the results of a prior discourse analysis study at Texas A & M for Dr. Barbara Johnstone.<sup>7</sup> This was a diachronic study of one *Dakota* author's letters, Joseph *Kewanke*. The letters demonstrated no change in structural discourse form, syntax, nor increased language complexity over a period of thirty years (1840s-1870s). However, the letters did demonstrate a change in the author's rhetorical presentation. This study also demonstrated a range of letter styles existed, and not a binary opposition of formal/complex/planned or informal/simple/unplanned. A letter style is considered as a linguistic variety effected by the participants, the situation, the physical setting or the occasion in which the activity is taking place (formal, informal, intimate, familiar, polite, deferential, plain, authoritative). The study also demonstrated that informality in *Dakota* letters was tied to the creation of interaction and involvement as a rhetorical device. Moreover, the *Dakota* letters recounted social and historical experience from the Native American's perspective.

Therefore, for this dissertation, texts were selected from early documentation to illustrate diachronic use as well as synchronic use. Diachronically,

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<sup>7</sup>Barbara Johnstone. 1996. The Linguistic Individual: Self-expression in Language and Linguistics. New York: Oxford University Press; 1994. Repetition in Discourse. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Company; 1990. Stories, Community, and Place: Narratives from Middle America. Bloomington: Indiana University Press; 1987. Perspectives on Repetition. New York: Morton de Gruyter; 1987. "He says...so I said: Verb Tense Alternation and Narrative Depiction's of Authority in American English." Linguistics 25:33-52.

this sixty-year span of letters displays variation of style within one genre, and variation of presentation adjusted by the author according to the context. Next, a parallel of styles between the Cherokee and *Dakota* letters was attempted. The assumption was that text written by individuals for the newspaper and typeset would probably be edited and more formal due to the process of publication. Further, it was assumed that handwritten letters would be less formal.

The letters in the genre were chosen to show formal and informal styles. Two handwritten letters by the *Dakota* author, Joseph *Kewanke*, were included in this study from the earlier study for Johnstone, knowing the one letter to be more formal (a deposition) than other letters by that author. Similarly, based on the prior study, it was known that the two letters each represented different rhetorical strategies and devices. The earlier *Dakota* study had already determined a consistent pattern for letter form or use of space in view of a formal/informal range. Therefore, for this study, five letters in each language were chosen based on being type set or handwritten to determine if a range of formal to informal existed, as had been the case in the prior *Dakota* study. Subsequently, different available authors were chosen to contrast the earlier *Dakota* study.

A resemblance to the *Dakota* trends was hypothesized from observation while surveying and translating letters in Cherokee. Based on the assumptions mentioned, letters were chosen for analysis to determine if they indeed followed a similar pattern. The view of synchronic formal text in contrast with synchronic informal text shows the variable range of the genre, and text written in a public

voice in contrast to that written in an individual voice to demonstrate a variance of presentation. All are single author letters either to the newspaper, to a public authority or to a friend. The practical use of literacy is the focus, to find the everyday norms and the range of variation in letters by native speaker in their native language. The analyses of each of these letters then were used to demonstrate the cultural and historical meaning that can be elucidated from Native text.

### 1.2.3 Method: Language Use Analyzed Four Ways.

1.2.3.1 Analysis of the Material Object: Observation of Genre Form and Medium. Four levels of analysis specific to the letters were planned to parallel the earlier *Dakota* discourse study of one author's letters. The first concern was with the basic letter appearance, with the medium being typeset or script, and with the letter form used. Therefore, the initial step was observation of each letter as a material object. Visible spatial use of each native language's most orderly letters was described. Generalizing from that observation, most hand scripted letters are written on individual 8" by 11" sheets of paper, often folded in half (4.5" by 8"), to form a booklet or greeting card style. A few scripted letters are on 5" by 8" paper. The analysis at this level is basically noting form or the existence/absence of identifiable parts of the letter and their placement. The parts of the letter determined and noted were: place of the letter's origin, the date written, the addressee, a greeting, an opening, the body of the letter, a closing statement, a salutation, the name of the author, a validating statement called here a "self affirmation," and finally an optional postscript. The placement and absence/presence of these letter parts

function in determining the style of the letter and provide clues to the rhetorical strategy used by the author in this genre.

1.2.3.2 Analysis of the Process of Structuring. Structuring is a process, the way in which narrators and other performers of discourse draw on the various resources available to them within their linguistic, social and cultural tradition and create their own personal text (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987). Initially, structuring of text was analyzed in terms of coordination and subordination. Joseph Grimes (1972) stretched this familiar organization of discourse in terms of coordination and subordination to “outline and overlay.” Grimes considered “outline” the basic organization of discourse in terms of the dependency of coordination and subordination. Grimes then called “paratactic structure” a coordinative arrangement using temporal sequence, alternative conjunctions, or response/reply, without indicating relationship between the parts of structure. This contributed to the critical rethinking of linking of coordination/subordination characteristics of discourse to simple/complex sentence production and then to deficient/sufficient writer’s abilities (Tannen 1982, 1984, 1985 and Chafe 1982, 1985).

Thereafter, Dell Hymes (1974, Ervin-Tripp 1972) sought to identify a style of discourse in terms of the rules of co-occurrence, free of connotations of inferior sentence structure. Hymes (1981) narrative analysis looked to linguistic items that occurred in “chain” to determine the structural frame and handled the co-occurrence of items over larger stretches. Hymes called the chain structure “syntagmatic relations” that he considered generally an alternation to cope with the choice of

styles. Discourse is structural in the sense of seeking form-meaning covariation and patterning based upon it. Discourse is structural in insistence that language is structured. Structure concerns the organization of a particular texts into units of various kinds.

Following Dell Hymes' (1981:109-341) study, the second level of analysis conducted on the letters, a narrative analysis of the discourse, is to determine the structural chain (syntagmatic) particular to the native language. This level in effect partitions paragraphs, clauses and signals quotes. Hymes (1981:333), Sherzer and Woodbury (1987) employed language internal order to seek out what chained and ordered the texts for the specific literature. Hymes' discovered language internal organization, or the initial elements of the sentence, recurrent in structurally significant roles. His method determined and lent itself to the genre of letters/notes from the individual as much as it did to traditional narrative. In addition, unlike Tedlock's (1972) ethnopoetics study, Hymes addressed the recovery of performance in non-tape recorded narrative or narrative recorded in writing. Hymes' Clackamas (syntagmatic) "markers of measure" were: 1) verbs signaling lines; 2) recurrent initial particles with clear expressive roles (a pair defining verse); 3) change of scene (location, time, or participants of act) with a series forming sets/units; 4) lexical recurrence (units marked or linked). The discovery of this structural pattern is not mechanical nor arbitrary, but governed by coherence and coupling of the particular narrative and its rhetorical pattern. This "form-meaning" covariation demonstrates the relationship between linguistic elements and narrative form. This form is

dependent upon organization of the whole and the functional criteria of change in time, location, or participants.

Grimes' "paratactic outline" and Hymes' linguistic "chain" of "syntagmatic relations" were equally reaching to define discourse structure. The words "outline, frame, chain, structure" were each used describing the organizational unit of a text or discourse by the use of various individual linguistic elements, devices or techniques. Hymes' technique determining text structure was supported by the following works focusing on the pertinent linguistic elements: Deborah Schiffrin's (1980) look at use of the historical present also used as an internal evaluation device in complicating action; Al Becker's (1982) statement that language integrates the medium and the structure (defined by the possibilities of the language), with interaction, prior text in text, and world view; Sandra Thompson's (1984) study of dependent clauses, adverbial connectors, relative pronouns and verbs in relation to formal and informal discourse; Karen Beaman's (1984) frequency study that invalidates direct correlation of complex/simple to subordination/coordination in written/oral text with a focus on adverbials, demonstrative pronouns, etc.; Deborah Tannen's (1984, 1987) discourse studies on repetition, on the role of adverbial connectors and conjunctions as structure and involvement; and by Douglas Biber's (1988) multivariate statistical analysis confirming language internal (structural) identification of genre. By this method, Hymes provided a point of departure from the dialectical structures of Lévi-Strauss that neglected and ignored the ways that narratives are organizations of linguistic means. Hymes and those who followed

made it clear that this patterning is inherent and not recoverable because of the devices, but in spite of them. Even if we strip language of devices, the grammar remains operative in the potential of the language. As in Cherokee and *Dakota*, there are lexical/syntactic signals that frame the text as a unit, framing sentences and paragraphs.

Hymes' recovery of narrative structure and the idea of the interrelatedness of the multiple levels of language in use brings us to the culmination of all the premises mentioned, to the analysis of text via discourse analysis. Discourse analysis points to the differences and types of complexities involved in each level and gives an indication of the change in the use of these linguistic components over time. The present status in linguistics and anthropology assumes that there are few absolute differences between speech and writing (Chafe 1982, 1985, Tannen 1982, 1984, 1985; Boyarin 1993) and that linguistic competence is the acquisition of a repertoire rather than an evolutionary replacement by more sophisticated progressions of language use. What does recur in these studies of discourse are the linguistic components, in varying proportions, salient to various modes and genres of language use. Far from confining any mode, these linguistic components describe the diversity of language use. Concentrating initially on the recurring linguistic features identified in prior studies, it is possible to compare what is considered prevalent and thereby comparable between languages, as well as within a language system. Discourse is a level or component of language use, related to but distinct from grammar.



1.2.3.3 Analysis of Rhetorical Presentation. The third level of analysis used on the letters, notes and hypothesizes a language specific norm. In addition, it describes language use techniques or devices used to create involvement and interaction in discourse. Rhetorical presentation focuses on the strategic function of discourse in persuasion, placed in specific and social and cultural contexts (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987). Grimes (1972) sought the structure of rhetorical presentation in his “overlay” as separate from “outline” structure. In his description of overlay, Grimes labeled a “hypotactic structure” as a subordinative arrangement indicating relationship between the parts of structure or a dependent construction using attribution, a specific statement, explanation, evidence, analogy, manner, equivalence, setting, or identification. Hymes (1974) also distinguished rhetorical presentation from the structural “chain,” classifying “paradigmatic relations” as linguistic items of an author’s choice, as found in description or characterization. Next, Erving Goffman’s (1974, 1976, 1979) emphasis on self-presentation was his demonstration that dense, complex and fragile social interaction is a reflection of the individual’s ability to frame and transform ongoing social activity. Goffman defined frames as “the principles of organization which govern social events and the actor’s subjective involvement in them (1974:10).”

Grimes’ “overlay” found in “hypotactic structure,” Hymes’ “paradigmatic relations” chained by linguistic items of choice, and Goffman’s “self-presentation” organized by “frames,” all encompassed rhetorical presentations structured by linguistic techniques or devices. Other authors have elaborated on various devices

of rhetorical presentation: Schiffrin's (1977) study on framing interaction in discourse; Livia Polanyi's (1979) study determined that the properties of rhetorical devices are culturally salient in narrative's descriptive and evaluative structures; Deborah Tannen's (1985, 1987) studies of dialogue and repetition; Johnstone's (1987) study on the use of tense and reported speech to create involvement; and William Labov's (1972) study on basic narrative syntax and the parts of narrative demonstrates that discourse is socially situated. Labov's six parts of narrative are labeled abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, results, and coda. Further, the types of elements of concern in Labov's evaluation are termed as intensifiers, comparatives, correlatives, and explicatives.

1.2.3.4 Analysis of Goals, Roles, and Function. The fourth level employed on the letters was a functional or role analysis of presentation strategies. This analysis was based on the assumptions of Goffman (1974, 1976, 1979), John Gumperz (1982); Wallace Chafe (1982, 1984, 1985); Tannen (1989), Charles Cooper (1985) and W. P Robinson (1985). Functional analysis is employed on the text to determine the perceived situational roles participants are playing. Interaction and agency are related phenomena. Literacy is viewed as interaction (Scollons 1979; Heath 1982; Wagner, Messick and Spratt 1986). A role is a social function enacted, as fulfilling a set of preconceived acts, while a strategist is a social role that an individual may act out or plan. Goffman (1976:266) addresses how, in interaction, an individual handles himself in respect to another, so that he does not discredit his own claim to good character or the claim of the other, thus maintaining

social boundaries that are to be respected. He (1971:52) claims this social interaction depends on individuals giving up some boundaries and barriers that ordinarily separate them.

This dissertation is concerned with identifying the roles of author, addressee, principal, animator in each letter. It is also concerned with the figure. Goffman's definitions in identifying the roles of principal, author, animator (Hymes' participants; Cooper's audience) and figure have been elaborated on by Cooper (1983) and this dissertation. Hereafter, the "author" is the agent/strategist generator of a message. This writer using "voice" is easily identified by the name concluding the letter, unless written by another's hand. The "addressee" is the person or persons to whom a letter is addressed, whose attention a statement is seeking. The "principal" is the audience an author of a letter directs a message to and intends the message to reach. The author may or may not include the addressee in the category of "principal," for although a letter maybe written to an individual named, the message may be intended to be "heard" by third party with more power, prestige, or by those more integral to the goals of the message. The audience of the letter may include the addressee, the principal, the author (oneself), intimate friend/s, or stranger/s and so on (Cooper 1983). The "animator" is one an author chooses to project his voice, to act out or demonstrate the message or to act as a spokesperson. The "figure" of a letter is the subject (who, what, that) being portrayed through discourse in a text or talk. The figure is generally affiliated with the topic of the

text. These terms are useful in considering the function of the text and the negotiation involved in discourse and the real world.

Goffman (1981) was also concerned with “footing” as the alignments we take up or that others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance. This dissertation will concentrate on identifying voice instead of footing. “Voice” is Mikhail Bakhtin’s term for the “speaking consciousness,” as the person/s acting in a particular time and place to known or unknown others; for example a “public voice” or an “individual voice.” Using “public voice” is the projection of self as speaking for others or for a group, not just oneself. Voice and its utterance always express a point of view, always enact particular values. Voice is social in still a third meaning--taking account of the voices being addressed. Schiffrin (1981) and Gumperz (1982) expand on discourse strategies and contextualization cues patterned in text.

Attention to the articulated or unarticulated goals of the author writing and the function of the text is crucial to interpretation of the roles utilized and the functional analysis. Goal in this dissertation is defined as the dominant purpose for writing (Cooper 1983:12-3; also Hymes’ ends). And like the awareness of the audience, the awareness of the purpose pervades all decisions the writer makes. The function of the text can be defined as the outcomes of Hymes’ ends or the resultant effect of the text.

Within the structural norms of rhetorical presentation, those above identify the various frame of strategies used by the author in presentation of self, within the

units of discourse. “Frames” are the organizational and interactional principles by which situations are defined and sustained as experiences (Goffman 1974). Hymes uses the term “paradigmatic relations” to refer to linguistic items of an author’s choice as in a description or characterization (Hymes 1974). Others have elaborated on these linguistic items or rhetorical devices strategically used in presentation. Chafe and Gumperz addressed involvement; Tannen (1989:13) addressed the author’s use of repetition, dialogue, imagery, and detail. Tannen (25) also identifies the functional use of reported speech, direct speech or quotation, and third person indirect reported speech as dialogue.

Interaction and agency are related phenomena. Literacy is viewed as interaction (Scollons 1979; Heath 1982; Wagner, Messick and Spratt 1986). Goffman’s presentation of self, demonstrates socialized ways to frame and transform ongoing discourse into a range of impression-management strategies. Language users are active participants in their world, their learning, their history as well as creators of their world rather than simply products, objects, or victims. Carole Edelsky (1991) looks at the literate person as “subject” or agent like Goffman’s author/strategist. She suggests that attention be paid to particular ways in which social meaning of a language and style are built up in the experience of a person in a community. Language is a product of active reconstruction, regardless of whether an individual or a group acts in the literacy event. However, groups within a society may value literacy in ways different from the majority.

Change and Variation. Another phenomenon in accord with agency is change. Language is viewed as dynamic, always in change, socially and individually. Change is the norm. The study focus then becomes what changes and how it changes in addition to what “is.” Sociolinguists note change and lack of change at levels of use and organization of language—in the structure or code. The cultural reality underlying the codes of language use was and still is maintained within the the speakers’ community. Contrary to the implications of “language loss,” aspects of the native language structures are not lost, but are used by the communities. The features of speaker’s language tradition and of the speakers’ cultural background remain. What needs to be determined is exactly what significance that variable has for the language and for Indian English in continuity.

Therefore, chapter II is a historical chapter with the focus narrowed to looking at primarily *Dakota* and Cherokee literacy related experiences. Chapter III analyzes five Cherokee and five *Dakota* language letters from the nineteenth century for determining style and genre, structuring process, rhetorical presentation and involvement and interaction. Chapter IV concludes with a discussion of the utility of utilizing native language letters as a source of information on native languages, native discourse, native society and history as lived by author of letters. Appendix I prepares newcomers for obstacles encountered working in documented native language materials that need not become barriers to future work.

## CHAPTER II

### A NARROW HISTORY OF THE INFLUENCE OF LITERACY ON CHEROKEE AND *DAKOTA* AND THE PEOPLE

One can never understand fully the implications of what any man writes unless one studies the climate of opinion in which he writes, the things he is reacting against, the sources which nourish him.

--- Robert Le Page (1980)

In the European experience, the standardization of script (for holographs) is credited to Charlemagne of France in the eighth century. The authority of script was furthered by William the Conqueror's records of the survey of land, which became known as the Doms Day Book (1086) due to its unchallengeable quality concerning the demarcation of land boundaries and legitimizing ownership through documentation (Kittay: 1988). Eventually, European historical time became defined by dated and legally binding documents, a circumstance that thereafter represented a profound challenge to oral societies accustomed to reshaping their past traditions in accord with present needs.

This dissertation will look at two such oral societies in the continental United States, the Cherokee and the *Dakota* speaking people, and their initial experience with literacy. The literary experience was urged upon the Cherokee and *Dakota* people by Europeans and Americans who held to documentation as validation, as a stepping stone to citizenship, to civility and to legitimacy in accord with their own historical experience.

This chapter will chronologically sketch the Euroamerican legacy of literacy on the history of Cherokee and *Dakota* speakers. The chapter will point to Cherokee and *Dakota* experiences with language representation: roman character English, roman character phonetic Cherokee and *Dakota*, and Cherokee Sequoyan. The standardization of language is considered a Euroamerican goal. The existence of vernacular literacy becomes the native reality.

2.0 Who Are the Speakers of Cherokee and *Dakota*? Both the Cherokee and *Dakota* languages are classified as belonging to the Macro-Siouan language phylum (see Figure 1 and Laird 1970:34; Latham 1846; Morgan 1851; Sapir 1921; Allan 1931; Chafe 1964, 1973).

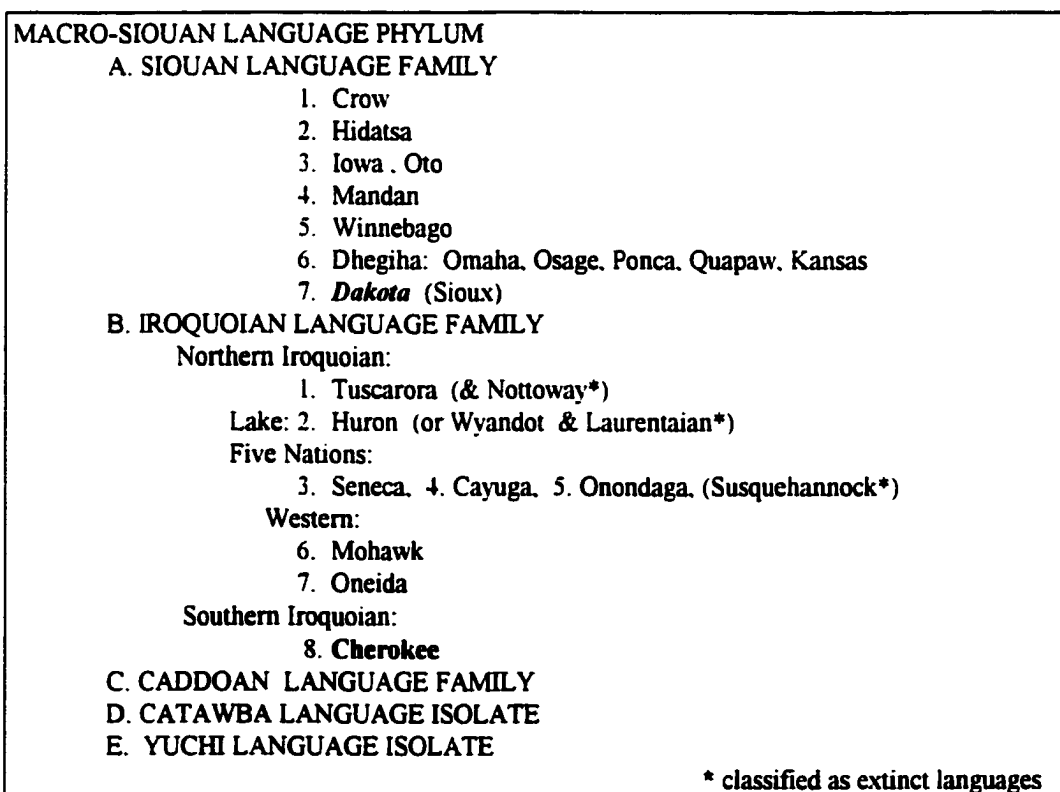


Figure 2.0 Macro-Siouan Language Phylum



2.1.0 Classification of the Cherokee. *Jalagi*, or the Cherokee language, is classified as part of the Iroquoian language family. This language classification is historically based on cultural, geographic and historical-linguistic similarities and differences. At European contact the *Anijalagi*, or Cherokee people, inhabited the South Appalachian area of present day Tennessee and North Carolina and neighboring areas. The Iroquoian language family includes Huron and the languages of the League of the Iroquois--Seneca, Cayuga, Onondaga, and Mohawk--all ascribed as originally spoken in the southern Great Lakes region--as well as Tuscarora and Cherokee, "originally spoken in North Carolina and Virginia (Leap 1981:124)."

Euroamericans have associated *Jalagi*, or the Cherokee Language, with the Iroquoian language family since the late 1700s and the height of the Iroquois' power (Zeisberger n.d.; Barton 1797; Norton 1809; Gallatin 1836; Hale 1883; Gachet 1886; Hewitt 1887; Mooney 1891; King 1977; Fenton 1978). Initial language evidence rested primarily on a similar lack of bilabial stops, "p and b" sounds, among all the languages in this family. David Zeisberger, a Moravian missionary, recognized a relationship between the Iroquoian and Cherokee languages during a 1768 treaty between the Cherokee and the Six Nations.<sup>1</sup> The Cherokee-Iroquoian relationship also was again speculated on in print by Benjamin Smith Barton (1979:xlvi, lxvii). He mentioned a few similarities between words of the Six Nation

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<sup>1</sup>John Witthoft brought this to King's attention (8). King (1975) cites David Zeisberger, n.d.. "Report to the Moravian Church of Journey to Onondaga for the

languages and Cherokee. Major John Norton took notice of the fact that both the Wyandot and Cherokee lacked general use of the “m” sound.<sup>2</sup> Upon hearing the *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa* dialect in 1809, Norton believed it nearer the resemblance to the Five Nations than any other dialect (King 1977:403; Fogelson 1978). Oral tradition recorded by ethnologist James Mooney maintains that Iroquoian kinship parallels the Huron-Iroquoian creation myth and trickster tale, and an Onondaga myth, showing a historical relationship. John Witthoft extended Mooney and Olbrechts investigations among the Seneca, adding to the data concerned with establishing the Iroquoian-Cherokee relationship.

2.1.1 Cherokee Dialects. It is agreed that three major dialects were recognized early in the documented historic period, roughly corresponding to the three main geographic regions of the Appalachian Cherokee Nation (King 1975:9-10; Scancarelli 1987). The Cherokee dialects evident were the *Elati* or Lower dialect, the *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa* or Middle dialect, the *Otali* or Western dialect and later in history, the Overhill dialect in Northeastern Oklahoma. The speakers of *Elati* were located in the Piedmont geographical region of the Upper Savannah, Keowee, Chattooga, Tugaloo, Xeowee and Coosa Rivers. The speakers of *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa* were located in the Blue Ridge region, often called the Middle Out and Valley region, on the Oconalugtee, Tuckaseegee, Nanathala, Lower Tennessee and the French Broad Rivers. The speakers of *Otali* were initially in the Ridge and Valley region or

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Cherokee-Iroquois Peace Treaty of 1768.” Manuscript in German in the Archives of the Moravian Church, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Overhill region along the Little Tennessee, Tellico, Holston, Cheowee and Hiwassee Rivers. In modern times, a mix of the Overhill/ Western *Otali* and *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa* dialects is reported in Snowbird near Robbinsville, North Carolina (King 1975:10).

2.1.2 Terms for the Cherokee. The term Cherokee began to appear in Euro-American documents around 1708. The term *Anijalagi* (*a-ni-jala-gi*) may also be an indigenous outsider term for the Cherokee people, whose language is called *Jalagi*. The term *Anijalagi* is morphologically comprised of (*a-*) a human indicator, (*-ni-*) an animate plural, the root (*-jala-*), with three suggested meanings: either “fox,” “who earth (in/on)”<sup>3</sup> or, as Willard Walker (1981) declares, is the name of a herb of which the black drink was made; and (*-gi*) the preposition “on or in” or a nominalizer. Recall that it is not even agreed that this term is of Cherokee origin. Walker also speculates that the *Anijalagi* were members of the larger inclusive group referred to as the *Aniyvwiya?i* or “The Principal People,” today also glossed as “Indians.”<sup>4</sup> James Mooney ([1900]1992:185-87) found over one hundred terms used as referents for the Cherokee. Most terms are close to the word Cherokee, some are close to the word Allegheny, while still others are names of social divisions.

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<sup>2</sup>However, the “m” sound occurs in other dialects and some Cherokee words, for instance in the words for “water” and “salt.”

<sup>3</sup>James Mooney ([1900]1992:185-187) History, Myths and Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees, recorded nearly one hundred and two variants of the names for the Cherokee, the variant closest to “earth” was recorded by Gatchet and Schoolcraft.

<sup>4</sup>**DhBOWT**, *Aniyvwiya?i* or “The Principal People”: (*a-*) human indicator, (*-ni-*) animate plural, (*-yvw-*) root of person/Indian, (*-ya?i*) generalizer suffix meaning “principal, most common.”

2.2.1 Dakota Classification. The *Dakota* speakers are classified as part of the Siouan language family, and at the time of European contact were Plains area people. There are several internal divisions recognized within the Siouan language family historically (see Figure 1.0). These include: Crow, Hidatsa, Iowa, Oto, Mandan, Winnebago, Omaha, Osage, Ponca, Quapaw, Kansas and “Sioux” or *Dakota* languages.

2.2.2 Dakota Dialects. There are three main dialects of the *Dakota* language: *Dakota*, *Lakota* or Teton, and *Nakota* or Assiniboine (Chafe 1976:542). The **d-l-n** spelling contrast is an example of the main regular contrast between these *Dakota* dialects, as in *Dakota-Lakota-Nakota*, also the self referent terms meaning “friendly.” This contrast also reflects a geographic span of eastern most-middle-western most location of *Dakota* speakers. This dissertation looks at the *Dakota* dialect of *Dakota*, or the Eastern dialect.

2.2.3 Terms for the Dakota. “Sioux” is the outsider’s term for the *Dakota*, reportedly of French origin meaning “snake,” considered a derogatory term. “*Dakota*,” meaning “friendly,” is the insider’s term for the inclusive group, for their language, as well as for the Eastern dialect of the language. Speakers divided this general inclusive group into seven social divisions: *Mdewakantowjans*, *Wahpetowjans*, *Wahpekutes*, *Sisitorjans*, *Ihanktoiwans*, *Ihanktoiwannas*, and *Titowjans*. This dissertation looked at *Mdewakantowan*, *Wahpetowan*, and *Sisitorwan* literacies, as they represented the earliest use of a written language.

2.3.1 Euroamerican Contact With the Cherokee. According to European documentation, early in the 16th century, the Spanish explorers were the first Europeans to view Cherokee life. Ronald N. Satz (1971:11) estimates that the Cherokee were the largest tribe in the south during the 1600s. However, it was the British who around 1680 recorded sustained contact with the Cherokee. Relations were such that in 1730 the British selected seven “chiefs” to visit England from the original fourteen clans. Moytoy of Tellico was selected to act as “Emperor” (Mooney 1992:35).

Christian (or Johann Gottlieb) Priber was a German army officer who had settled among the Cherokee in their capital, Tellico, in 1736, adopting their language and dress (Haan 1988:677). He had preached the formation of a Christian, communal republic consisting of all the tribes of the Southeast extending to the Mississippi. Priber’s objectives included the preservation of Indian independence from European invasion. Believing him to be a French spy, the British captured him en route to Mobile. During his imprisonment in Frederica, Georgia, he recorded a word list in 1741 intended for publication in Paris. Since that time it still has been referred to as the first Cherokee Dictionary, in spite of the fact that it was lost.<sup>5</sup>

This first word list was recorded a year after the British arranged an alliance between the Iroquois and the Cherokee ending their one hundred years of warfare, which had been disruptive and detrimental to British trade relations in the area. By 1755 the Cherokee became angry with British traders who advanced from the East

Coast up the Savannah River. They adopted more friendly relations with the French and Spanish further south. At this time, the second reported vocabulary of twenty-one words was compiled by an Englishman John Gerar William De Brahm (Pilling 1885:195). It was printed in 1757 in a twenty page manuscript that included a list of Cherokee towns in Georgia for His Majesty (Pilling 1885:195; Scancarelli 1987; Mithun 1979). In addition to this interest, the British aggressively tried to drive the Cherokee west of the Appalachian Mountains in 1760, invading *Elati* or Lower towns and destroying fifteen *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa* or Middle towns.

Near the end of the French and Indian Wars, in which the Cherokee were allied with the French, England's Bishop Lowth (1762) established a prestige dialect of English through the recording of its upper class's grammar. This led to the recorded dialect's prominence in the standardization of British English and demonstrated a growing interest in the study of language and standardizing language use.<sup>6</sup>

During the American Revolution, the Cherokee sided not so much with the British as against the American colonists who were encroaching on Cherokee lands. They continued to fight the British on occasion. The 1783 Treaty of Paris was the first successful step of American colonists toward peace with the Cherokee and the first effort to define United States boundaries (as William the Conqueror's Doms

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<sup>5</sup>James Mooney, (1992:37), quotes comments on the dictionary made by Adair (1775:243). Scancarelli (1987) notes that it was lost.

<sup>6</sup>A Short Introduction to English Grammar with Critical Notes (Lowth, 1762) was written as a new middle class emerged during the rise of capitalism who wanted their children to speak the dialect of the upper class.

Day Books had defined boundaries). However, it was not until the Treaty of Hopewell that the Cherokee made peace with the United States.

## 2.4 America and Cherokee Relations.

2.4.1 Assimilation. George Washington and Henry Knox believed that the Cherokee should be treated as an independent sovereign nation by the United States. Following his 1789 inauguration, Washington supported a policy of civilization and assimilation toward the Cherokee. From 1789-1833 the United States Federal Government adopted a Policy aimed at making citizens of indigenous peoples. The defining assimilationist criteria qualifying indigenous peoples for citizenship was initially tied to political interests, as well as education, agricultural and vocational training. It should be noted that segments of the indigenous Cherokee society were every bit as aggressive as the colonists in the pursuit of modern technology, tools of civilization, and the outward appearance of Euroamerican customs. Over time the defining criteria of rights/citizenship increasingly became tied to land ownership, and then to the selling of uncultivated and hunting land (McLoughlin 1986:1-990; 131). Finally, this changing criteria regarding the rights of indigenous people became embroiled in the issue of individual state's rights versus federal rights (Norgren 1966; Purdue and Green 1995).

John Adams was elected president in 1796. Adams embodied a post Revolutionary War concern for language purity/corruption and political unity. Even Thomas Jefferson was attacked in the London Review as "trampling upon the grammar" (Fromkin and Rodman 1988:261). Therefore, Adams proposed creating

a national academy based on the Académie Française to establish a standardized American English.<sup>7</sup> This effort was rejected as not in keeping with the goals of “liberty and justice.” However, the ideal was effected by eighteenth-century dictionary makers, who, by disseminating a guide of uniform spellings, influenced written communication and transcended dialectal pronunciations in written representations. Thus, in the United States, it was through writing that spelling influenced progression toward standard American English pronunciation in a reader’s dialect rather than through imposition of an upper class dialect or national academy prescribed standard.<sup>8</sup>

Meanwhile, the Moravians established a mission among the Cherokee in 1800 and opened their first mission school four years later.<sup>9</sup> Although the majority of Cherokee consistently opposed land cession, a group of chiefs sold land and succumbed to the promises of the United States Federal Government. The leader of the group who sold, Doublehead, was awarded U. S. citizenship in 1805 by President Thomas Jefferson. The *Otali* or Upper and the *Elati* or Lower Cherokee divided over the issues of land cession and removal. Knowing that Doublehead was awarded citizenship, a small number of *Otali* or Upper chiefs went to see President Jefferson seeking the same award of citizenship, only to be denied by Jefferson on

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<sup>7</sup>Dr. Samuel Johnson and the concern in England over fixing and purifying language preceded. America was a plurality of languages and dialects at this time.

<sup>8</sup>This in contrast to the English and French. Noah Webster’s speller was published in 1783; Murray’s English grammar in 1795; Samuel Kirkman’s English text in 1823; Webster’s dictionary in 1828; Gould Brown’s grammar in 1850; and Whitney’s Century Dictionary and Cyclopedia in 1887-91; (See Laird. 1970).

<sup>9</sup>Moravian missionaries thought Christianity must precede civilization.



the grounds that few *Otali* men knew how to read or write English. Therefore, thus they did not become individual citizens--conveying an impression that English literacy was a criterion for citizenship and for documented ownership of land (McLoughlin 1986:1-90; 131). Thereafter, the state of Tennessee used literacy as a barrier to citizenship as well.

2.4.2 Cherokee National Council and English. By 1808, the importance of recorded law, and therefore of documentation in the English language, had made its impression. Rennard Strickland ([1975] 1982:103) states that the first written laws supplanted wampum at Brooms Town on September 11, 1808. English documentation of law, English literacy, recognition, land ownership, and citizenship was already linked in the minds of many Cherokee.

The Cherokee's National Council made legal policies that moved the Cherokee toward the promise of assimilation. By 1808, the Council passed the first recorded Cherokee laws that established a police force and protected patrilineal inheritance. Widows' shares were also protected, ending the practice of inherited matrilineal ownership that historically had skipped the widow giving the property to her brother (McLoughlin 1986; Perdue and Green 1995). The new laws also instituted a change away from the practice of individual or clan retribution responsibilities. By 1810, Cherokees outlawed blood vengeance in accidental deaths. At this time the first major Cherokee migration west of the Mississippi took place, prompting the decline of the town system and leading to the rise of individual farms.

Then in 1817 at the National Council at Amohee, which reunited Cherokee factions after the Creek or Red Stick War of 1812-14, the first Cherokee Constitution was written including articles giving only the National Council, rather than individuals, the authority to cede lands in an effort to prevent land cession (Perdue and Green; McLoughlin 1986:10). At this council at Amohee, the Cherokee leaders also adopted English as the official language of record.<sup>10</sup> All laws and the constitution were documented in English. English drafts of laws followed in 1810, 1818, and 1822 along with written opinions of the Cherokee Supreme Court, which remained bilingual until abolished in 1898.

In the earliest years (1810-20), it was determined that thirty percent of the National Council spoke English and ten percent wrote English. The initial official acts of the National Council were aimed at assimilation. At the same time the Cherokee National Council members were trying to repair and protect the Cherokee Nation from detrimental Euroamerican advantage in Cherokee relations. Cherokee Nation Council members tried to accomplish this by formal land exchange for territory in Arkansas (1817) and by establishing that white men must legally marry Cherokee women to give the women recourse in matters of inheritance of land.<sup>11</sup> Euroamericans' insatiable desire for indigenous land, cloaked in the issue of state's rights, focused the Cherokee Nation on survival. Mooney (1900:106) reported that by 1820 the Cherokee had adopted a republican form of government. By 1822 the

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<sup>10</sup>It has been mentioned that this was primarily due to the influence of English trade (See Reid 1976).

<sup>11</sup>This addressed both the polygamy and Cherokee land ownership concerns.

Cherokee established a supreme court. By 1827 the Cherokee wrote a constitution asserting national sovereignty, providing for legislative, executive, and judicial branches of government. The Cherokee peoples' first official use of literacy was legalistic and in English moving toward the Anglo model and the promise of assimilation (Corman n.d. 8).

The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM, founded in 1810) commenced work among the Cherokee in Tennessee in 1817 hoping to establish schools and churches. John Pickering, a Massachusetts lawyer and philologist, published an essay defining a uniform orthography for Indian languages of North America (1818). This essay was a start toward a national phonetic alphabet (Edgerton 1943:27). Pickering, whose father worked with the Iroquois, devised a roman character orthography for the representation of the Cherokee language that David Brown adapted to his Cherokee grammar in 1823 (Haas 1976:573).

2.4.3 Sequoyan Cherokee. By 1819, ᏍᏏᏉᏯ (s-si-gwo-ya) or Sequoyah Guess,<sup>12</sup> a monolingual and formerly illiterate Cherokee without links to Christianity or Euroamerican schooling, worked at perfecting a syllabary that was disseminated without Anglo or Christian sanction enabling thousands of Cherokee to read and write in their own language. It was reflective of the vernacular of the ᏍᏏᏉᏯ, *Otali* Upper Dialect where Sequoyah lived, having no “r” sound of the ᏍᏏᏉᏯ, *Elati* / Lower Dialect (now supposedly extinct) or “sh” sound of the ᏍᏏᏉᏯ, *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa* /

Middle Dialect (Mooney [1891] 1992:220). Within six months it is reported that eighty percent of the **DhGWY**, *Anijalagi* or Cherokee were literate in the syllabary and it outmoded any “other” devised orthography (Walker and Sarbaugh 1993).

It was obvious that not everyone thought it was necessary to adopt English literacy for legalistic purposes and abandon **GWY**, *Jalagi* / the Cherokee language. Sequoyah presented the syllabary to the National Council in 1821.<sup>12</sup> The National Council made plans to establish a National Academy, and the Moral and Literary Society of the Cherokee Nation with a library attached, and made plans for a press at New Echota (McLoughlin 300). The National Council funded translation of the Bible into Sequoyan. First in 1824, the book of John was translated by **Dlr**, *Atsi* or John Arch, and second in 1825, the New Testament was completed by David Brown, who two years before used roman characters before Sequoyan to represent the Cherokee language.

Sequoyan was quickly preferred. It enabled Cherokee the exhilaration of self-expression in their own language. On February 22, 1825, Daniel Butrick wrote: “The Cherokee seem peculiarly partial to Guess’s plan of writing. They can generally learn it in one day and in a week they become writing masters and transact their business and communicate their thoughts freely and fully on religion or political

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<sup>12</sup>Monteith (1985:59) suggests Sequoyah is derived from *sigwa* meaning “pig” and *uwoya* meaning “hand” rendering “pig foot.”

<sup>13</sup>Another example of native vernacular literacy, reflecting native language use rather than an imposed, prescriptive or school taught use, was among the Maori people in New Zealand in the 1800s (Spolsky and Irvine 1980).

subjects by writing (McLoughlin 1986:350).” Mooney (1992:110) wrote that it turned that whole nation into an academy without school, expense of time or money.

It encouraged the Cherokee who accepted that Sequoyah, who neither spoke, read, nor wrote English, had mastered the skill that they assumed the Creator had given only to the white man. The fear had existed among many Cherokee of the rise of an English-speaking oligarchy which would proclaim a Christian Nation (McLoughlin 1986:390). In this environment, Sequoyan heightened that difference between those Cherokee who spoke no English and those who spoke no Cherokee. However, it gave Sequoyah a role in the populist movement leading up to the White Path Rebellion in 1827, as many Cherokee came to consider him a full blood due to his accomplishment (Strickland 105).

The National Council awarded Sequoyah a medal to commemorate his contribution in 1828 (after the White Path Rebellion), but kept English as the official language of record. Therefore, most early Cherokee documents remain in English. But thereafter, copies of Council minutes were put into Sequoyan for the public literate in Cherokee, and not until removal did the Council mandate that they be recorded in both English and Sequoyan. Not until 1839 was the Cherokee constitution recorded in Sequoyan (Strickland 103-108). By 1828, state's rights was triumphing over federal rights, and Georgia asserted state sovereignty in

extending its jurisdiction over the **DhGwYᵛ**, *Anijalagiya*.<sup>14</sup> Andrew Jackson, who supported states rights, was elected president of the United States.<sup>15</sup>

#### 2.4.4 "The Golden Age of the Syllabary, 1826-1906."<sup>16</sup> Sequoyan Printed.

Reverend Samuel A. Worcester is often considered the most important missionary to the Cherokee. While serving at the Brainerd Mission (Tennessee), he was one of the prime movers in making the new Sequoyan syllabary suitable for print technology. In 1827, he was transferred to New Echota (Georgia), the capital of **DhGwYᵛ**, *Anijalagiyi* or the Cherokee Nation, where he continued to work on the syllabary system, believing that the use of native languages was a significant way to promulgate the gospel. Worcester translated hymns and the Book of Matthew. In 1828, with the aid of Elias Boudinot and other Cherokee leaders, **GwY JᵛEᵛᵛ**, *Jalagi Julehisanvhi*,<sup>17</sup> or the *Cherokee Phoenix*, a tribal newspaper, came into existence. This was the first Cherokee newspaper, and it was published as a weekly bilingual paper, seventy percent in English and thirty percent in **GwYᵛ**, *Jalagi*. The use of the Sequoyan syllabary in this publication exceeded the legalistic use by the **DhGwYᵛ**, *Anijalagiyi* or the Cherokee Nation still documenting in

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<sup>14</sup>*Anijalagi* refers to the Cherokee people (-gi being a nominalizer) and *Anijalagiya* is used to refer to the unit body or the nation of the people (-ya/-ya?i being a generalizer). *Anijalagiyi* is used to refer to the Cherokee Nation jurisdiction as a location or geographic entity (-yi or -?i being a locative).

<sup>15</sup>Jackson and the issue of states' rights in effect created ethnic groups in the Southeastern United States, viewing indigenous people as impediments and defining them in an effort to remove them from contested areas.

<sup>16</sup>Frans M. Olbrechts, Gillespie Collection, Roll 20, Western Historical Collections, University of Oklahoma.

English. Strickland (108) claims that the aim of the press was to promote support of the Cherokee court system, civilization, and a constitutional government. Within a decade of the Sequoyan syllabary's development, ninety percent of western Cherokees were literate in their own language (White 1962; Walker 1969). Worcester's original grammar and dictionary of the Cherokee language sank with an Arkansas River steamer in 1830 (Pilling 1888:174; King 1975). Despite the loss, Worcester continued to work on the language well into the 1850s.

Others were still trying to impose a non-Sequoyan system.<sup>18</sup> Missionary Evan Jones, at Valley Town, Tennessee, was interested in developing methods of converting the Cherokee language into print without using the syllabary. Jones later changed his mind. In 1831 John Pickering, who earlier devised a roman character orthography for Cherokee, published his Cherokee grammar.<sup>19</sup> Pickering also published a "Vocabulary of Americanisms" in 1816 and twenty years later published "Remarks on the Indian Languages of North America." Pickering classed all the languages of the Americas as polysynthetic,<sup>20</sup> and maintained that this set the indigenous languages off from all others outside the Americas. Pickering also

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<sup>17</sup>According to the dialect, which I have worked I will use the <j> symbol, rather than the iconic <ts> symbol or the <dz> <ch> or <c> symbols, which catch the variants rather than convey a proper spelling.

<sup>18</sup>Moravian missionary, Abraham Steines, Rev. John Cambold favored English language literacy for the Cherokee. There were English and phonetic roman character, and Sequoyan Cherokee language literacies.

<sup>19</sup>Pickering's grammar was edited by Krueger (1963:1-56). Mooney (1891:312) claims this was not its complete form. See King (1975) and Scancarrelli's (1987) comments on.







R23). Pilling obviously considered the effort of learning **GWY**, *Jalagi* or the Cherokee language through the Sequoyan syllabary unworthy of his attention. In 1885, Pilling published the Proof-Sheets of a Bibliography of the Languages of the North American Indians, in which **STOJ**, *Tugwasdi* or Duncan's efforts are not mentioned.

Pilling's (1888) bibliography of the Iroquoian language noted "a novelty in Cherokee literature" in the Vinita Chieftain, January 21, 1886. Pilling identified this novelty, the rendering of the Lord's Prayer "in roman characters as an illustration that these [roman] characters are entirely adequate to express all the sounds in the Cherokee language." Then in the English section of the Cherokee Advocate, Pilling mentions "Too-qua-stee" or Duncan, whom Pilling identifies as "a quarter Cherokee and three quarters Scottish," as having a ninety-page analysis of the Cherokee language.<sup>23</sup> Pilling further intimates that **STOJ**, *Tugwasdi* or Col. Duncan also told him that he had a work "on hand looking to the compilation of a Cherokee-English and English-Cherokee lexicon." Pilling was no doubt pleased that Duncan was learning phonetic transcription and relieved not to be burdened with learning the Sequoyan syllabary. Pilling delayed Cherokee grammatical analysis by nearly ninety years by never publishing Duncan's grammar, a prototype never duplicated until Durbin Feeling and William Pulte published their grammar in 1975.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>See Chronicles of Oklahoma 47:307.

<sup>24</sup>Pulte and Feeling (1975) presented their analysis of the grammar in much the same manner as Duncan had approached his analysis. There are other published grammatical analyses listed in the bibliography.

2.4.7 Still Being Cherokee. By the 1890s, it was noted that an individual was still considered a “full blood” by the *Anijalagi* if both parents spoke **GWY**, *Jalagi* (Thomas 1953:97). This speaker criterion for community membership at this time was in stark contrast to the fact that English speakers by use of terms like “mix-blood” were estimating Cherokee descent by fractions. The Euroamerican preoccupation with compiling evidence of a decrease in Cherokee-ness (Indian-ness) permeated their views of language use, community membership, and person. Pilling, for instance, referred to **STOJ**, *Tugwasdi* or Col. Duncan as “one quarter” Cherokee. In the 1892 article, “Improved Cherokee Alphabets,” James Mooney identifies one William Eubanks, a Cherokee “mixed-blood” of Tahlequah, who had invented “the other” alphabet—a system of shorthand “well adapted” to rapid manuscript writing—to “correctly” represent every sound in the language. Mooney notes that Eubanks was promoting his alphabet’s adoption by distribution at his own expense. However, there is no evidence that it ever took hold. Mooney (1982) reflects that the use of “their old alphabet,” or the Sequoyan syllabary was a marker of resistance and assumes that Cherokees “rapidly becoming white men” is progress.

Mooney (1892:62-3) stated, “When Sequoya’s alphabet was invented . . . the Indian languages had a commercial and even political importance. Now, all is changed.” Mooney goes on to mention the two thousand white citizens in the Cherokee Nation, and that the majority of tribal individuals are “one-half or more white blood,” many unable to speak the Cherokee language receiving their education all in English. “The full-blood, who cannot speak English, is fast

becoming a rarity. The Cherokees are rapidly becoming white men, and when the last full-blood discard their old alphabet--which they love because it is Indian--they will adopt that of the ruling majority." The old alphabet was only seventy-one years old at Mooney's writing and he recognizes that it was synonymous with their identity. The "white wash" attitude that Pilling and Mooney reflected, assumed or even hoped that "old" ways could be put away and replaced rather than merely driven underground. The assumption of the increased impotence of Cherokee community membership, whether measured by speakers or blood decent, and decreased use of the spoken language and its representation by the syllabary is evident from the way English speakers described Cherokee society at the turn of the century (Corman n.d. 11).

In spite of many efforts to urge the use of a roman character orthography among the Cherokee people, the Sequoyan syllabary remained the orthography of choice (Mooney (1891, 1992:220). Sequoyah's innovation initiated what has been called "the Golden Age" of the Sequoyan syllabary, denoting the prominence of its use from 1826 until 1906 (Olbrecht, Gillespie R20). At that time, the printing press of The Cherokee Advocate ceased and adult literacy steadily declined to sixty-five percent of **DhGWY**, *Anijalagi*. Mooney (1992:181) states that among the Eastern Cherokees in 1900, nearly all the men and some of the women could read and write their own language, surpassing their white neighbors in literacy. Subsequently the decline of printed material in **GWY**, *Jalagi* resulted in a rise in individual and local variation in syllabary forms along with "a simplification of the

manner of writing and morphophonememics, giving rise to silent syllables, clips and contractions” (Gillespie n.d., R16).

2.5.0. Euroamerican Record of the *Dakota*. The French Jesuits encountered the *Dakota* in the 1640s, documenting the contact in their histories. In 1680 the Jesuit explorer Louis Hennepin recorded a *Dakota* dictionary (Chafe:1976:545), more accurately described as a word list. The traveler Pierre Radisson, the observer Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac, the explorer-trader Pierre Charles Le Sueur, the observer André Pénigault, and the travelers Pierre de Charlevoix and Nicholas Perrot, sent to the *Dakota* by the Canadian governor, all attempted to describe the *Dakota*. In 1683 Perrot claimed the *Dakota* lands for France, and by 1700 Le Sueur reached the Blue Earth River, on the edge of the Plains (Anderson 1997:1-13; 283-287).

Early language records in *Dakota* are few.<sup>25</sup> Johathan Carver (1778:433-40) recorded a Santee vocabulary by 1760 and six years later, he met the *Dakota* at the mouth of the St. Croix River and wrote a journal. The fur trader, Edward Umfreville provided a short word list of Assiniboine (Gallatin 1836:374). In 1808 Zebulon Pike made a treaty with the *Dakota* for the United States, and his journal of this event offered more information on the language. In the War of 1812, the *Dakota* fought on the side of the British, in part due to the persuasion of the

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<sup>25</sup>Publications in *Dakota* by various authors before 1852 include school books, hymnals, a catechism, Bible excerpts and a newspaper. See Williams (1870-80:37-42); Chafe (1976); and Pilling (1885, 1887).

Scotsman Robert Dickenson. Shortly thereafter, Thomas Say of the Long expedition collected a Yankton vocabulary in 1819-20 (Gallatin 1836:307-67).

Perhaps the most significant contributor to Eastern *Dakota* language documentation was Joseph Renville, Sr., a major Franco-*Dakota* fur trader who established his post at Lac qui Parle in 1825. Samuel and Gideon Pond, Thomas S. Williamson, and Stephen R. Riggs all worked with Renville developing wordlists and devising notes on grammar. Renville's help was so valuable because before any clergy were in Minnesota, Renville had received instruction from a "Romish" priest in Canada. As a result of this encounter, Renville possessed a large French Bible printed in 1588, in Geneva, Switzerland and this Bible contained a preface by John Calvin. It was probably the first Bible owned by a resident of what is now called Minnesota and Renville was able to translate the French into *Dakota*.

In 1829 Jedidiah D. Steven visited Fort Snelling and later wrote a *Dakota* spelling book. Two years later, Caleb Atewater also published a gloss of *Dakota* words. These were modest beginnings, catapulted by the aid of Renville to the Pond brothers, Williamson and Riggs, all connected to the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in *Dakota* country. Together they produced significant publications (from a linguistic point of view) in the *Dakota* language starting in 1835.

Samuel Pond began his vocabulary by asking in *Dakota* the name of objects in the merchant's store where *Dakota* men and women bartered with traders. Pond's keen interest in people led him to write the first ethnographic study of the

*Dakota* entitled, "The Sioux or *Dakota* in Minnesota as They were in 1834."<sup>26</sup> In 1834, the Ponds adapted the English alphabet or roman characters to writing *Dakota*, representing "ch" as "c," "sh" as "x," and "zh" as "j." Other changes were made as their knowledge progressed. By 1835 both brothers were conversing in the language and Samuel made an effort to "think" in the language. Their interest in the language attracted others. Lt. Edmund A. Ogden contributed a manuscript of English with *Dakota* definitions that he and other Fort Snelling officers had compiled with the help of Scott Campbell, the fort's "mixed-blood" interpreter. The Reverend Daniel Gavin, a Swiss Protestant missionary at Red Wing, passed on to the Ponds what he had learned about *Dakota* from Perlagie La Chapelle, a "mixed-blood" at Prairie du Chien.<sup>27</sup> Samuel concluded that knowledge of *Dakota* was unfortunately limited to a conversational language that existed primarily for commercial purposes. Samuel continued intense study of the language and felt that it led to a better understanding of the *Dakota* culture in general. He was invited on an October deer hunt in 1835 by Lake Calhoun *Dakotas*. "The language however was the game I went to hunt," Pond wrote (1940:28).

Thomas S. Williamson complimented Samuel Pond on his success with the language. "He understands nearly all the words they use in their common

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<sup>26</sup>This article was originally published in Minnesota Historical Society Collections 1908:vol. 12 reprinted in 1986 by the same press as a book.

<sup>27</sup>Once again note the preoccupation with "mix-blood" as in marked contrast to European decent (Pond 1940: 26-27, 159-60, 277)..

conversations,” Williamson later wrote.<sup>28</sup> Pond and Williamson worked together at Lac qui Parle and aimed at achieving the proficiency that would enable them to preach to the Indians in *Dakota*. Both the Ponds and Williamson demonstrated a respectful and empathetic interest in the *Dakota* people. It was at Lac qui Parle, due to Renville’s influence that his own family, as well as the Lac qui Parle soldiers lodge (a dozen or so men) first learned to read and write (Riggs 1971:32). Stephen R. Riggs joined them at the mission in 1837 and took immediate advantage of this progress. Samuel taught him and in the course of a few months marveled that Riggs memorized the vocabulary words “faster than he could learn to use them” (Samuel W. Pond 1940:160). In spite of his success with the language, Samuel complained of his own inability to get philosophical arguments across to the *Dakota*. Yet he was convinced that he learned more about the *Dakota* due to his knowledge of the language than many Euroamericans who followed, or even than many “mixed bloods” who had lived with the people.

2.5.1 Missionary Efforts. Missionaries among the Eastern *Dakota* people succeeded in establishing the first school in 1835. Missionaries reported that by 1841 the first *Dakota* male joined their church. Government agents reported that by 1843, the first *Dakota* log house was built in a Euroamerican style. Missionaries reported that the second school was established in 1845 at Traverse des Sioux (in present day Minnesota), ten years after the first. The first *Dakota* language publication was the 1850 bilingual newspaper and religious periodical *Dakota*

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<sup>28</sup>Thomas S. Williamson to David G. Greene, May 4, 1836, ABCFM



*Tawasitku Kin* or “*Dakota Friend*.” The periodical lasted until 1852, the year the Smithsonian Institution published Reverend Stephen Return Riggs’ orthography and grammar (Riggs 1852). Much of the material that Riggs published as his own was taken from the Ponds and this later sparked controversy. Clearly both the dictionary and grammar were started and developed by the Ponds, with others contributing material, over a fifteen year period.

Riggs (1971:36) believed that language was of divine origin. Therefore he believed that he had no business to make the language, but simply to report it faithfully. He admitted that the representational system was set up before his arrival, but it had “to be phonetic, as nearly as possible” and “should require as few characters as possible.” He identified four clicks (q was the only symbol in his article), two gutturals (g and r), and a nasal (n), and later (x) and (r) were discarded as representative symbols (see Riggs 1971:36).

Looking at the use of literacy and its relation to social control, one must consider both the view point of the missionaries and the view point of the *Dakota*. On the one hand, the *Dakota* missionaries definitely believed the Indians needed to be Christianized first and civilized second. The *Dakota* missionaries believed that the only way to the heart was through the gospel in the native language, resulting in a Christian by the transforming power of the “word.” Then the next step was to educate and civilize the Indian to make him more like themselves—or at least the unattained Christian “ideal” they aspired for themselves. Riggs and Williamson used

the Cherokee experience to inspire their view (Willand 1964). On this subject Riggs (1880) wrote:

It is the firm and unanimous conviction of the members of the *Dakota* mission, that if you would teach an Indian boy English, the easiest way is to teach him his own language first . . . .He will have some idea of the value of the thing and of the way in which it is to be accomplished. Add to this the discipline and the culture thus secured, and it will readily appear that teaching in the vernacular tongue is, in the beginning the most profitable teaching. --Riggs 1880

On the other hand, the *Dakota* were not without foresight or goals. They were shrewd statesmen and had an agenda of their own. The *Dakota* had a long oral tradition, in which respect and prestige were attached to a good orator or spokesman and his family. One such forthright letter was written to President Zachary Taylor, via Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey on November 2, 1849 reading (broad translation):

Sometime since you called us all down to buy from us a part of our country, we were on the way home when we heard that it was the intention to set aside our own chiefs and braves, and appoint different ones. For that we are not willing and therefore proceed no further towards home. They have done nothing bad; they have said nothing bad; but if you should do that...the whole nation will not consent to it, and can never agree to it. The land belongs to them as well as to the whole people.

--*Mazawakandapi, Wamdiokiya, Wakanmani*, etc.

Iron Spirit, Talking Eagle, Spirit Walker

**2.5.2 Literacy Learned Quickly.** It is evident from the progress reports and the missionary school attendance records that the *Dakota* learned reading and writing rapidly. The missionary teachers kept rigorous records (ABCFM). Even native *Dakota* teachers, teaching in less formal environments later on, were amazed at the quickness of their students (see section 5.5.3). Letters written in 1863 by

*Caske*, *Wawiyohiyewiŋ*, and *Wiŋyaŋ* attest to teaching other *Dakotas* to read and write well within six months. The orthography and the writing system taught the *Dakota* must have accurately reflected their phonetic realities and must have reflected the native patterns of discourse, rather than imposing an artificial standard more alien, thus difficult to grasp. The classroom orthography taught by the missionaries did undergo modification for handwriting purposes. The *Dakota* correspondence letters attest that there were modifications, as much as in English “folk” correspondence. However, the list of modifications became so regularized and were apparently so suitable to the context that they were universal in *Dakota* writers’ script and never were objected to by the missionaries nor the originator of the classroom version, Stephen Riggs (see Figure 0.3; *Dakota* letters). However, at times the editors of the *lapi Oaye* adjusted the orthography of the authors’ script in alignment with their print preferences (*q* instead of *g*, diacritics on *h̄*, *s̄*, *c̄*, but no *ŋ*, etc.; see Figure 0.3)

The *Dakota* already had a history of contact with white society, and they knew they had to maintain their effectiveness and prestige with the encroaching Americans. The reason certain influential *Dakota* supported the school effort was to gain the tools of reading and writing in order to remain effective spokesmen in that political arena, as *Taoyateduta*, “His Red Nation” or Little Crow did.<sup>29</sup> *Dakotas* had experience with treaties, with fur traders, with government agents and others

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<sup>29</sup> Little Crow or *Taoyateduta* or “His Red Nation” became the infamous leader of the Minnesota Sioux Uprising of 1862 (Anderson 1986).

who brought papers and claimed the power of the written word. Therefore, it was not strange that they requested to be taught to read and to write.

Although *Dakota* literacy was purposely taught by missionaries for the study of the Bible and to effect a civilized Christian, it was not a restricted religious task literacy as were some literacy projects entangled with proselytic purposes (see section 5.0-1). Some *Dakota* who resisted missionary religious influence requested the missionaries to instruct their people and/or sought at least some brief instruction in reading and writing and often math. Little Crow, for example, requested instruction in reading and writing but never acceded to Christian philosophy, although he did take to farming and wore pantaloons, while continuing traditional dancing. *Towajiteton*, Face of the Village, vacillated between the *Dakota* and the Christian philosophies, but took hold of literacy and used it throughout his lifetime.<sup>30</sup> *Kewajke* put literacy to use and professed Christianity, yet was viewed with pious skepticism by the missionary Riggs. *Itemaza*, Iron Face, secured every *Dakota* honor before his sudden decision to take up a new adventure as a fur trader (Sibley 1950). Competent and unchallenged in either role, his only “religious” philosophy was that of an irreverent skeptic and a charming, irresistible rebel in both cultures. There was no magic success of “imprinting” a Christian through literacy (contrary to Ong and Scollon).

The link to acculturation was the goal of the missionaries and other whites of the time. The missionaries viewed their overall efforts as a failure in achieving this

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<sup>30</sup> Also called Lorenzo Lawrence, he had been Little Crow’s head soldier.

goal. Only a minority of the *Dakota* used their literary skill to the satisfaction of the missionaries. Even then, very few received the missionaries' earnest praise (save *Totachutawin*, or *Winyan*).

While missionaries had realized that native language literacy was essential to learning English (see Riggs' quote, p.29), they did not anticipate that literacy also encoded and helped retain the ancestral *Dakota* language (section 5.3; Gulick 1960). Missionaries concluded that the bilingual paper *Dakota Tawasitku Kin* or *Dakota Friend* was largely a failure (Meyer 1967:96). Whereas the *Dakota* viewed *Dakota* literacy as a congruent vehicle to the use of their language, there was passive resistance to the use of English literacy. The next newspaper, *Iapi Oaye*, issued in May 1871-1936 was an entirely *Dakota* language paper (Pilling 1885). Literacy in *Dakota* indicated an increased repertoire within the *Dakota* identity and not a new identity. In addition to the study of individual *Dakota* letter writers, this raises questions about the "imprint" claim that literacy provides new ways of thinking (Ong 1982; Scollon 1979) to the extent that it replaces oral forms of discourse.

Missionary success was considered slow by the Anglos who tied the measure of success to Christianity, farming and fulfillment of the mission statement. In addition, changing government policies kept *Dakota* communities in flux, first with land ceded east of the Mississippi River in 1837 and again with the ceding of nearly all their lands in 1851, moving the *Dakota* to new reservations in the west. By the decade beginning the *Dakota* literacy experience, the policy of assimilation had been replaced by a policy of acculturation and civilization. In 1856 both the Hazelwood

and the Yellow Medicine Missions were established by ABCFM missionaries on this new reservation. It was initially around these missions that the impetus toward literacy was propelled. A separatist band, encouraged by Stephen Riggs, formed the Hazelwood Republic, drafted a constitution and elected officers (Willand 1964; Anderson 1986). They were recognized by the Indian Agency. The members consisted of those most attracted to farming individual lots of land, to school attendance and who agreed to the outward replacement of dress, dwelling, and Euroamerican agricultural methods. They therefore exemplified the greatest degree of *Dakota* acculturative success. However, it was the aftermath of the upheaval of war in 1862 that achieved what the ABCFM and government agencies had not—the perceived usefulness of mass literacy in addition to literate spokesmen.

The nineteenth century *Dakota* letters considered here were written in the midst of socio-economic change. Gary C. Anderson (1984, 1986) and Roy Meyer (1967) have written on the historical context of the linguistic material. In 1862, the situation exploded into the Minnesota Sioux Uprising that lasted six weeks, took over five hundred lives, and depopulated twenty-three southwest Minnesota counties. In its aftermath, battles continued until the 1890 Wounded Knee Massacre in South Dakota. Minnesota rid itself of *Dakota* people, in the hanging at Mankato, and through removal to holding camps, prison, and reservations. By 1863, only forty *Dakota* remained in Minnesota employed as scouts for the United States Army. The historical events generated by the 1862 uprising achieved what the missionaries failed to do. The avenues that literacy afforded suddenly became

broadly relevant and vitalized *Dakota* individuals' interest in literacy. Literate spokesmen became the new voices for many of their people. The war was the catalyst that caused hundreds to voice themselves in writing without an intermediate spokesperson, but as agents for themselves (broad translation):

Now Major Brown does not own me. Major Brown wronged me, engaging me in hardship [misappropriation of food rations, favoring his own relatives]. You do not gain by talking of [me] following [him]. In the past you have held money of mine. He [Brown] said that he would take it and I asked for gun powder, so he took it all. But he said that he used it all up. Think of that, although he did not give me one dime of mine back. Hence, he said when and if able he would pay me off. But now I fear he will never pay me off. . . . On that account, I do not desire Major Brown to have me [as a scout]. –*Kewawke*, June 22, 1864

We find that the norm of address through an intermediary spokesman here changes to a direct individual communication (see Figure 0.10; section 0.9.4-5). When the *Dakota* were removed to the Davenport, Iowa prisons in particular, but also to the Ft. Snelling (Minnesota) interment camp and the Crow Creek Reservation (Nebraska), it provided impetus to attend to learning the skills of *Dakota* literacy. In these places, literate *Dakota* taught others. They practiced writing on slates with pen and paper. One contemporary account had it that by March 1863 they were turning out one or two hundred letters weekly, which Thomas S. Williamson faithfully carried to the camp below Ft. Snelling (Mankato Weekly Recorder, March 7, 1863.) Roy Meyer (1967) claimed the knowledge acquired proved valuable to the men released, some of whom became leaders among their people. There is no question the Uprising of 1862 and its aftermath disrupted every facet of *Dakota* life. The translation of the letters from that period make that exceedingly clear. There is

no question that it interrupted the proselytic purposes of ABCFM missionaries for *Dakota* literacy. *Dakota* literacy was suddenly a vehicle for the *Dakota*.

From the letters, we can see that prior to removal from Minnesota and within the missionary education experience, many *Dakota* took hold of the tool of literacy. Further, they either selected or rejected the rest of the missionary menu, claiming only that which appealed to them. Letter writers among the *Dakota* were sought out when communication with Anglos was necessary, just as good orators and spokesmen had been in the past. The prison experience established a broader base of literate *Dakota*. When the tool was perceived as useful, it was quickly learned and put to use. Furthermore, the literacy evidenced in nineteenth century *Dakota* script did not merely mimic English literacy but was modified to fit the *Dakota* language and *Dakota* uses.

#### 2.6.0 Cherokee - *Dakota* Historical Comparison

Parallels quickly jump to mind when comparing the historical experiences of the Cherokee and *Dakota* people. The United States government heralded both groups as exemplary of the success of the civilization policy. The ABCFM was an active government agent of the civilization policy in both instances, and sped the experience of literacy. The printing presses and printed newspapers were visible indicators among the Cherokee and *Dakota* for over a decade. Indeed, the ABCFM modeled their efforts with the *Dakota* from their earlier experience with the Cherokee. However, relations with the changing policies of the United States government emphasized factions within the indigenous nations. Both nations were



embroiled in war during the 1860s, one in the Civil War and one in the largest Indian War in American history. Both populations endured mass removal from their homeland at the zenith of their efforts toward accommodation of United States policies of civilization. Both crises resulted from expanding Euroamerican populations and manipulation of boundaries of ownership of land. However similar these experiences first sound, a closer comparison reveals interesting differences.

2.6.1 Literacy, citizenship, and land ownership. Historically, Euroamericans had a tradition of elite literacy when they made contact with the Cherokee and the *Dakota* and manipulated the medium to their advantage in their relationships to these indigenous people. Consequently both the Cherokee and *Dakota* fought with American frontiersmen along with the British as they infringed upon their parameters. Euroamericans reenacted the implications of the Dooks Day Book, manipulating documentation's association with demarcation of land, of the qualifications for equal treatment under the law, and of the requirements for citizenship. The Cherokee and *Dakota* experience with governments, treaties, and missionary efforts provided the impetus to literacy. Contrary to the success of Doublehead, for example, the *Otali* chiefs' appeal for citizenship and recognition of land ownership was denied by President Thomas Jefferson based on their lack of ability in English literacy (McLoughlin 1986). Then within the next decade, the Cherokee began to write laws using English and formed a National Council, which continued to adjust the goals defining their nation toward those of the American society.

Simultaneously, missionaries in league with government agencies offered the means by which to ascend the rungs of the ladder to legitimacy, which experience and government policies pulled ever higher out of reach. Like the Cherokee National Council, the *Dakota* council of the *Umahu* or Hazelwood Republic adopted policies moving their members' goals in alignment with the Anglo goals for them (Willand 236; Anderson 1986:91). In both cases, the councils involved a representative body of those identifying themselves as Cherokee or as *Dakota*, in agreement with the movement toward Euroamerican ideals.

Following the 1862 Minnesota Uprising, the *Dakota Torwajiteton* wrote repeated reminders to President Abraham Lincoln and his successors that he had been promised citizenship.<sup>31</sup> Like Doublehead, he was the first of his people to be awarded American citizenship, still considered unique in the 1860s. The United States government, in changing the direction of the political agenda and policies concerning the frontier, manipulated the Cherokee and the *Dakota*. However, other *Dakota* were denied citizenship as not fitting the criteria of being individual property owners. Unlike the *Otali* chiefs refused citizenship though, many of those *Dakota* were already literate, Jefferson's criteria. Once granted his citizenship, *Torwajiteton* (1878) reminded the United States government that the privileges of American citizenship awarded police protection, street lights, hospitals, public roads and services evident in eastern cities. Historian William McLoughlin concludes that

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<sup>31</sup>*Torwajiteton* aided the escape of whites from Little Crow's camp during the Minnesota War and like Doublehead was awarded citizenship for action deemed friendly by the United States government.

it was the achievements and not the failures of the Cherokee that haunted Euroamericans. This was also the true with the *Dakota*.

In both historical cases, ceding land through treaties and the changing government policies worked against assimilation or acculturative ideals of land ownership, farming, and mass education. As a result, the Cherokee and the *Dakota* communities were divided generationally, educationally, socially, and by annuity or acculturative dependence. The Cherokee Nation was fragmented into distinct socio-political factions heighten by the successful acculturation of a large segment of their nation, in contrast to those who remained conservative Cherokee. Division and fragmentation undercut the effectiveness of both nations. The *Dakota* nation was fragmented into socially distinct factions, accompanying nineteenth century changes in their lives. The Cherokee Nation was divided politically and socially, with greater unresolved factionalism than with the *Dakota*. While the Cherokee had a longer history of European contact, they also had an earlier and longer history of contested relations with the United States government than the *Dakota* experienced.

In both language contact experiences, the missionaries and the government hoped that the Cherokee and *Dakota* people would learn English and forget their own language, customs and manners.<sup>32</sup> However, learning English proved to take four to seven years for most students, which proved too slow and costly for the missionary effort (McLoughlin 1986:356). Thus, the missionary policy changed to stress civilization before Christianization through English. In the Cherokee instance,

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<sup>32</sup>The process of replacement.

the first log house (1770) preceded missionaries by thirty years, in the *Dakota* instance log homes (1843) came nearly simultaneously with the missionary effort. Based on Euroamerican standards, the wealthiest Cherokee were those most attracted to acculturation (10% employed whites and slaves; see Perdue 1979:57,158; Corman<sup>33</sup>), whereas by comparison, there was not a wealthy *Dakota* class. Most conservative Cherokee in the nineteenth century were not opposed to farming, and had been farmers for some time. Most conservative *Dakota* were opposed to farming tied to land ownership (i.e., not being allowed to hunt) when literacy was linked with acculturation.

The United States government promoted intermarriage with the Cherokee, making such marriages legal in 1820. The Cherokee were a matrilineal society, but Anglos induced the overlay of patrilineal values. Intermarriage with the *Dakota*, who were bilocal (some individuals acted matrilocal), had been promoted before United States government intervention, by trade relations of Euroamerican countries.

2.6.2 Sanction and Control. One big difference between the Cherokee and the *Dakota* literacy experiences was that the Cherokee National Council sanctioned English literacy. The Cherokee began to utilize literacy in their efforts to establish a sovereign government, first in English, the official language of law and record, and then, after Sequoyah and Worcester, in the Sequoyan Syllabary. The handwritten written medium of literacy flourished without intervention for a period of seventeen

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<sup>33</sup> Corman reports Major Ridge's 1837 holdings valued at \$19,700.

years before removal. The National Council also instigated the press and the newspaper to support a constitutional government and financed the translation of the Bible, and planned for an academy and a library. The Cherokee National Council recognized and sanctioned the use of the syllabary, but kept English as the official language of record. The print medium was firmly established following removal from the East to Oklahoma. The Cherokee Nation increasingly used the Syllabary after 1828 in addition to English, and its bilingual nature continued to the turn of the century. These years cultivated the use of literacy primarily for reading and documentation. William McLoughlin (1984:184) pointed out that the Syllabary was invented too late to wed literacy in Sequoyan Cherokee to civilization because English was already adopted as the official language and claimed many speakers. Therefore, as Mooney noted (1897-8:112), the Syllabary was seen as a way to preserve Cherokee values rather than as a white instrument of acculturation. Although Samuel Worcester succeeded in adapting the print of the press to Sequoyan, the Cherokee Nation remained in control, allowing the press to print Christian religious publications in addition to national news.

In contrast, the Riggs faction ABCFM missionaries initiated printing and remained in control of the newspaper in the *Dakota* language and worked toward acculturation before mass *Dakota* removal. The *Dakota* Council was not nearly as centralized and never made a formal statement or policy involved with an orthography or *Dakota* literacy. Matters of literacy were left to the individuals of different bands, like *Umahu* or the Hazelwood Republic, rather than a nationally

backed movement. Nor did literacy affect the *Dakota* political system, whereas the invention of the Syllabary and its visible ascendancy “legitimized the introduction of a questionable [Cherokee] legal system drawn from an English-speaking world” (Strickland 107).

The Cherokee Nation together with the ABCFM missionary Reverend Samuel A. Worcester and Elias Boudinot began the bilingual newspaper GWY JĠĠEĠĠ, *Jalagi Julehisamuhi* or *Cherokee Phoenix* (1828-1834) that remained in print six years. The GWY DĠSPĠY, *Jalagi Asdelisgi* or *Cherokee Advocate* (1844-1905) was the longest running Cherokee publication, which was printed half in English and half in Cherokee. The first *Dakota* publication, *Dakota Tawasitku Kin* or *The Dakota Friend* (1850-52) was entirely a missionary bilingual effort lasting two years in print. The monolingual *Iapi Oaye* (1871-1939) was the longest running *Dakota* publication along with *The Word Carrier*, a separate English counterpart, after 1888. Subscriptions to the *Iapi Oaye* and *The Word Carrier* were discrete. In the *Dakota* case, bilingual efforts in the newspaper failed and only a separate totally *Dakota* publication survived, whereas the Cherokee accepted a bilingual newspaper while rejecting a roman character orthography for use in printing their language. However, in both the cases, the presses were used for printing acculturative and missionary publications, public notices, local news, agricultural and home improvement tips, business advertisements and public education. The Cherokee Nation permitting publication, whereas the *Dakota* missionaries directing the publication.

2.6.3 Maintaining Integrity and Distance. The *Dakota* rejection of a bilingual newspaper and the Cherokee rejection of the roman orthography were efforts that resulted in creating distance between English literacy and native literacy (see section 5.3-4). As Pilling so successfully demonstrated, Sequoyan remained a barrier few English speakers cared to overcome in order to read Cherokee. Therefore, even when it appeared in the same publication with English, Sequoyan Cherokee remained intact, as discrete in actuality as the separate subscriptions in the *Dakota* case of the Word Carrier and the Iapi Oaye. It is ironic that while type-printed Sequoyan (or any Cherokee orthography) and type-printed *Dakota* were heralded as symbols of civilization to the Anglo population, Anglos championed the decreased use of the spoken versions of those Native languages. The Anglo population also hailed the decline of Cherokee-ness and *Dakota*-ness in outward selection of “civilized” traits and in calculations of blood quantum. Printing and writing were seen by Euroamericans as progressive civilized stepping stones especially in language. While the efforts toward civilizing policies included farming, Euroamerican dress, education, and the adoption of literacy, the demise of traditional oral use of language, the dance and the ball game were verbalized in the emphasis on blood quantum as evidence or hope of the decline of Native identities.

Mooney (1892) and Samuel W. Pond (1986:xxii) both remarked on the use of the Cherokee and *Dakota* languages by Euroamericans being limited initially to commercial purposes. However, Mooney was speaking of initial Euroamerican Cherokee language use, whereas Pond was speaking of Euroamerican knowledge

concerning the language as well as Euroamerican use. In both cases word lists reflected special interest contact situations until cultural replacement was the driving government policy.

Changing government policy contributed to changing missionary policy. In 1824, Cherokee missionary policy changed from teaching to preaching due to competition for converts. *Dakota* missionaries feared competition over the same converts would “confuse” the *Dakota* and pushed for the government to divide up the territory between the denominations. S. A. Worcester and E. Jones learned and encouraged the use of the syllabary as the quickest way to spread Christianity, and so translated the Bible into the Syllabary (McLoughlin 1986:354). The Riggs missionaries also determined that the quickest way to create a Christian was through his own language.

Cherokee and the *Dakota* language literacies were utilized for Christian religious text in Bible translations, hymns and tracts. The imprint theory<sup>34</sup> was not operative in either the Cherokee or *Dakota* case, as once literacy was seen as an addition to the repertoire of language use, the written medium took form based on the ancestral language as well as vernacular use and not on the model of English. Although the abundance of hymns and religious literature in Cherokee and *Dakota* can attest to the Christian missionary effort and the talents of some converts, one cannot treat use of the written Native language as a measure of the success of

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<sup>34</sup> The imprint theory assumed that literacy provides new ways of thinking or that “imprinting” a Christian through literacy was a successful tool of civilization or acculturation.



civilization, assimilation, acculturation or Christianization efforts by missionaries and government agencies. Religious literature marks Christian presence, but not mass conversion, any more than it does in English. The abundance of religious literature may mark tolerance of Christianity, partial or whole empathy of individuals, but not a one to one equivalence with Christianity, nor a static condition or role. In the same vein, the legalistic focus of the Cherokee newspapers encouraged compliance with the Cherokee National Council, but cannot serve as a measure of the success of that compliance. Acculturative literature in the Native language only marks the presence of the ideal, even if in English, and not hegemony. Nor can one equate the longevity of the newspaper as a measure of achievement of these goals. The missionaries themselves felt their efforts were not successful in those goals. The Cherokee Nation and the ABCFM missionaries to the *Dakota* both printed newspapers and magazines or journals. The Cherokee Nation utilized print to encourage legal understanding and civil obedience (Strickland 1982). The religious organizations used newspapers and religious literature in the Native language to raise funding in eastern congregations in both cases. The *Dakota* religious publications were full of head counts of converts, conversion stories and progress reports.

Bahktin (1981, 1986) observed that words are overpopulated with the intentions of others who expropriate them. Forcing words to submit to one's own intentions and accents is a difficult and complicated process especially when those others occupy a more powerful place in a stratified society. *Kewanke* learned the

rhetorical presentational devices of his audience, and adapted them to the repertoire of his own language. Using a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking and of acting to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or social network.

Both the Cherokee and the *Dakota* literacy experiences encoded their own sociocultural values. The traditional Cherokee bipolar idea of religion was that Christianity and the Bible were for white men, and that traditional religion was for the Cherokee. Therefore, the idea that a Cherokee could master a skill it was assumed the Creator only gave to white men was empowering (McLoughlin 1986:351). The Sequoyan syllabary became a means of asserting greater control over themselves and their future. Literacy allowed Cherokee and *Dakota* people a means to guard against mismanagement, dishonesty and betrayal. Both the Cherokee and *Dakota* were more interested in learning to read, write and do arithmetic than in trying to learn the dogma and doctrine of Christianity or mimic white people. Both the Cherokee and the *Dakota* continued to esteem the orator, then writer-spokesman, and so follow the leadership of those with the capacity to write. In continuity with traditional values, literacy marked readiness for the assumption of responsibility with both the Cherokee and the *Dakota*.<sup>35</sup>

2.6.4 Removal. With both the Cherokee and the *Dakota*, just when it seemed that civilization and enlightenment were about to accomplish their perfect works, they began to hear the first low mutterings of the coming storm that was

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<sup>35</sup>This was also the case with the Kutchin (Scollons 22).

soon to overturn their whole organizational structure and sweep them from the land of their birth (McLoughlin 1986:114). Literacy and Cherokee and *Dakota* removal from their homeland are also interesting events of comparison. The Cherokee National Council used English literacy in 1817, with the Sequoyan populous literacy following in 1821. Cherokee Removal was effected in 1834 but removed families in mass, relocating them in within proximity of core family members. With the *Dakota* experience, literacy first was used in school in 1841 when the ABCFM missionaries established the print medium with their proselytic purposes. This was followed in 1844 by a short-lived newspaper. The *Dakota* people actually began to utilize literacy when, like the Cherokee, the *Dakota* were removed from their homelands and mass literacy was achieved between 1862-65. Most *Dakota* people were taken to an interment camp at Fort Snelling following the 1862 war, then removed from Minnesota, the male prisoners being sent to Davenport, Iowa, while their families were sent on to the Crow Creek Reservation in South Dakota. The differences in the Cherokee and *Dakota* situations were vast, but crucial to this dissertation is that while Cherokee families were removed in mass, *Dakota* families were most often split, a male member of their family sent to prison or to be a scout. The impetus to communicate with core family members, and to intercede on their behalf of exiled members to restore the family and community unit, was a major factor of the rise in *Dakota* literacy. Removal and the consequences of war accomplished what schools did not—communication between individual core family members separated in prisons and on reservations. This was thirty years after the introduction of material

written in *Dakota*. What the Sequoyan Syllabary achieved for the Cherokee, the aftermath of the 1862 Minnesota Uprising achieved for the *Dakota*, the mass impetus to utilize an already available tool.

2.6.5 Cherokee, *Dakota* and Missionary Goals. Proselytizing has inevitably been linked to the onset of literacy. Faced with the pressure of encroaching foreign populations, with inscriptions on paper in the guise of agreements and with treaties projecting authority, representing land ownership, citizenship, and Doooms Day documentation, it is not surprising that people from the communities decided to acquire the new genre of literacy. In both the Cherokee and *Dakota* cases, ABCFM missionary teachers came in response to local requests. For instance, the Cherokee Chief *Atahunstski* of Arkansas invited Cephas Washburn and Alfred and Susan Finny<sup>36</sup> to Dwight Mission in 1820. In addition, the Franco-*Dakota* Joseph Renville invited Thomas S. Williamson to Lac qui Parle, and *Dakota Taoyateduta* or Little Crow invited missionaries to Kaposia.

Furthermore, missionaries to the Cherokee taught school in English with translators of Euroamerican and Cherokee heritage, while missionaries to the *Dakota* taught in *Dakota*. While there were *Dakota* translators for the newspapers or the press, translators were both full and mixed ancestry. English-speaking missionaries and agents to the Cherokee did not consider learning the syllabary, until

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<sup>36</sup>Brainerd Mission (Tenn.) was established in 1819 by ABCFM with Cephas Washburn and his sister Susanna and husband, Alfred Finney. In 1817 they went to Arkansas with a group of Cherokee, and established Dwight Mission and Indian School in 1821. Washburn did have some difficulty with John Ross when the Eastern Cherokee removed west.

Samuel Worcester (1827). Still, Worcester never felt that he could deliver a sermon in Cherokee without a translator, not unlike Samuel Pond's dissatisfaction with conveying philosophical arguments in *Dakota*. In the *Dakota* case, missionaries to the *Dakota* were crucial in devising the orthography adopted as representative of *Dakota*. Cherokee Presbyterian teachers mainly instructed mixed blood parents already committed to acculturation, whereas *Dakota* teachers instructed more who were entirely *Dakota* in addition to those of mixed ancestry, few of whom were committed to acculturation. During the Cherokee literacy experience (1816-24) and by the beginning of the *Dakota* experience (1835), the ABCFM changed its language policies to support native language literacy, rather than only English language literacy.<sup>37</sup>

While ABCFM missionary schools fostering literacy appeared among the Cherokee in 1817 and among the *Dakota* in 1835, literacy and schooling were still the domain of the privileged classes in most of Europe. For example, prior to 1800, Kjell Ivar Vannebo (1984) relegates reading in Norway to religious tasks. After 1800, only merchants and government officials had access to training in reading and writing, but from 1850 on the privilege was increasingly extended to the peasants of the rural districts. This was not unlike the rest of Europe. Vannebo points out that not until 1857-8 was public education legislated in the United States and England, the United States Department of Education was established by 1866, and England's Public Education was adopted by 1867. Vannebo states that not until 1900 was

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<sup>37</sup>This policy changed back to English only after the Dawes Act.

writing commonly taught in Norwegian schools. By comparison, Mooney declares that by 1900 there were more Cherokee literate in their language than white neighbors literate in their language (often not English). This would suggest that mass literacy or education remained an ideal less contested in use with Native American populations through missionary efforts in nineteenth century America (see "English, Cherokee, *Dakota* Time Historical Line," page 78-9).

In both experiences of Native American literacy, the Sequoyan literacy and the *Dakota* literacy did not depend on school rooms but spread relatively quickly as individual speakers taught one another the new skill.

2.6.6 Enduring Literacy. In separate ways, both Sequoyah Guess and Joseph Renville were the major contributors to Cherokee and *Dakota* language literacy. Both were native speakers of their language, and both had a European father. Sequoyah was the contributor of the Cherokee orthography, while Renville was the major contributor of the recorded *Dakota* lexicon. Over time, the lexicon in the form of Riggs' dictionary had a greater impact on the preservation and viability of the language. The *Dakota* dictionary insured wider language access.

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<sup>38</sup>Ron and Suzanne Scollon (21) found old Kutchin, who they studied in the Subarctic region, practicing recitation of the syllabary while they sat around the campfires.

<sup>39</sup>The term, "sacred formulas" was gleamed from James Mooney's 1891 publication of "shaman's" prescriptions, prayers, and sacred songs of Cherokee medicine men.

<sup>40</sup>Raymond J. De Mallie and Calvin Fastwolf are separately working on the Sword manuscript.

<sup>41</sup>Margaret Bender (1996:135-161) indicates this may not hold true today for Eastern Cherokee where Christian text in the syllabary have a corollary with such authority.

preservation, and use, even when the use of the English language was claiming native ground. However, the symbolic value of the Sequoyan syllabary has been far more allegoric and visible. In both languages, the role of the newspaper stabilized the language during the time of its printing, regardless of the intent of the editorial board of the publication or the content of the publication.

When we turn attention to lexicons or grammars for these languages, the earliest work of consequence was Stephen Riggs (1835, 1852) on the *Dakota* language. The *Dakota* language enjoyed linguistically enduring work since 1835 unlike the Cherokee language. *Tugwasdi*'s work on Cherokee was turned down by Pilling (1882) although Webster was said to describe *Tugwasdi*'s work on Cherokee pronominal prefixes in 1889. Cherokee lexicons are woefully deficient in the number of entries until the dictionaries by Alexander (1971) or Feeling (1975). Even the latter efforts have shockingly few lexical entries in comparison to the smallest present day English dictionary or to Riggs' *Dakota* dictionary (1952) with six hundred and sixty two pages. In addition, Riggs managed to organize a very "user friendly" *Dakota* dictionary, when compared to Buechel's *Lakota* dictionary or any Cherokee dictionary. Cherokee dictionary makers have the problem of approaching a lexicon in a fashion that makes sense to its users and makes the sources easy and valuable to use. To date, Cherokee cannot claim to have an equal to a *Dakota* or English dictionary. And in spite of the efforts of many, the grammars

or even the research focused on the language of Cherokee does not approximate the work accomplished on *Dakota*.<sup>42</sup>

In both the Cherokee and the *Dakota* cases, ABCFM missionaries were recording the languages and promoting orthographies that used the roman characters, as was used in English treaties. In the *Dakota* instance, the Riggs orthography was a roman character orthography, which preceded yet resembled the International Phonetic Alphabet and caught on when instruction began in 1835. The Cherokee people, however, rejected the roman character orthographies, and opted for a native invention, the Sequoyan syllabary in advance of the Cherokee National Council.

The *Dakota* (Eastern) dialect was the initial dialect represented in the Riggs orthography and was adapted with ease to reflect the *Lakota* and *Nakota* dialects in the late nineteenth century by the editors (many who were *Dakota*) of the Santee, Nebraska publications. The *Dakota* dialect was never imposed as the standard dialect. The orthography of both Cherokee and *Dakota* remained most often user descriptive rather than prescriptive.

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<sup>42</sup>Having begun my own work in *Dakota* decrying the neglect this language faced in light of the work accomplished in Romance languages, the state of study of the Cherokee language shocks me beyond compare.



## ENGLISH, CHEROKEE, AND DAKOTA HISTORICAL TIME LINE

| ENGLISH  | CHEROKEE  | DAKOTA                                |
|--|---|---------------------------------------|
| 7-800 Charlamagne standardized script<br>William the Conqueror's survey<br>known as the Doom's Day Book            |   |                                       |
| 1450 <i>printing press</i>   |   |                                       |
| 1539-67  | Spanish explorers contact   |                                       |
| 1640   |   | Jesuit contact                        |
| 1643   | Shea notes Spanish mission  |                                       |
| 1653   | English travelers visit   |                                       |
| 1680   |   | Louis Hennepin dictionary             |
| 1683   |   | Nicholas Perrot to <i>Dakota</i>      |
| 1689   |   | <i>Dakota</i> land claimed for France |
| 1700 <i>religious task literacy</i>  | British sustain contact   | Le Sueur on stockade Blue Earth       |
| 1708   | 1st white spelling of "Cherokee"  |                                       |
| 1730   | Moytoy of Tellico to England  |                                       |
| 1741   | Christian Priber's Cherokee Dictionary  |                                       |
| 1743   | Priber mission  |                                       |
| 1760   | 1st British invasion of Cherokee towns  | Johathan Carver Santee vocabulary     |
| 1757   | William DeBrahm 21 word list  |                                       |
| 1762 Bishop Lowth standardized dialect   |   |                                       |
| 1766   |   | Jonathan Carver -mouth of St. Croix   |
| 1770 <i>privileged class literacy</i>  | Log houses at Chota, Tanasee Citico<br>used by Overhill Cherokee  |                                       |
| 1776-83 American Revolution  | Colonial invasion of Cherokee towns   |                                       |
| 1783 Treaty of Paris   | N. Carolina grants its citizens Cherokee land   |                                       |
| <i>Webster's speller</i>   | Cherokees cede land to Georgia  |                                       |
| 1785 Treaty of Hopewell  | 1st treaty of peace between Cherokee and US   |                                       |
| 1786   | word <i>Chota</i> shibboleth for Americans<br>friendly to Cherokee  |                                       |
| 1789 Washington President Henry Knox   | Proponent of civilization & assimilation  |                                       |
| 1790   |   | Edward Umfreville Assiniboine vocab   |
| 1791 Treaty of Holston   | Proposes "Civilization" Program   |                                       |
| 1793 invention of cotton gin   | decline of deerskin trade begins  |                                       |
| 1795 <i>Murray's English Grammar</i>   |   |                                       |
| 1796 John Adams elected President proposed<br>a National Academy to standardized<br>American English—effort denied | Washington initiates "civilization"<br>program among the Cherokee   |                                       |
| 1800 Thomas Jefferson President  | Moravian establish mission—Spring Place, GE   |                                       |
| 1805   | Doublehead awarded citizenship by Jefferson   |                                       |
| 1808 James Madison elected President   | Jefferson denied <i>Otali</i> chiefs citizenship<br>based on inability to read & write English                                      | Zebulon Pike Treaty with Sioux        |
|  | Cherokee 1st record laws to establish a police<br>force and protect patrilineal inheritance   |                                       |
| 1808-10  | 1st major Cherokee migration west of Mississippi R.   |                                       |
| 1810 ABCFM established   | Cherokee outlaw blood vengeance in accidental deaths.   |                                       |
| 1812 War of 1812 (-1815)   |   | Fought with British & Dickson         |
| 1813-14  | Creek War: Cherokee fought against "Red Stick"<br>Creek & with "friendly Creek" & US soldiers                                       |                                       |
| 1816   | ABCFM proposed schools among Cherokee<br>conclude obstacles to teaching in English  |                                       |
| 1817   | ABCFM establish mission at Brainard (Tenn.)<br>Baptist missionaries arrive among Cherokee   |                                       |
|  | Pickering use roman orthography   |                                       |
| 1817   | National Council at <i>Amohee</i> adopted English<br>give Council only authority to cede land                                       |                                       |
|  | Cherokee exchange Eastern land for land in Arkansas   |                                       |
| 1819   | Cede additional land in East in exchange for western<br>land; some N. Carolina Cherokees receive<br>reservations outside the Nation |                                       |
| 1820 Long expedition   | Thomas Say word list  | Thomas Say Yankton list               |
| 1821   | Sequoyah Syllabary presented to National Council<br>Dwight Mission (Arkansas)   |                                       |
| 1822   | Cherokee establish Supreme Court  |                                       |
| 1823 <i>Kirkman's English text</i>   | ABCFM opposed translating gospel into Cherokee<br>David Brown grammar use Pickering orthography                                     |                                       |
| 1824 John Quincy Adams elected   | Evar Jones, Valley Town missionary (Tenn.) interested<br>in developing methods of converting the Cherokee<br>language into print    |                                       |
|  | <i>Atsi/John Arch</i> —Book of John into Syllabary  |                                       |

|           |  |  |
|-----------|--|--|
| 1825      | David Brown—New Testament into Syllabary   | Joseph Renville post established at Lac qui Parle  |
| 1826-27   | Georgia asserts states sovereignty over Cherokee Nation  |  |
| 1827      | White Path Rebellion—to limit assimilation, acculturation, and to return to and preserve Cherokee lifeways<br>Cherokee write constitution asserting national sovereignty: providing for legislative, executive, & judicial branches<br>Type cast for National Press of National Council under Samuel Worcester |  |
| 1828      | Andrew Jackson elected President<br><i>Webster's dictionary</i>  | <u>Cherokee Phoenix</u> 1st published 30% Cherokee<br><i>Sequoyah</i> recognized with metal by National Council<br>English remained official language<br>Arkansas Cherokees relocate to Indian Territory<br>Georgia abolished Cherokee Nation, nullifies Cherokee laws |
| 1829      | Jackson announces Removal Policy<br>Jeremiah Evarts publishes "William Penn" essays  | J. D. Stevens visited Ft. Snelling   |
| 1830      | Louis Cass defense of Removal Policy   |  |
| 1831      | US Supreme Court declares Cherokee Nation a "domestic dependent nation"  | John Pickering's Cherokee Grammar<br>Caleb Atwater on Sioux  |
| 1832      | US Supreme Court upholds Cherokee sovereignty in Georgia   |  |
| 1835      | Treaty of New Echota<br>(US & Cherokee Treaty Party)   | removal of Cherokee west of Mississippi R.<br>ABCFM missionaries to <i>Dakota</i><br>1st mission school & church   |
| 1836      | Martin Van Buren elected President   | Gallatin published —<br>Worcester grammar/dictionary<br>Revival of Cherokee religion<br>Cherokee Nation Removal<br>Renville, Williamson, Pond, and Riggs publish on <i>Dakota</i>  |
| 1836-8    |  | Joseph N. Nicollet survey  |
| 1838-9    |  | Catlin <i>Dakota</i> vocabulary  |
| 1841      |  | 1st <i>Dakota</i> male to join church<br>1st <i>Dakota</i> log house   |
| 1843      |  |  |
| 1844      |  | <u>Cherokee Advocate</u> 50% Cherokee  |
| 1845      |  |  |
| 1850-52   |  | 2nd school at Traverse des Sioux<br>1st newspaper publication, bilingual<br><u><i>Dakota Tawasitku Nin</i></u><br><u><i>Dakota Friend</i></u>  |
| 1851      | Schoolcraft published—   | Reservation on upper Minn. R.  |
| 1852      | Han C. von der Gabelert's Cherokee Grammar   | Stephen R. Riggs' <i>Dakota Grammar</i>  |
| 1854      |  |  |
| 1856      |  | Sioux Reservation in Minnesota Terri<br>Hazelwood Republic established<br>Yellow Medicine Mission  |
| 1862      |  | Minnesota Sioux War  |
| 1863-66   |  | Removal from Minnesota   |
| 1866      |  | Sisseton, Santee, and Devils Lake Reservations   |
| 1867-68   | <i>Public Education legislated in the US &amp; England</i>   |  |
| 1871      | Lewis H. Morgan kinship terms  |  |
| 1871-1939 |  | <u><i>Lapi Oaye Word Carrier</i></u><br>in Santee and Yankton dialects<br>monolingual with English version   |
| 1879      | <u>Cherokee Advocate</u> resume publication<br>John B. Jones' Syllabary school books   |  |
| 1881      |  | Santee Normal and Industrial School  |
| 1882      | <i>Tugwasdi's</i> Syllabary grammar to Pilling   |  |
| 1887      | <i>Whitney's Century Dictionary</i>  |  |
| 1888      | Pilling's Bibliography published   |  |
| 1889      | Webster description of <i>Tugwasdi's</i> analysis of Cherokee pronominal prefixes, etc.<br>Full blood if both parents spoke Cherokee   |  |
| 1890      | William Eubank alphabet system of shorthand  |  |
| 1892      | <u>Cherokee Advocate</u> decline in printing   |  |
| 1906      |  |  |
| 1915      | World War I  |  |
| 1947      | George Myers Stevens published   |  |
| 1945      | Will West Long's dictionary  |  |

## CHAPTER III

### CHEROKEE'S AND *DAKOTA*'S LETTERS

Language is both cultural and social. It is cultural in that it is one form of symbolic organization of the world. It is social in that it reflects and expresses group memberships and relationships. Language includes grammar, but goes beyond grammar. As a sign system, language has the interesting property of being both unmotivated and arbitrary (purely symbolic in semiotic terms) and motivated (iconic and indexical in semiotic terms). It is unmotivated and arbitrary from the point of view of its properties as formal, abstract system. It is motivated from the point of view of the meaningfulness and appropriateness that individuals feel about their language as it is used in actual social and cultural contexts. This takes us to discourse. --Joel Sherzer, 1987

#### ANALYSIS OF THE LETTERS

3.0 Method: Language Use Analyzed Four Ways. The following sections will describe, translate and analyze nineteenth century Cherokee and *Dakota* letters according to the four methods outlined in the first chapter of this dissertation. The four methods used with each native language letter were: 1) analysis of the material object and observation of the letter's form and medium as referred to in section 1.2.3.1; 2) analysis of the process of structuring as referred to in section 1.2.3.2; 3) analysis of rhetorical presentation as referred to in section 1.2.3.3; and 4) analysis of goals, roles, and function as referred to in section 1.2.3.4. Finally, a comparison and a general overview are presented.

3.1 Visual Letter Form or Use of Space. Each of the Cherokee and *Dakota* texts discussed were presented in letter form, whether in the newspaper or

handwritten in script of varied penmanship. The writer's use of space on the Cherokee and *Dakota* letter's page loosely resembles a nineteenth century English language letter style (see Figure 3.0). Most scripted letters are written on individual

|  |  |
|--|--|
| <p>LOCATION of ORIGIN: Cherokee Nation Texas<br/>Fort Ridgely M.T.<br/>Mankato</p>   |  |
| <p>DATE: January 20. 1837<br/>Nov: 18<sup>th</sup> 1854<br/>Jany 10 1863</p>   |  |
| <p>NAME of Addressee: Lieut. A. F. Bond<br/>2<sup>nd</sup> Reg. Infantry<br/>Post Adjutant (fomal)</p>   |  |
| <p>GREETING: Dear Sir. Dear honorable Sir.<br/>Sir (fomal)<br/>Dear Friends</p>  |  |
| <p>OPENING: I am happy having this opportunity of writing you.<br/>In compliance with instructions dated Fort Ridgely MT. 2. NOV: 1854 the undersigned has the honor to submit the following report.<br/>Your first since I came back is not yet received.</p> |  |
| <p>BODY OF LETTER:<br/>Reports, Requests, Depositions, Statements, Narrative, Evaluations, Assertions, Elicitations, Appeals, Affirmations of a relationship were the main functions of Cherokee letters</p>   |  |
| <p>CLOSING: So nothing more today<br/>The continued affection of</p>   |  |
| <p>SALUTATION: Your most obedient servant<br/>Yours</p>  |  |
| <p>NAME OF AUTHOR</p>  |  |
| <p>POSTSCRIPT (optional)</p>   |  |

FIGURE 3.0 19<sup>th</sup> Century English Letter Form

8" by 11" sheets of paper, often folded in half (4.5" by 8"), to form a booklet or greeting card style. A few scripted letters are on 5" by 8" paper. The average composition length is equivalent to one or two single spaced typewritten pages (of the same size paper) in length. They were physically typical of nineteenth century frontier correspondence. A few letters are written on store purchased stationary but at least one *Dakota* letter, copied for my collection, was written on homemade

Mauchato Aug 10 1863

Dear Friends

Your first since I came  
back is not yet arrived May be not long  
We are having a general time of health  
still. A few who are either too drunk  
to care to return their health are sick  
of course. One of our cases of elabbing was  
the other convalescing.

Mr Peck has been up for the body  
of his son Mrs Peck was with him she  
remained here while he went to New Ulm  
They left for home this morning she is  
suffering for a distance. We can ill afford  
to lose such men as Peck -

His father lives near Tumbler.

A new idea seems to have struck the  
farmers of our section friends - two gave  
up the ghost yesterday and one today. It is  
supposed to be the work of diptheria; if so,  
a great many of them may shortly hope to

On my left was Flying Cloud, just in  
front of whisky John. and all  
about were the head and point of  
Sims respectively -

It seems that 83 of three Indian  
were captured. Lumping John is  
among their number. He brought  
me repeatedly while at church for  
tobac. My not using any, was all  
that prevented his smoking in smoking.

132 constitutes my present windfall  
expect my health must be good

Perhaps you have made the  
same note - that the soldier boys  
have - that winter is half gone

The continued affection of  
Yrs  
Paul

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Family) Papers

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for publication

paper (the writer describes the process), complete with an envelope and written with homemade ink.

The spatial placement of parts of the letter or letter form, was observed from the practices of all letters encountered in each language. An inclusive synthesized figure plotted all the letter parts identified in each languages' letters. Beginning at the top and progressing down, the parts of the letter were sequenced as follows: the place of origin or location; the date; the name of the addressee; the greeting; the opening; the body of the letter; the closing; the salutation; the name of the author; a self-affirmation; and a postscript. Not every letter contained all these parts, but each letter had at least a greeting or addressee, a body, and a signature. An overall box style letter form was rare, and instead an incremental indented style manifest itself before and after the blocked letter body. Figure 3.1 is a composite sketch of the observed appearances of Cherokee letters, with various examples of the type of text found in the various subsections.

Both Cherokee and *Dakota* letters generally contained a heading that named the location from which the author was writing and/or specified the date on which the letter was written. Then letters followed with the name of the addressee, a greeting, an opening statement, the body of the letter, a closing statement, a salutation, the name of the author, an affirmation, and on occasion a postscript. The visual spatial arrangement and the order are not drastically deviant from nineteenth century letters in English (See Figure 3.0). Differences in the form and arrangement of letters in Cherokee and *Dakota* are primarily indicators of the degree of formality

|  |  |
|--|--|
| LOCATION of ORIGIN: <i>ani siquoyo?i sgadugi jalagiyi</i> (here Sequoyah District, Cherokee Nation)<br><i>ani i?inada?iyi sgadugi jalagiyi</i> (here at Goingsnake District, Cherokee Nation)<br>or Location :Date: <i>Daligwa Jaligi nvdadegwa kohl 11.1851</i> (Tahlequah, Cherokee November this 11.1851) |  |
| DATE: <i>dehaluyi 2line igohi 1884</i> (June 2 <sup>nd</sup> day 1884)<br><i>kohl dulsdi kalv sgohine iga</i> (this is September month 10 <sup>th</sup> day)<br><i>kohl iga juyegwoni tali sgohi cuneta</i> (this day July 2 ten's 8)  |  |
| NAME of Addressee  | GREETING: (Not in formal letters) <i>ulsgedv ginali</i> (great friend)<br><i>gvgeyu ginali</i> (dear friend)<br><i>ginali?i</i> (friend) ____name__  |
| OPENING  | <i>kanalu dagvyogwulane?i hinesgi</i> (Now I will write you some words)<br><i>hi?agwodeha nisgwadvhylvha</i> (just this, you do that for me)   |
| BODY OF LETTER:<br>Reports, Requests, Depositions, Statements, Narrative, Evaluations, Assertions, Elicitations, Appeals, Affirmations of a relationship were the main functions of Cherokee letters   |  |
| CLOSING:   | <i>nisgwadvnisi</i> (do it for me)<br><i>aligagwo hi?a gese?i</i> (that is all now that there is)<br><i>nulsdv?i nvteljowolodi gesesdi</i> (very soon you must be writing)<br><i>hi?ano yaoda goweli ogiyadi godag?v digoweli</i> (and this we include on paper with a lot<br>of our names written on it)<br>SALUTATION: <i>wisdvyolegalu ilita</i> ( I am saying hello to you both) |
| NAME OF AUTHOR<br>SELF AFFIRMATION: <i>uyvgwu</i> (still, only, just me: myself: I)<br><i>go?iyvdisgv agwv?e agwonyeni, gvda gowolvga</i><br>(proof, my own hand, I am writing by it)  |  |
| POSTSCRIPT (optional)<br>Text of postscript, signature of author, self-affirmation.  |  |

FIGURE 3.1 Cherokee Letter Form

or informality or style appropriate to the purpose of the letter just as with English letters. The major difference is that the more formal English letters included more parts of the letter, where the more formal Cherokee and *Dakota* letters omitted certain parts of the letter.

While it is true that an example of letter form was probably provided from a letter received and used as the aspired ideal, it was not prescriptively set, as in the case of learning letter form in a school English class. Evidence points to a form modified to each language's own discourse template. The model form described here was derived from observance of all letters. However, formal letters varied less and contrasted informal letters. Figure 3.2 is a composite of the appearance of

*Dakota* letters, with various examples of the type of text found in the various subsections.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| LOCATION of ORIGIN: <i>Pezihuta etaghay</i> (from Yellow Medicine)<br>Ft. Wadsworth <i>DenTe</i> (here at Fort Wadsworth)<br><i>Caŋŋkpa</i> (Branches End)  |  |
| DATE: <i>Witehi Anpetu</i> 14 (January Day 14)<br><i>Istawi</i> 6 <sup>th</sup> 1865 (Eyes Moon 6 <sup>th</sup> 1865)   |  |
| NAME of Addressee   |  |
| GREETING: (Not in formal letters)   | <i>Mitakuye</i> (My kindred)<br><i>Mihupkawayi</i> (My brother)<br><i>Mitakoda</i> (My friend)   |
| OPENING   | <i>ake wowapi cicage do</i> (Again I write you)<br><i>wowapi cicage token waunŋ kaŋ he nayahonŋ kta</i> (I write that you may hear how I am)   |
| BODY OF LETTER:<br>Reports, Requests, Depositions, Statements, Narrative, Evaluations, Assertions, Elicitations, Appeals, Affirmations of a relationship were the main functions of <i>Dakota</i> letters |  |
| CLOSING: (Not in formal letters)  | <i>henana epe</i> (Only so much will I say)<br><i>ohini miyeksuye kta</i> (Always remember me)<br><i>nape ciyuze do</i> (I take hold of your hand)<br><i>micage ug nape ciyuze</i> (I take hold of your hand with my heart)<br><i>ohini iceonŋkiyapi henana</i> (Always only so much we pray for.) |
| SALUTATION:   | <i>awicakehaŋ nitakuye wa</i> (Truly, I am your kindred!)<br><i>nihupkawayi</i> (I am your brother)<br><i>nitakuye goŋ</i> (As in the past, your Kindred)  |
| NAME OF AUTHOR  |  |
| SELF AFFIRMATION:   | <i>he miye</i> (That I am)<br><i>miye</i> (Myself, I am)   |
| POSTSCRIPT (optional)<br>Text of postscript, signature of author, self-affirmation.   |  |

FIGURE 3.2 *Dakota* Letter Form and Example Phrases

3.1.1 Formal and Informal Letter Form. Formal letters in both Cherokee and *Dakota* examples skipped the greeting and the solidarity building opening and went straight to the body of the letter (see OPENING; Figure 3.1, 3.2 and 3.3). The opening in both languages contributed to creating interpersonal interaction and involvement (Schifflin 1977, Tannen 1982, Biber 1988). The solidarity building closing was also omitted in formal letters and by contrast was usually present in informal letters (see CLOSING; Figure 0.5, 0.6, and 0.7<sup>1</sup>). These trends are unlike

<sup>1</sup> All Figures beginning 0.\_ are found in Appendix I.



those in present day English language correspondence. On occasion, formal letters in all the languages omitted the name of the addressee and only had a greeting.

There are many markers of formal Cherokee discourse. The most notable is the Sequoyan readerly style length of words, or style lacking deletions or clipping of words. Pronoun redundancy or use of the free morpheme subject pronoun in addition to the required bound morpheme pronouns, is more formal as observed in the analyzed letters. In Cherokee, using a free morpheme pronoun in addition to the bound morpheme pronouns is also a device for making it emphatically clear who is the subject of the sentence. Another mark of formality is the use of a free morpheme article with the subject noun or the object noun. In discourse analysis of the Cherokee letters in this manuscript, statements adhering to SOV (subject-object-verb) order without interpersonal mechanisms of dependent clauses or elaboration occurred in the most formal letters (see letter 2, 1825 Ross).

Markers of informal discourse include the use of deletion, contraction and clipping, the lack of redundant free morpheme pronouns, and often the lack of articles. In the letters analyzed, statements with elaboration, increased use of adverbs of time, place, or manner, reliance on subject-object pronouns without noun subjects, were mechanisms that increased involvement and appear less formal.

With the six syllabary symbols, **G**, **V**, **lr**, **K**, **J**, and **G** (see Appendix I, Figure 0.0), Lawrence Foley (1980:173) states that in more recent times, only [c] and [j] are heard in Oklahoma Cherokee reading style, as opposed to [dz] or [ts]. Foley (169) also claims that [j] and [gw] are the preferred choices of the syllabary

reading style or formal speech, whereas [dz] and [w] are “stigmatized.” It is interesting that in the Cherokee 1877 letter (section 3.5.3; letter 3; line 25) Proctor wrote *gogwelvga* for “I write it” rather than *gowelvga*, more commonly seen in dictionaries. For this dissertation, the distinction of formal/informal markers is more useful than Foley’s terms prestige/stigmatized.<sup>2</sup> The implication points to the existence of a reader dialect and the influence of learning the syllabary on Cherokee language use. Also, the shorter forms occur more frequently in contracted words. Foley further notes that a higher percentage of speakers over the age of forty use the formal discourse style than those under forty. But considering that the norm for Cherokee syllabary acquisition is age thirty-five, this is not surprising.

Informal interpersonal *Dakota* letters often skip the letter’s point of origin, the date, and go directly to the greeting, the opening, the body of the letter, followed by the closing salutation, then to the author’s signature along with a self validation (I am). Once in a while, there is a postscript followed by another signature and another self-affirmation in the informal personal letter. Expressive discourse markers (Well! Yes! Ho!) and aspectual time markers (today, again, now, etc.) are also more abundant in the informal letters.

---

<sup>2</sup>Foley’s (1980) study is significant in following the patterns of Labov’s New York sociolinguistic study, on which his choice of the terms were based and where “prestige/stigmatized” may align more clearly. As Foley admits we cannot assume the same indices for the Cherokee as for New York City, but a new index based on indicators unique to Cherokee culture was not possible. His terms were based on literacy and the reader dialect as prestigious as is the case with essayist English. The study made good points but I am not comfortable with blurring Labov’s use of the terms with Foley’s use as we look at the Cherokee. I would use formal/informal until research establishes that the readerly dialect is the Cherokee’s prestige form.

|  |
|--|
| LOCATION of ORIGIN (optional)  |
| DATE (optional)  |
| NAME of Addressee  |
| GREETING (not in <b>formal</b> letters)  |
| OPENING (purposeful)   |
| BODY OF LETTER:  |
| Reports, Requests, Depositions, Statements, Narrative,<br>Evaluations, Assertions, Elicitations, Appeals, Affirmations<br>of a relationship were the main functions of <i>Dakota</i> letters |
| CLOSING (not in <b>formal</b> letters)   |
| SALUTATION   |
| NAME OF AUTHOR   |
| SELF AFFIRMATION   |
| POSTSCRIPT (optional)  |
| Text of postscript, signature of author, self-affirmation.   |

FIGURE 3.3 Cherokee and *Dakota* Letter Form

3.2 Cherokee and *Dakota* Text Structuring. The segmenting of text by partitioning devices in a predicable form, frames and signals the type of text content packaged. The evident frame varies with the function. There are genre frames (Hymes 1977), comment and topic frames (Givon 1983), speaker and quote frames (Johnstone 1987), and interactional frames and sequencing frames (Polyani 1979; Schiffrin 1980; Thompson 1984; Tannen 1985; Biber 1986; Becker 1982). Although only touched on in this study, each of these frames deserves further description within each genre and in each language.

The devices that signal the beginning of a narrative, of paragraphs, or of a sentence in Cherokee or *Dakota* resemble those of spoken English but are quite contrary to prescriptive written essayist English. Behind the written or oral device of partitioning speech into units (the structure/frame), be they clauses, sentences, paragraphs, event sequencing, etc., lie orientation toward the listener, reader, the other, and calculation of the latter's possible reactions (Volšinov 1973:111-112).

Essayist English further expects that within writing, the weaker this orientation and calculation are, the less organized it will be. The form of the presentation of text or the frame provides the surface evidence for underlying expectations in language use (Tannen 1979; Polyani 1979). The first order of segmentation of text structure is equally what Grimes' (1972) "outline" or "paratactic structure," and Hymes' (1974) linguistic "chain" of "syntagmatic relations," were reaching to define about discourse structure. The words "outline, frame, chain, structure" were all used describe the organizational unit of a text or discourse. These terms were each indicating the use of various individual linguistic elements, devices or techniques.

The first level is a framing order, signaling organization of the structure of text (Grimes 1972, Hymes 1977, Tannen 1979, 1985, Thompson 1984, Biber 1986). The focus of this level is independent of the letter's visual spatial use (see Figure 3.4, 3.5; Section 3.2.1, and 3.2.2), yet confirmed by the overlapping of information. This first level in effect partitions paragraphs, clauses, and signals quotes just as essayist English relies on punctuation, capitalization, indentation and word order to do.

Dell Hymes (1981:333) employs language internal order that frames and orders the texts to the specific literature. This technique is employed in determining text structure, elaborated on by the findings of Deborah Schiffrin (1980), Al Becker (1982), Sandra Thompson (1984), Karen Beaman (1984), Deborah Tannen (1985), on the role of adverbial connectors and conjunctions. By this method, Hymes provides a point of departure from the dialectical structures of Lévi-Strauss that

neglects and ignores the way which narratives are organizations of linguistic means. Instead, as Hymes indicates and as found in Cherokee and *Dakota*, there are lexical/syntactic signals that frame the text as a unit, framing sentences and paragraphs.

Defining a second order of structure, Grimes found “overlay” in “hypotactic structure,” Hymes found “paradigmatic relations” chained by linguistic items of choice, and Goffman found “self-presentation” organized by “frames.” All were rhetorical presentations structured by linguistic techniques or devices. Others since simply referred to the same two text structure relations as the structural frame and the rhetorical presentation (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987). This dissertation will consider text as organized on these two main levels, often overlapping, yet for separate ends.

3.2.1 Cherokee Text Structuring Frame. At this first level in Cherokee, there is the stringing of demonstrative pronouns. These demonstrative pronouns signal the beginning and end of topics or paragraphs, and they alert readers to quotes or a change of voice (see the passage below from 1884 Sitting Down Blue and section 1.2.3.2). Conjunctions and conjoiners are used to string sentences related to the main topic or point. Adverbs of time bridge the points. The frame at this first level changes with the genre or purpose of the statement within. The more formal statements evidence a simpler, direct frame. The more informal statements evidence several more sequences of conjoiners, demonstrative pronouns, and often

adverbs of time drawing the addressee into the discourse with compounded detail (Becker 1982; Schiffrin 1980). The following is an example:

#### THE BODY OF A CHEROKEE LETTER BEGINS:

1. 

|   |         |         |      |                 |      |              |           |
|---|---------|---------|------|-----------------|------|--------------|-----------|
| Demonstrative   | pronoun | subject | verb | subj.obj.stativ | verb | proper noun. | modifier. |
| ᎠᎩ  | ᎠᎩᎩ     | ᎠᎩᎩ     | ᎠᎩᎩ  | ᎠᎩᎩ             | ᎠᎩᎩ  | ᎠᎩᎩ          | ᎠᎩᎩ       |
| <i>Hi?a goweli wi.gv.nv?si e.jahgwodi dayewa di.gayadi.s.g.i adelv hi.gadiya</i>  |         |         |      |                 |      |              |           |
| This / letter / away it sent / you like it / BIG ONE / (NAME) / money / you.guard |         |         |      |                 |      |              |           |
| This letter is sent to you. NAME, the treasurer, as you like. (treasurer)         |         |         |      |                 |      |              |           |
  
2. 

|  |               |             |      |             |
|--|---------------|-------------|------|-------------|
| Demonstrative  | demonstrative | proper noun | verb | proper noun |
| ᎠᎩᎩ  | ᎠᎩᎩ           | ᎠᎩᎩ         | ᎠᎩᎩ  | ᎠᎩᎩ         |
| <i>nasgi.na hi?a sigwoyo s.gadu.gi ayeli ji.sdeli.s.g.i sagonige gvgw.ola</i>                        |               |             |      |             |
| <i>that and what about? / this / Sequoyah district / center / I am helping / BLUE SITTING DOWN /</i> |               |             |      |             |
| <i>and what about that I. Sitting down Blue, am helping the Sequoyah district ?</i>                  |               |             |      |             |
  
3. 

|  |               |         |            |              |        |
|--|---------------|---------|------------|--------------|--------|
| demonstrative  | demonstrative | subject | infinitive | stative verb | adverb |
| ᎠᎩᎩ  | ᎠᎩᎩ           | ᎠᎩᎩ     | ᎠᎩᎩ        | ᎠᎩᎩ          | ᎠᎩᎩ    |
| <i>hi?a nasgi adelv di.sehis.di u.d.otlv.di muli.s.tan.v</i>                         |               |         |            |              |        |
| this / that / money / to withdraw / to be making / quickly /                         |               |         |            |              |        |
| [by this] quickly making a withdrawal of money --Sitting Down Blue 1884 <sup>3</sup> |               |         |            |              |        |

From the repetitive pattern found in letters surveyed, we can observe and then predict that the narrative sequence of a letter begins with an adverb of time (date), place (location of writer), or manner, setting the scene. If a heading is excluded, then these elements are established in the opening of the letter. Sentences following that, begin with an adverb of time or a demonstrative pronoun and a conjunction, until a resolution is signaled. Conditional or probable statements begin with the proposition signaled by the conditional (*y-*) prefix on the verb of the clause (see letters 1829:14; 1877:16) or by *iyuno* (and if, see 1829:6,13; 1886:20,21,23,24). This structured pattern is inherent, and not recoverable because of the use as devices, but in spite of them. Even if we strip language of devices, the

grammar remains operative in the potential of the language. However, these devices are the same signals that are audible in speech, and are also used to sequence oral narrative in English (Schiffrin 1980; Thompson 1984; Tannen 1985). The same linguistic items used to sequence or chain together and structuring the text may overlap and function as devices of rhetorical presentation.

Following are figures representing five example letters analyzed to exemplify early Cherokee discourse. The first example, written in the Cherokee Phoenix, is a 1825 legal notice written by John Ross. This notice is an example of the most formal style and declarative statement to a general public. The second letter from the Cherokee Phoenix is also a public announcement by Elias Boudinot in 1829 but elaborates on the statement for public information. The third handwritten letter is directed to a public official by Ezekiel Proctor in 1877 but is less formal than the first two notices printed in the newspaper. The fourth handwritten letter is a request directed to a friend by Sitting Down Blue in 1886. These letters will follow in the discussion of the order of structure and involvement devices in rhetorical presentation (see section 3.2.1 and 3.2.2; Figures 3.1 and 3.3). The short 1884 passage used as an example above was also from a longer handwritten letter of Blue's, typical of the presentational device and of the organization of informal discourse in Cherokee letters (see section 3.2.1 and Figure 3.4).

The Figure 3.4 is a composite of the five mentioned Cherokee letters. At the top of each box, the corresponding date, author and goal of the example letter are

---

<sup>3</sup>Sitting Down Blue to the Treasurer, June 2, 1884. CNP, WHC.

|   |  |   |   |
|---|--|---|---|
| <b>1825 Ross<sup>50</sup></b><br><b>Edict</b><br>We resolve...<br>That...SOV  | <b>1884 Blue<sup>52</sup> Involvement</b><br>¶this<br>that the this...this that<br>and this<br>that and....and ....<br>that<br>¶this<br>that only the way it was....<br>somewhere then<br>then that....<br>that only the way it was<br>that the way it is<br>¶this<br>and....sure enough<br>this only<br>like this....sure enough<br>¶and however....and that this<br>this....and the only this<br>and ....this and the only<br>¶now<br>and somewhere when<br>and that | <b>1877 Proctor<sup>53</sup></b><br><b>Request</b><br>¶right now<br>and that<br>and that<br>and that<br>sure enough...<br>¶this<br>and that<br>and that<br>and that | <b>1886 Blue<sup>54</sup></b><br><b>Request</b><br>¶This<br>only...just...<br>and if...<br>¶that one<br>and one<br>and this..<br>also one...<br>and one...<br>¶and now then...<br>if..<br>and..<br>if...<br>if... |
| <b>1829 Boudinot<sup>51</sup></b><br><b>Subscription</b><br><b>Announcement</b><br>¶SOV<br>This...<br>Which...<br>¶SOV<br>And again if<br>if...<br>¶SVO<br>¶SOV<br>and if again<br>if not |  |   |   |

FIGURE 3.4 Structural Frames of Five Cherokee Letters

shown. Each of the five small boxes demonstrates the first level patterns that sequence and determine the organization of the letter content. In each box, notice the frequent occurrence of demonstrative pronouns, adverbs and conjunctions.

Figure 3.5 lists the linguistic items used in the following five letters to accomplish this structuring. The columns represent the linguistic items listed as: demonstrative pronouns, conjoiners or conjunctions, temporal adverbs, adverbs of

<sup>50</sup>John Ross, November 10, 1825. Cherokee Phoenix, May 21, 1828.

<sup>51</sup>Elias Boudinot, November 11, 1829, Cherokee Phoenix.

<sup>52</sup>Sitting Down Blue to the Treasurer, June 2, 1884. CNP, WHC.

<sup>53</sup>Ezekiel Proctor to Chief Thompson, August 25, 1877.

<sup>54</sup>Sitting Down Blue to Rabbit Johnice, February 6, 1886, CNP, WHC.



## CHEROKEE STRUCTURING DEVICES

| <u>Demonstrative</u>            | <u>Conjoiner</u>                   | <u>Temporal</u>                  | <u>Place</u>               | <u>Manner</u>                      | <u>Puposive</u>                | <u>Degree</u>                          | <u>Causal</u>           | <u>Conditional</u>       |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|--|-------------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>j-</i><br>(that, which, who) | <i>ale</i><br>(and)                | <i>hnagwo</i><br>(now)           | <i>esgani</i><br>(near by) | <i>musdvgwa?i</i><br>(in that way) | <i>nasgino</i><br>(and that)   | <i>hivsgi</i><br>(several)             | <i>ase</i><br>(because) | <i>iyuno</i><br>(and if) |
| <i>nasgi</i><br>(that)          | <i>-hno/-no</i><br>(and)           | <i>iyuno</i><br>(and again)      | <i>ahani</i><br>(there)    | <i>nuli</i><br>(quickly)           | <i>nasgigwo</i><br>(only that) | <i>aligagwo</i><br>(that is all)       |                         | <i>y-</i><br>(if so)     |
| <i>na</i><br>(the)              | <i>nasgwo</i><br>(also)            | <i>nuli?udv?i</i><br>(very soon) | <i>ani</i><br>(here)       |                                    | <i>hi?ano</i><br>(and this)    | <i>hi?agwogaha</i><br>(this only just) |                         |                          |
| <i>hiya/hi?a</i><br>(this)      | <i>nasgwono</i><br>(and also,then) | <i>i-</i><br>(again)             | <i>-i -yi</i><br>(place)   |                                    | <i>kanalu</i><br>(now then)    | <i>-gwo</i><br>(just, only)            |                         |                          |
|                                 |                                    | <i>iyu</i><br>(when)             | <i>di-</i><br>(there)      |                                    |                                |  |                         |                          |
|                                 |                                    | <i>kohi</i><br>(now,this)        |                            |                                    |                                |  |                         |                          |
|                                 |                                    | <i>n-</i><br>(now)               |                            |                                    |                                |  |                         |                          |
|                                 |                                    |                                  |                            |                                    |                                |  | <u>Concessive</u>       |                          |
|                                 |                                    |                                  |                            |                                    |                                |  | (although)              |                          |

Figure 3.5 Linguistic Items Used in Cherokee Structuring

place, adverbs of manner, as well as listing conjoiners that convey purpose, degree, cause, concession or condition in anticipation of analysis of rhetorical presentation.

3.2.2 Dakota Text Structuring Frame. *Dakota* sentences evidence a clause-like structure, marked finally by the verb and enclitic tags. Each narrative unit begins with an adverbial, demonstrative pronoun, a noun phrase, or a conjunction. Within this unit frame falls the noun phrases functioning as the subject, direct object, and indirect object, each clarified and confirmed through reduplication of appropriate pronoun morphemes in the verbs. The following is an example of a compound sentence:

#### THE BODY OF A DAKOTA LETTER BEGINS:

- |    |  |                          |                                |             |
|----|--|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------|
|    | Adverb   | Pronoun-diminutive scope | nomializer-Object-Subject-Verb | Habitual    |
| 1. | <i>Ohini</i>   | <i>niś.na.na</i>         | <i>o.ma.ya.kiya</i>            | <i>ećee</i> |
|    | Always / you-only-only / one who=in-me-you-help / usually=habitual         |                          |                                |             |
|    | Always you alone continue to help me (or) Usually you alone are my helper. |                          |                                |             |
- 
- |    |   |                   |             |             |              |                  |                |
|----|---|-------------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------------|----------------|
|    | Conjunction   | Time Adverb (Noun | Adjective   | Preposition | Noun)        | Adverb of Manner | Ø Object Verb  |
| 2. | <i>tuka nakaha</i>  | <i>Dakota</i>     | <i>āŋcā</i> | <i>om</i>   | <i>waŋzi</i> | <i>tehiya</i>    | <i>ma.kiwa</i> |
|    | but / today / <i>Dakota(s)</i> / child(ren) / with / a.one /with difficulty / he-me-pursues |                   |             |             |              |                  |                |
|    | but today, one with the <i>Dakota</i> children pursues me with difficulty (evil intent)     |                   |             |             |              |                  |                |
- 
- |    |   |                        |            |                       |
|----|---|------------------------|------------|-----------------------|
|    | Demonstrative Pronoun                       | Subject-Object Pronoun | Verb       | Future Tense Enclitic |
| 3. | <i>he</i>                                   | <i>o.ā.ā.yake</i>      | <i>kte</i> |                       |
|    | that  | / I to you tell        | / shall    |                       |
|    | (and) that (is what) I will tell you about. |                        |            |                       |
- Kewarke*, 1864<sup>4</sup>

Here we find several structural cues and two important sequencing devices. One for logical sequencing of narrative (the first level/structure); the other to insure interaction in presentation of self (the second level/rhetorical).

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<sup>4</sup> *Kewarke* to Stephen Return Riggs, 1864, Stephen Return Riggs Paper, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul.

First, the paragraph begins with an adverb of time. The first clause is closed by the verb, conjoined by a conjunction to another noun phrase and bound together by word order, followed by an adverb of manner, closed again by the verb. The final clause of the statement, informs the reader that this first opening statement is the topic which will expounded on and supported in the narrative to come. It also signals that reported speech will be signaled by the repetition of a framing device (adverb of time or conjunction until the verb plus enclitics and the reporting framing device of “he says that...I said”). It is interesting that oral narrative in English, segments sections of narrative the same way (with SVO word order, of course, rather than with SOV order). Contrary to essayist English, yet in both cases of *Dakota* and oral English narrative, the inconsistency of tense of the verb “to say” has nothing to do with signaling time but rather signals a change in speaker or the climax of the narrative framing the point (Johnstone 1987, Polyani 1979).

Direct quotes are marked by “I/he says . . . I/he said,” and indirect quotes by “I/he says that/this . . . that/this I/he said,” and reported speech by use of the stative verbs (be thinking, be telling, be of the opinion, etc.). One *Dakota* letter author (*Kewanke*) used direct/indirect/reported marked quotes as a device which corresponded to achieving formal/informal styles. Indirect quotes were used exclusively in formal letters—and by contrast, the use of a direct quote was to distance himself from what was said and link it to others in a manner that sounds objective and logical rather than personal.

Figure 3.6 is a composite of the five analyzed *Dakota* letters. Each of the

|  |  |  |
|--|--|--|
| <b>1864 Kewapke</b><br><b>Evaluative Report</b><br>¶Again...and...<br>That they say<br>¶Then...and...<br>That...now...<br>Perhaps I think...those...<br>That they say<br>¶Then perhaps...<br>That they say<br>¶That<br>That... and when...and also<br>That they say<br>¶But...although<br>But...although<br>But<br>That they say<br>¶Then soon<br>But all...and when<br>That he says<br>¶Then if so...Then | <b>1864 Wigan</b><br>¶Here...you and many...<br>That they say<br>¶And thus<br>And thus<br>And thus<br>Thus<br>But nevertheless...then<br>That they say<br>¶On that account<br>for that alone<br>That they say<br>¶She says ...she said<br>and thus...and...<br>That we say<br>¶Then...that...<br>That they say<br>¶And also...then<br>Just so...but<br>That they say | <b>1864 Kewapke</b><br><b>Formal Statements</b><br>I will tell you:<br>that...but (3x)<br>that...in that way<br>thus...in that way<br>and...so<br>and<br>that...in that way<br>that...afterward<br>and ...I had said<br>and...that...thus...but...<br>hence...   |
| <b>1885 Death Notice</b><br><b>Evaluation</b><br>The day...there...<br>SOV<br>and always...and never<br>sometimes... something<br>although... thus<br>Soon ...also...and   |  | <b>1874 Totidawing Evaluation Narrative</b><br>¶Who first<br>And that<br>But now...and...<br>Now soon... that...<br>¶He says... says that:<br>"Whosoever when... and never<br>And Who when...<br>And Who when<br>And Who when... that..."<br>And that's that.<br>¶Now ...that...<br>Therefore...and...that...<br>But... then<br>But... when... |

Figure 3.6 Structural Frames of Five *Dakota* Letters

five small boxes within the figure corresponds to the first level patterns in each letter which sequences and determines the organization of the letter content. At the top of each box is the date, author, and goal of each example letter.

Compare the Cherokee figure 3.4 and 3.5 to the *Dakota* figure 3.6 and 3.8. and thereby the sequencing patterns in each language. Notice that the more formal letters in Cherokee (1825 Ross Edict; 1829 Boudinot Announcement) and the more formal *Dakota* letters (1874 *Kewapke* statement and 1885 Death Notice) have the simplest and most direct sequencing frames. Both languages depend heavily on

adverbs of time, demonstrative pronouns, and conjunctions/conjoiners to sequence the text. Both languages also use repetition to segment or sequence topic or episode subunits and to create involvement. Figure 3.7 lists the linguistic items used in the following five *Dakota* letters to accomplish this structuring. The columns of linguistic items are divided into demonstrative pronouns, conjoiners or conjunctions, temporal adverbs, adverbs of place, adverbs of manner, as well as into columns of conjoiners that convey purpose, degree, cause, concession or condition in anticipation of analysis of rhetorical presentation.

3.3 Linguistic Features and Analysis of Rhetorical Presentation. Prior to this we considered spatial form followed by the structuring or sequencing of the letters represented (sections 1.2.3.1, 3.1 and 1.2.3.2, 3.2.0-.2). Now, we will concentrate on rhetorical presentation and finally interaction. These letters function to exemplify letter writing early in the Cherokee and *Dakota* literacy experience, to demonstrate the language norms of use in the writing experience, to show the range of variation and individual repertoire within that discourse, and to set up a comparison of Cherokee, *Dakota* and English language discourse. The writing event considered in each letter is not just a synchronic example of language use, worthwhile in itself, but also a diachronic experience.

Considered first is the discourse analysis of the Cherokee and *Dakota* letters concentrated on a number of linguistic features and presentational devices (identified by Bauman 1982, Biber 1986, Tannen 1985, Thompson 1984; section 1.2.3.3). Attention will specifically be paid to adverbial connectors, like “although” or

## DAKOTA STRUCTURING DEVICES

| <u>Demonstrative</u>       | <u>Conjoiner</u>       | <u>Temporal</u>                 | <u>Place</u>                    | <u>Manner</u>                      | <u>Puposive</u>                      | <u>Degree</u>                      | <u>Causal</u>                   | <u>Conditional</u>                 |
|----------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>he</i><br>(that)        | <i>onkaŋ</i><br>(and)  | <i>ake</i><br>(again)           | <i>den</i><br>(here)            | <i>hecen</i><br>(in this way)      | <i>hecen heon</i><br>(therefore,so)  | <i>henana</i><br>(only so much)    | <i>nakas</i><br>(because)       | <i>cinhan/kinhan</i><br>(if, when) |
| <i>k-</i><br>(that)        | <i>ga'qa</i><br>(and)  | <i>nakaha</i><br>(now)          | <i>tukten</i><br>(there)        | <i>wanna</i><br>(quickly)          | <i>ecen</i><br>(thus)                | <i>ece/ecedan</i><br>(only, alone) |                                 | <i>hecinhan</i><br>(if it is so)   |
| <i>kiŋ</i><br>(the)        | <i>ko</i><br>(and)     | <i>hehaŋ</i><br>(then)          | <i>hehan</i><br>(there)         | <i>tehiya</i><br>(with difficulty) | <i>etaŋhaŋ</i><br>(on that account)  |                                    |                                 |                                    |
| <i>hena</i><br>(those)     | <i>tuka</i><br>(but)   | <i>ecadaŋ</i><br>(soon)         | <i>hetanhan</i><br>(from there) |                                    | <i>hecegedaŋ</i><br>(for that alone) |                                    |                                 |                                    |
| <i>tuwe</i><br>(someone)   | <i>he</i><br>(that)    | <i>wana</i><br>(already)        |                                 |                                    | <i>hecetu</i><br>(that is right)     |                                    |                                 |                                    |
| <i>tuwedaŋ</i><br>(no one) | <i>nakuŋ</i><br>(also) | <i>ca</i><br>(when)             |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    |                                 |                                    |
|                            |                        | <i>tohinmi</i><br>(when)        |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    |                                 |                                    |
|                            |                        | <i>ohinni</i><br>(always)       |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    |                                 |                                    |
|                            |                        | <i>tuktekten</i><br>(sometimes) |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    |                                 |                                    |
|                            |                        | <i>iyohakam</i><br>(afterwards) |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    |                                 |                                    |
|                            |                        |                                 |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    | <u>Concessive</u>               |                                    |
|                            |                        |                                 |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    | <i>eśa</i><br>(although)        |                                    |
|                            |                        |                                 |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    | <i>naceca nace</i><br>(perhaps) |                                    |
|                            |                        |                                 |                                 |                                    |                                      |                                    | <i>kes ges</i><br>(although)    |                                    |

Figure 3.7 Linguistic Items Used in *Dakota* Structuring

*Dakota's eśta*, and “also” or Cherokee’s *nasgwo* and *Dakota's nakuŋ*, adverbs of time *Dakota's nakaha* (now) or Cherokee’s *nogwu* and place *Dakota's den* (here) or Cherokee’s *ahani*, purpose and manner adverbial connectors, such as “in that way” or *Dakota's hećen*, or “on that account” or *Dakota's heoŋ*. In the analysis that follows, we will consider the grammatical features employed in the text to create involvement. Following is an overview of each sample letter, reviewed in light of its structuring, presentational form and devices.

3.4 Interaction: Analysis of Goals, Roles, and Function. Considered next is interaction evident from the letters (see section 1.2.3.4). Writing is not only a means of message transmission, but also a generative, meaning creating process. Writing not only describes and transmits our world but also creates it. While reading and writing display contrasting qualities, they are nonetheless interrelated through their social motive and origins. The method used to determine interaction in the letters analyzed is based on Goffman’s (1979) presentation of self as author, animator, principal and figure which frames and transforms the ongoing written event (also addressed by Schiffrin 1977 and Tannen 1985). Determining the function or role relies on the criteria proposed for assessing the statements (Robinson and Cooper 1985). These theories support the premise of agency. Other pertinent presentational devices are discussed by Labov (1972), Givon (1979), Polyani (1979), Tannen (1982), or Johnstone (1987), and suggest methods to observe the author’s projection of self, others, and text.

Goffman (1974, 1976, 1979) defined the terms author (writer using voice), animator (spokesperson or one an author chooses to project his voice), figure (portrayed through talk) and principal (who the message is directed to) in his concern with situated speech, interaction and speaking for another. These terms are useful in considering the function of the text, the participants, and the negotiation involved in discourse and the real world. Goffman (1974) was concerned with the ways in which people structure experience. His work on frame analysis shows how the organization of discourse is itself socially situated.

Therefore, not only are the sequencing and organizational devices that signal involvement considered, but so are the goals/purposes of the author in each phrase and finally the effect/ends of that overall text. The native language author/writer/voice, the addressee/audience, the goal/purpose for writing, the type of discourse (statement, report/record, request, evaluation, summation), the topic, the setting, the animator, the principal, must all be considered. Possible functions of the types of discourse are: expressive, creative, transactional, regulative, persuasive, informative, descriptive, generalizing, logical, speculative, hypothetical, and deductive (Cooper 1985; Robinson 1985). It is also a consideration whether the voice (role or image portrayed) used is individual, group/public or official/authoritative. The roles assigned by the author or others should be considered. These considerations, once noted and analyzed, describe the text and help identify the presentational devices of interaction.



Furthermore, in noting the goals of the author in a letter, it is noted whether the author is subscribing to the norm, role marking, solidarity marking, informing; using imperative or emphatic focus, inclusion, exclusion, persuasion, regulation, qualifying, being expressive, or orientating; by personal narrative, sequencing, evaluation, assertion, restatement, exemplifying, contrasting, or warning, trying to effect his goal/ends..

3.5 Cherokee Text: Presentation. The next level, subsumed in the form and structuring is the level of involvement (Goffman 1976, Tannen 1985, Schiffilin 1977). The sample Cherokee letters are arranged from the most formal to the least formal, from the least interpersonal to the most interpersonal, from printed by typeset press in the GWY Jc̣c̣EC̣c̣ or Cherokee Phoenix to handwritten in varied penmanship, and chronologically from 1825, 1829, 1877 to 1886 (see Cherokee Letter 1-5 interspersed with their analysis).

3.5.1 Cherokee Letter 1: 1825 John Ross. An example of the most formal structure is in a 1825 edict by John Ross concerning taxation. The 1825 tax edict signals the declaration with the verb-subject (VS) word order, used to convey authority, directly followed by the direct edict in subject-object-verb order (SOV). Within this structure the declaration is also framed indirectly by subject-object-verb morpheme order, in the pronoun of the verb. The declaration is not unlike that found in an official English message statement. However, we must bear in mind that

1. **ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ**  
ije gaduhv  
new town/
2. **ᑕᑕᑕ 1825**  
10 nvda.d.egwa 1825  
10/ moon.distant.big: November / 1825 /
3. **ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
oji.negi ayeli oj.adanvte.s.gi  
others & I.respond / central / others & I.think.begin.-ing-er/
4. **ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
ale d.oji.lawi?.v,  
and / there.others & I.meet.council-ed /
5. **ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
j.u.li.nej.v ayeli un.aguye.di.yi  
which.it.-self.sai.d / central / they.pay.at intervals.to /
6. **ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
esgani an.ehi dini.nodi.s.gi.  
near by: they.dwell:citizen / their.to sell.begin-er:merchant
7. **ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ.**  
hnagwo yus.gi oji.nihi.sda.  
now the same / others & I.simultaneously.stop.begin.
8. **ᑕᑕᑕ**  
a.li.neg.i.  
he.himself.responds, says
9. **ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
jani guwisguwi [extinct bird]  
John Cooweescoowee
10. **ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
di.ka.naja.d.vs.di jalagi una.jeli.ga.  
pl. it.answers.around.at intervals.to / Cherokee / theirs acting
11. **ᑕᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕᑕ**  
jaligi j.u.le.hisa.nv.hi  
Cherokee who.it.starts.comes.to. resurrected /
12. **ᑕᑕ ᑕᑕᑕᑕ 1828**  
21 anasgvti 1828  
21 / May / 1828  
plant.council.scold (wi dropped)
1. New Town,
2. November 10, 1825
3. Resolved by the National Committee
4. and Council ,
5. That the law imposing a tax
6. upon citizen merchants  
(of the Cherokee nation be. )
7. and the same is hereby. suspended  
(for the term of two years.)
8. By order.
9. John Ross
10. ("Cherokee Laws"
11. Cherokee Phoenix
- May 21, 1828)

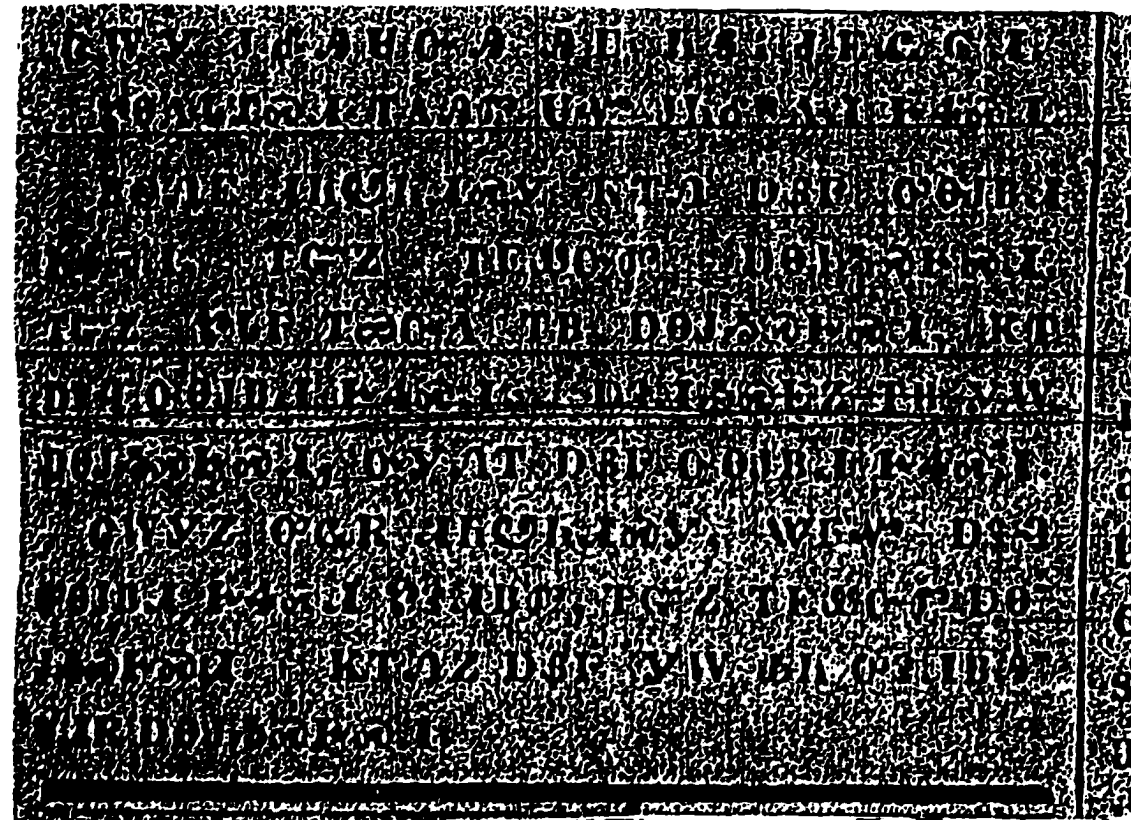
John Ross was educated in English institutions and was familiar with English official text form. Ross's formal style is not surprising, as William Strickland (378) declares that John Ross spoke "as Cherokee [people] thought the white men spoke," which he determined was clearly organized [as English deems as "organized"] and with documented proof. This organization most likely influenced his presentation in the written form. Even so, it only adjusted his presentation, and did not totally realign his vernacular language use from the Cherokee norm (see: John Ross 1825).

John Ross uses a public voice in this text. Ross contrasts inclusiveness and exclusiveness using the pronoun *oj-oji-* (others and I; lines 3,4,7), while directing speech to the public pronoun *an-un-* (they; lines 5,6). Ross uses the incipient present *-a* (happening now; line 7), the immediate present tense *-i* (just happening; lines 3, 5,6,8 ), strings of nominalized nouns *-gi -hi* (lines 3,6,11; titles of office formed from active verbs), and relative pronouns *j-* (who, which, that; lines 5,11) in higher proportions than is found in informal text of the same length. Each of these rhetorical devices in the Cherokee language in effect lend validation and authority to the presentation of the message. The use of a public voice by invoking titles of institutions speaking to a general public "they," and the direct narrow focus of the message all contribute to the authoritative tone. For contrast, the use of an interpersonal voice and elaboration in his message would have created a less authoritative tone. It is also interesting that Ross includes himself in the pronoun identifying his perceived alliance with the National Committee and Council, but excludes himself from the group of taxed merchants. This is a good example of how

specifically an author's perception of inclusive/exclusive identification can be detected.

John Ross authored the 1825 letter in the Cherokee Phoenix in a public official voice. It was addressed to the people of the Cherokee Nation, the principal being the Nation, the figure the governing body of the Nation capable of taxation, with Ross as the animator of the message (Figure 0.12). To recapitulate, Ross used the contrast of word order, the contrast of exclusive, inclusive, and relative pronouns, titles, and cast his voice as animator as rhetorical device to effect his message.

3.5.2 Cherokee Letter 2: 1829 Elias Boudinot This letter is a subscription announcement by Elias Boudinot, also speaking for Isaac Harris. Following the opening declaration, he makes direct statements that are to the point in subject-object-verb word ordered sentences (SOV; lines 4-5,11-12). It appends supporting (lines 2-3, 9-10,15) or conditional (if; lines 6,7,13-14) statements to the main statements by demonstrative pronouns *j-* (that, who; lines 1,3), conjunctions (*iyunw*; lines 6,7,13) and adverbs of time or the first structural frame. This announcement uses the future tense and conditional statements to cover the points concerning subscription to the Cherokee Phoenix. This 1829 subscription contrasts the 1825 Ross verb-subject declaration and a subject-object-verb (SOV) statement by following with two conditional statements. The conditional statements repetitiously contrast the following order in each case: conditional (if)-verb-object-verb (see line 6, 7, 13). Contrast is a frequent signal of changing structure and a rhetorical device



1. **GWY JĠĠHOCĠ AD HSi JEGGJ**  
 Jalagi j.u.le.hisa.nv.hi hi?a niga?v ju.gvwal.o.di  
 Cherokee / *that.it.starts.resurrected; Phoenix / this / general / that.price.set.to /*  
 1.This is the general price  
 to be set  
 for the Cherokee Phoenix
  
2. **ĠĠALTĠ TAĠĠ EV**  
 s.una.nedagwasdi i.gohi.dv sagwo  
 unit.pl.week / long one  
 2-3.One will be published  
 weekly
  
3. **JĠĠBAJ Ġ4ĠJ**  
 j.uni.levv.g.o.di ges.esdi.  
 which.they publish-ing-repeatedly-to / it will be /  
 4-5. White speakers  
 will pay  
 three and a half dollars
  
4. **BOAE JĠĠĠĠĠ**  
 Yvwi.negv d.ini.woni.dis.gi  
 Person. white / there. you&I.speak.instru.-er
  
5. **KTĠ DĠĠ ĠĠĠJ Ġ4ĠJ**  
 jo?i.ne ayeli un.aguy.v.di ges.esdi  
 three / half. 50c/ they.pay.to it will be  
 6-8 And if they repeat
  
6. **TGZ TEĠĠĠ DĠĠĠĠĠ**  
 iyu.no i.gvw.envdv an.aguy.is.gesdi  
 again if and / again.it.they.go they.be paying.will /  
 again for six months
  
7. **TGZ ĠĠĠ TĠCĠĠ TBDĠĠĠĠĠ**  
 iyu.no sudali iyanvne iyv an.aguyis.gesdi  
 again if and / six months several they.be paying.will  
 they will again pay  
 three dollars
  
8. **KT DĠĠ ĠĠĠJ Ġ4ĠJ**  
 jo?i adelv una.guyv.di ges.esdi  
 three / dollar they pay to it will be
  
9. **DĠĠĠĠEZ TBYW DĠĠĠĠĠĠ**  
 Ayediyi.sgv.no iyv gila an.aguyi.s.gesdi  
 inside place and / longer ones they pay start will.  
 9-10. And inserts and  
 longer ones [advertisements]  
 will begin by paying
  
10. **ĠYA DĠĠ ĠĠĠJ Ġ4ĠJ**  
 nvġine?i ayeli un.aguyv.di gesesdi  
 fourth / half.nation they pay to it will be /  
 a quarter and a half dollar  
 [\$ .75]
  
11. **GWYZ ĠGR JĠĠĠĠĠ**  
 jalagi.no uwasv d.ini.woni.dis.gi  
 Cherokee and / its / them.you & I speak instru.-er /  
 11-13. And its  
 Cherokee speakers  
 they will pay  
 just two dollars  
 yearly
  
12. **WĠV DĠĠ ĠĠĠJ Ġ4ĠJ ĠĠĠĠ**  
 tali.gwo adelv un.aguyv.di gesesdi s.u.dediyv.dv  
 two rust dollars they pay to it will be year

13. **TGZ TEWO DEJNafai**

iyu.no igvw.env.dv ana guyis.gesdi  
if and / again if they go / they pay start will be /

13. And if they go again  
they will pay

14. **KTAZ D8P YW Jh**

jo?ine.no ayeli gila yini  
third and / half / until / if not, if you see /

14. a third and [\$33]  
a half dollar [\$50]  
[ = \$.83]

15. **CSJB9HJR DEJNafai**

udetiyv.hisa.dis.v an.aguyi.s.gesdi.  
year. come to. instr.did / they pay start will be /

15. each year

signaling an important point of the text, a change in key or tone of presentation, or of rhetorical stance.

It is interesting that the author uses the third person plural pronoun *un- an-* (they) to address his audience. The exception is where he writes the idiom for “English speakers” and “Cherokee speakers” (lines 4,11) where he uses the inclusive *ini-* “you and I” pronoun rather than *an-* “they.” This choice of person pronoun indicates that he considers himself a speaker of both languages, where only “they pay” for a subscription. Once again we find a good example of specific perception of rhetorical stance and membership.

The 1829 subscription notice and the prior 1825 tax edict were printed in the Cherokee Phoenix (30% Cherokee and 70% English language) and were probably edited as more planned discourse (Tannen 1982, 1984, 1985, Chafe 1982, 1984). The editors were native Cherokee speakers. It should also be noted that the English translation in the newspaper does not directly match the Cherokee of either of these two texts, except in a broad sense. The English and the Cherokee versions appear side by side in the newspaper. The Cherokee version of the 1825 tax edict makes no mention of the Cherokee Nation or the two year term, which is stated explicitly in the English version but remains assumed knowledge in the Cherokee version. In addition, the English version of the 1829 subscription notice includes more extraneous conditions for payment, (if paid in advance, if paid late, various prices for various sized advertisements, and notices) not expounded on in the Cherokee



version. The subtle differences between the Cherokee and the English are specific to addressing the individual audiences with specific and different interests.

Elias Boudinot authored the 1829 letter in the Cherokee Phoenix in an official voice as the figure taking subscriptions. The notice was addressed to the Cherokee reading public, with the principals being the Cherokee subscribers. Boudinot as the editor acted as an animator for the notice (Figure 3.8). Once again, Boudinot used a contrast of word order, a contrast of tense, a contrast of inclusive and exclusive pronouns, and a public official voice cast as animator to effect his message.

3.5.3 Cherokee Letter 3: 1877 Ezekiel Proctor. The heading of the letter sets the scene. However, there is not an addressee mentioned until the closing of the letter, beginning on line 26. The letter does have a solidarity building opening with the sentences marked by the reported verbal suffix *-eʔi* (lines 3-6). This suffix is used in contrast to the events reported on as a witness in sentences marked by the verbal suffix *-vʔi* (lines 7-24). The verb ending with the *-eʔi* / *-vʔi* suffixes marks the end of the sentence rather than the clause in the structuring process. It is the function of the opening part of the letter to build and acknowledge the perceived solidarity of the relationship, while the contrast of the *-vʔi* / *-eʔi* marks the authors switching stance in relating the information. The opening sequences *kanalu* (now)...., *hivsgi* (several)...., *nasgino* (and that) as you...., are in contrast to the events being set up by direct statements (7-11), reports and evaluation of a third



1. **SGH 09T~TS 25 1877**  
galoni kalv?i ~ iga 25 1877  
august month / day / 25 1877
  2. **Dh TOLOTJ 0SSY GWY**  
ani inada.n.a?i.yi s.gadu.gi jalagi.yi  
here / snake.sim.go.at / district / cherokee.at /
  3. **00M LE60WAT**  
kanalu da.gvy.ogwelan.e?i  
now / will.I to you.write.reportedly /
  4. **090Y T0AC0**  
hilvsgi i.ka.nej.vhi  
several - again.it.said on : phrases /
  5. **000YZ 000T S000LAW**  
nasgi.no nusdv?i d.u.lvvis.dan.el.a  
that and / the way it was / pl.it.work.caused.for another.now /
  6. **0AV00 PT**  
hi.nej.el.vhi ge?i  
you.said.for another.on / reported /
  7. **JLh00Y JP0G**  
didaniyis.gi Juli?owa  
sheriff joe, jim /
  8. **LPE 0SSY PRT R0**  
daliqua s.gadu.gi ges.v?i ehi  
Tahlequah district / was / exist.from /
  9. **JLh00Y 0000 Ghh0 R0**  
didaniyis.gi udvna wajini.yi ehi  
sheriff big washington at: gov. / lives /
  10. **J000 WPA PR**  
di.y.anv dv taline ges.v  
them-he. remember / second, again / was /
  11. **0000T S0AWOT**  
nusdv.gwa?i d.un.ugotan.v?i  
manner, how / there.they.decided /
  12. **000YZ 0A0T 0Z00ET**  
nasgi.no sagonige ka.no.he.s.g.v?i  
that and / Blue / he.told.at intervals /
  13. **0V0G0 DJ+ 000GWOT 0h0JT**  
udohiyuhi adi.ha una.nelo.tan.v?i uni.hi.sdi?i  
sure enough / he saying / they tried cause. / they kill.instru.to at /
  14. **0 DBD0Y DBY PRT**  
na ayvadegi ayvgi ges.v?i  
the / federal / prisoner / was /
1. The month of August  
Day 25, 1877
  2. Here at Goingsnake District.  
Cherokee Nation
  3. Now then, I am going to write you
  4. several words again
  5. And that was the way  
it did work there.
  6. as you reportedly gave him your word.
  7. It was Sheriff Juli?owa.
  8. that lives in the Tahlequah District.
  9. It was big sheriff [U. S. Marshal].  
that lives in Washington.  
[that is from the Federal Gov.]
  10. he remembered them again.
  11. how they decided on it.
  12. And that is, what Blue  
was talking about.
  13. Sure enough, he is saying  
they tried to kill
  14. the federal prisoner.

15. **ፀፌሃጊ ድጋል ፑጥ**  
nasgi.no advgo.di gesv?i  
that and / it hear to / was
15. And that he was to hear,
16. **ድብድሃ ዕክያቢል ስሃ**  
ayvadegi uniy.ili.da.sdi y.igi  
federal / they.trial. go to / if it is /
16. if it was in the Federal court
17. **ጥፀላገዝ ድ ር ስሃ**  
d.vn.anelo.tan.i ale kla y.igi  
will they try caus. / and / not it is /
17. that they would (or not) try him
18. **ፀፌሃጊ ጥፍ ፑጥ 27, 1877**  
nasgi.no iyu ges.v?i 27, 1877  
that and / when / it is / 27, 1877
18. then on the 27th, 1877.
19. **ፎሊፕራፕፕ ፋፍፕ**  
gyya.dadolisd.aneli?i nusdv?i  
/ for you praying am / the way it was;how /
19. I am praying for you
20. **ፎፍፋፕ ጋፀፍጋል ርፕፕ**  
gv.ta.yose.v?i dikanawadvdi jvdodi?i  
/ will you ask / the law / you to be using /
20. I am asking you what law you use
21. **ዳፀፀፀፀ ጋፀፍ ጋህፕፕ ፑጥ**  
hiya.ka?vsdi juli?owa didaniyis.gi ges.v?i  
this remove to / Joe,Jim / sheriff / was /
21. to remove this Sheriff Juli?owa
22. **ፀሃጊ ፀ ፑጥ ድፕ ርፖ ርፕ**  
nasgi.no yvwi ges.v atali unogv ugwuji  
that and / people / are / two / Bass / his son /
22. And that there are people,  
Two Bass's son and
23. **ፀሃፂ ጋፀ ርፕፕ ርፕ ጋፀፀፀ**  
udasadi yonv ulesodv ugwuji guwisguwi.yi  
Grizzley / Bear / Skinny / his son / Cooweescoowe at /
23. Grizzly Bear Skinny's son,  
of the Cooweescoowe District
24. **ፀፌሃጊ ህፕ ጋፀፀፀ ፑፋፀፀ**  
nasgi.no sagwo.hi hi.dlayesdi gesesdi  
that and / one at / you pick to / will be /
24. And that you should pick  
one of them.
25. **ፀ ፀፌሃፕ ፕፕ ልፀፀፀ**  
ka nasgi.gwo iga?i g.ogwelvga  
Oh! that.only / amount / it / writing
25. Oh! That is all I wrote about them.
26. **ፎፎፎ ርፐፐፐ**  
ja.gvwiyuhi ujaledv  
Chief / Thompson /
26. Chief Thompson,
27. **ፀፌፕፕፕፕ ፕፕ**  
wi.sdv.yoligagwo idala  
away / to you both greeting still / both /
27. I still send greetings to you both.
28. **ፀፕፕፕ ጋፀፀፀ**  
nvwodiya?i dij.ogwelane.hi  
Medicine man / your secretary /
28. Your secretary, the Medicine man,

29. **DPS-v A.9 FRT**

aliga.gwo gohi ges.v?i  
that is all / this.now / was /

29. That is all for now.

30. **DB C-əS6.5 HPJ.5**

ayv jvsgayoyi saliguyi  
myself / /water Turtle

30. I am Jvsgayoyi Turtle

31. **ᑎᐸᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑎᐸᑦᑦᑦᑦ ᑎᐸᑦᑦᑦᑦ**

nuli?udv?i udaj.owelo.di ges.esdi  
soon very you must write it will be /

31. You must write me very soon.

person (line 12-18), followed by requests (lines 20-24) sequenced by *nasgino* (and that; see Figure 3.4 and 3.5).

The letter from *Jvgayoyi* Turtle or Ezekiel Proctor to Chief Thompson makes his most direct statements in subject-object-verb (SOV) word order: “that Sheriff *Juli?owa* lives in the Tahlequah District,” and “that the United States Marshal lives in Washington.” Interpersonal involvement is built through the repeated use of the subject-object pronoun *gv-* (I to you; lines 3,19,20), *sd-* (I to you both; line 27), and the drawing in of other participants by use of the pronouns *a-*, *hi-*, *uni-* (he, you, they) and the sequencing demonstrative pronoun *nasgi* (that; lines 5,12,15,18,22,24,25). The exclamation *Ka!* (Oh!; line 23) focuses attention back to the prior statements, and shifts the speaker’s orientation and management of information. The exclamation *udoyhiyuhi* (Sure enough!; line 13) lends support with a personal touch to the author’s argument. The repetitious use of adverbs of time (*kalv?i* 1, *iga* 1, *kanalu* 3, *gohi* 29, *nuli* 31, and the dates) of manner (*-gwo* 25,29) and of place (*-?i*, or *-yi* 2,9,23, *di*-11, *ani* 2, *ehi* 8,9) creates the setting and acts sequence for the addressee, and draws the addressee into the involvement of the events reported (*-e?i* 3,6,) recreating the intensity/key, the scene, and author’s perception of the moment to obtain empathy. The adverbs of time also bridge the points made in the message.

Ezekiel Proctor was the author of the 1877 scripted letter to Chief Thompson concerning the figure Sheriff *Juli?owa*. He used an individual voice, and used Sitting Down Blue as the animator of the message to the principal, the judicial

system of the Nation (Figure 3.8). Again, the rhetorical devices that Proctor used effectively were the contrast of the reported and witnessed past tense, contrast of the type of statements, use of the subject-object pronouns, third and second pronoun, adverbs of time, place, manner and exclamations. This contrasts the first two letters in that Proctor casts another than himself as the animator (Blue).

3.5.3.1 Note on Sequoyan Variation. In contrast to the preceding printed letters with regularized type set characters, handwritten characters vary within each letter. It is interesting to note that Ezekiel Proctor uses three unique penmanship versions of the Sequoyan characters. Proctor uses Ꞥ for (*de*) rather than Ꞥ (WHC document, page 1, lines 10,12), Ꞥ for (*ya*) rather than Ꞥ, and the symbol (Ꞥ) in the date of his heading. Proctor's Ꞥ is scripted high and loose, looking more like Ꞥ (WHC document, line 14). Also, the angle of his Ꞥ is high and compressed, nearly resembling Ꞥ (line 15). This is normal range of variation for scripted penmanship in any hand written material (see Ezekiel Proctor to Chief Thompson, August 1877). Like Ezekiel Proctor's penmanship, Sitting Down Blue also uses the symbol Ꞥ for (*de*) Ꞥ (lines 5,9,10; see Figure 0.1).

3.5.4 Cherokee Letter 4: 1886 Sitting Down Blue. Of the Cherokee letters selected, only the letters from Sitting Down Blue name the addressee in the beginning of the letters. The 1884 letter includes the location of the Sequoyah District of the Cherokee Nation and the date in the heading, where the 1886 letter only utilizes the date. Both of Blue's letters are more interpersonal and informal.

2058

1886

YAT' T. T. ADV'SH N<sup>o</sup> T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.

TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
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TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.  
TAT' T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.



1. **ᑕᑭᐱᑦ** 6, 1886  
kagali 6, 1886  
it.whole.rises.bone
2. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
ginali?i gwagwa  
friend Bob
3. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
hi?a.gwo.ga.ha ni.sgw.advnel.vha  
this only it just / simultaneous. you for me.do.just /
4. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
j.un.advnl.a dinugodis?i  
big / judges:Supreme Court Judges
5. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
un.otlvnv i.y.un.advnl.el.ida.s.di  
they.made / again if.they.do.for another.around.start.to
6. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
d.an.ad.avili.dohv uni.nej.v jigi  
there.they.-self.drive.around.past / they.replied / who are
7. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
j.ide.gana goweli  
that.they.flexible.have lying there / paper
8. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
de.sgi.(h)n.oh.el.vha  
them.you to me. bring (flex).for.just /
9. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
sagwo yvwa.negv ag.oliye.di  
one /human.white / my.he to me, I-it.read.understand to
10. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
sagwo.no jalagi ag.oliye.di  
one and Cherokee he to me. read.to
11. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
h?ano nasgwo kanchedv datohistv?i  
this.and /also / it.told.repeatedly! / was going to cryout
12. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
nasgwo sagwo yvwa.negv ag.oliye.di  
also,too / one human white / he to me. read.to
13. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
sagwono jalagi ag.oliye.di  
one.and Cherokee he to me. read.to
14. **ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ ᑭᐱᑦ**  
ayv sagonige gvgwola  
myself. I blue since.they-me sit down

1. February 6, 1886

2. My friend Bob,

3. Do just this for me.

4. The Supreme Court Judges

5. made rulings

6. while holding court.

7. Just bringing me

8. the papers lying there.

9. one whiteman to read it to me.

10. and one Cherokee to read it to me.

11. And this also.

a petition (treaty)

12. Also one whitman to read it to me

13. and one Cherokee to read it to me

14. I am Sitting Down Blue

15. **ᏈᏗᎦᎵ ᏅᏍᏓ ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
nasgwono hiʔa adelv disehisdi  
now then.and / this / money / draw, cancel (bill) /
15. And now then. withdraw this money
16. **ᏍᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
gajvhisdanv i.gana  
I them let have / it lying here
16. lying there that I let
17. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
unigvwiyu j.uni.lvwisdane.di  
/ Chief, President / who.they.work.to /
17. those who worked for the Chief have.
18. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
6dali adelv igaʔi  
6 dollars amount
18. Six dollars
19. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
ayv agwa.jcii.ga  
I my -
19. being mine
20. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
yi.ja.nes.v  
if you get it
20. if you get it
21. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
yi.gv.s.liʔeli.jisi  
if..I to you.self be thankful
21. I will be thankful to you
22. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
alc adelv  
and / money
22. and the money
23. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
yi.diy.u.sehislan.v  
if.there. he.withdrawed
23. if it is withdrawn from there
24. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
yi.di.sgi.y.ohel.v  
if there you to me brought
24. if you brought it to me
25. **ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ ᏅᏗᏅᏍᏗ**  
sagonige gowelvga  
blue I am writing it
25. Blue. I am writing it

The request from Sitting Down Blue demonstrates the highest incidents of involvement mechanisms with less specific information than in the Proctor letter, indicating the addressee already had more knowledge of the situation than did Chief Thompson in the prior letter. The main involvement mechanism in this Sitting Down Blue letter is his use of subject-object pronouns: *sgwa-* (you for me; line 3), *sgi-* (you to me, line 8), *ag-* (he to me; line 10,12 13), and *un-* (they for another; line 5). However, there are more instructions involving parties of the letter and fewer particular reported events to involve the addressee in the situation, contrasting Proctor's letter. The letters from 1884, 1886 and 1877 can all be considered more informal, as well as more involving of the addressee, than the formal statements of 1825 and 1829.

Sitting Down Blue authored the 1884 letter addressed to *Deyegwa* and the 1886 letter addressed to *Gwagwa*/Rabbit Johnice. In both he used an individual voice to speak about the Cherokee court (the figure), also addressing the judicial sense of the Nation as the principal. He uses a number of animators for his message in his 1884 letter: Johnson, Thompson, Lacy and Duncan. In the 1886 letter he makes *Gwagwa*/Rabbit Johnice the animator (Figure 3.8). Once again we find subject-object pronouns, the contrast of types of statements, and the use of multiple animators as the rhetorical devices used to involve the addressee

3.5.4.1 Range of Form and Rhetorical Device. The attention given to the form and rhetorical device of these letters provides a sample of the repetitious patterns that are unique to Cherokee, and also patterns common to other languages.

| <b>CHEROKEE LETTER</b>  | <b>1825</b>   | <b>1829</b>  | <b>1877</b>  | <b>1884</b>   | <b>1886</b>  |
|-------------------------|---|--|--|---|--|
| <b>PURPOSE</b>          | Tax Edict   | Announcement   | Request  | Request   | Request  |
| <b>AUTHOR</b>           | John Ross   | Elias Boudinot   | Ezekiel Proctor  | Sitting Down Blue   | Sitting Down Blue  |
| <b>VOICE</b>            | public  | official   | individual   | individual  | individual   |
| <b>ADDRESSEE</b>        | Cherokee people   | reading Cherokee   | Chief Thompson   | Deyegwa   | Rabbit Johnice   |
| <b>PRINCIPAL</b>        | the Nation  | Cherokee subscribers   | judicial system  | Cherokee judicial sense   | judicial sense   |
| <b>FIGURE</b>           | governing body  | editor   | Sheriff Juli?owa   | Cherokee court  | Cherokee court   |
| <b>TOPIC</b>            | taxation  | subscription price   | reports on system  | evaluation of events  | help with courts   |
| <b>ANIMATOR</b>         | John Ross   | Elias Boudinot   | Sitting Down Blue  | Johnson, Thompson,<br>Lacy, Duncan  | Rabbit Johnice   |
| <b>GOAL</b>             | role marking  | role marking   | role marking   | performing  | solidarity marking   |
| <b>FUNCTION</b>         | regulative  | regulative   | regulative   | deductive   | regulative   |
| <b>FORM</b>             | no addressee  | no addressee/closing   | ends to addressee  | full form   | no closing   |
| <b>MEDIUM</b>           | type set  | typeset  | handscripted   | handscripted  | handscripted   |
| <b>STYLE</b>            | formal  | formal   | informal   | more informal   | informal   |
| <b>STRUCTURE DEVICE</b> | demonstrative pronoun<br>word order   | demonstrative p.n.<br>word order<br>conjunction<br>conditional<br>repetition | demonstrative p.n.<br>conjoiners<br>adverb of time<br>exclamation<br>repetition                                      | demonstrative p.n.<br>conjoiners<br>adverb time, place<br>manner<br>repetition    | demonstrative pronoun<br>conjunction<br>adverb of time manner<br>conditional<br>repetition |
| <b>RHETORIC DEVICE</b>  | pronouns<br>relative pronoun<br>inclusive/exclusive<br>present tense<br>nominalized nouns | pronoun<br>demonstrative<br>conditional<br>direct statement<br>future tense  | subject-object pronoun<br>heading/ no addressee<br>reported sequenced events<br>evaluative statements<br>exclamation | form heading<br>addressee<br>subject-object p.n.<br>direct request<br>exclamation | form heading<br>addressee<br>subject-object p.n.<br>direct request                         |

Figure 3.8 Analysis of Five Cherokee Letters

The unique factors help prepare us for the way this language is normally used in contrast to other languages. The common factors show that all languages use a range of forms and rhetorical devices to convey messages of differing goals with differing levels of involvement.

It is also these patterns, one structural and one for interpersonal involvement, which allowed Hymes to discover his “oral performance and measure verse” in American Indian narrative. There is a consistent pattern that emerges, and that pattern often conveys information in text, as does morpheme position relative to the root in morphology. Verbs signal lines, clauses, and sentences; recurrent initial particles reveal organizational units, carry clear expressive roles and often are repetitious; therefore, in the organization of the lines of the text samples, the signals of the native text were followed rather than the idea of a complete sentence in English. This arrangement gives a degree of control over matters of emphasis, key, and foregrounding. If translated into English essayist paragraphs, many of these elements are obscured, made to sound out of place, being misled by direct translation. Interpretation in the light of other knowledge of the native language helps to etch more accurately the image projected in the text (Hymes 1977:336).

3.6 Dakota Text: Rhetorical Presentation. The example *Dakota* letters are arranged from the least formal to more formal, from handscripted to printed by the Iapi Oaye, and chronologically from January and May of 1864, 1874, to 1885. In addition, other translated *Dakota* text will be used to illustrate points concerning interaction in letters, in a following section.

Fort Abercrombie  
 January 1864  
 Mr. O. R. Riggs  
 Mitakuye  
 Ite

Weyapi ci caga da na kuha  
 itazigata wolawin onkan  
 Wakhe cin hin the hin he  
 su to ke ca ni yake yagapi  
 Re yapi de hi ban wangi pa  
 ji tuta wakan eciga piga  
 Wunji wakan gajani eciga  
 Pi he wana ka ja tatka na  
 Ka ha he tuw i a ji gu kana  
 Re epi do

Hona ga wuni wica yagapi  
 Re yapi do he kan sako tahi  
 Ohi ni owasin waki yapi  
 Ita na ceca ke yapi do he sa  
 Hpe cin hin the he wo kag di  
 Yapi onkan etan kan wana  
 Wuni ite ca wunsiu ca koki  
 Gopa ke ake sako wun wica we

Hte yake yapi he kan wica  
 Ita su kowin iye can wunsiu  
 Wica kige pi hin misu na  
 the wun ma hi tike ega ke yapi  
 do

Itu ka maita ita hoksi ga  
 pa wunsa he na ni wica ga  
 yapi onkan waste ita tuta  
 Ega ke yapi tuta wunsa  
 dan he na denawicahi pi ite  
 Hte yapi he kan onkiis wunsa  
 dan pa bi na he ci on gapi ite  
 Oika rami ki ci on gapi ite  
 Tuta wunsa kan owasin den  
 gupapi ite onkan wun waji  
 Hin kan on ki pi ita ke ge  
 do

Hoshan mis lather naga son  
 Hociu kan onaga ki daka waci  
 do he kan onkiis owasin tan gan  
 Ega kan pi do he na na epi ite  
 Mitakuye mitawin ni cin ca  
 Bon gape ciga ge do mita Re y  
 wan

Joseph H. H. H. H. H.

1. *Fort Abercrombi*
2. *January 25, 1864*

3. *Mr. S. R. Riggs*

4. *Mitakuye*

My kindred

5. *ake wowpi cicaḡe do*

again / letter / I to you write / .

6. *nakaha Waziyata wotagin*

Today / the North / news

7. *oḡkaḡ Ṣakpe cighiḡku kiḡ*

and / Six / his son / the

8. *he Iatokeca niyake yuzapi*

that . Another Language / alive / they took

9. *keyapi do*

that say they / . (M)

10. *hehan warzi Pezihutawakaḡ eciyapi*

then one / Medicine Bottle / they called

11. *ga warzi Wakapozaḡzaḡ eciyapi*

and . one / Sacred Light / they called

12. *he wanakaza tatku*

that . long ago / his father

13. *nakaha he tuwe caze yuha*

now / that / who / name / possesses

14. *nac? epce do*

perhaps / I think / . (M)

15. *hena yamni wiḡayuzapi*

those / three / they hold

16. *keyapi do*

that say they / . (M)

17. *hehan dakota kiḡ*

then / Dakota / the

18. *okini owasin wokiyapi kta*

perhaps / all / they make peace / shall

19. *naḡeḡa keyapi do*

perhaps / that say they / . (M)

1. Fort Abercrombie

2. January 25, 1864

3. Mr. S. R. Riggs

4. My kindred

5. Again I write you a letter

6. Today the North is news

7. and that they took the son of

8. *Ṣakpe* or Six.

*Iatokeca* or Another Language alive.

9. They are saying that.

10. Then one called Medicine Bottle

11. and one called Sacred Light.

12. I think that he now possesses

13. his father's name

14. perhaps of long ago.

15. They hold those three.

16. They are saying that.

17. Then the Dakota

18. perhaps they will all make peace

--perhaps.

19. They are saying that.

20. *he Šakpe ciphitku*  
that / Six / his son

21. *he wohdogkiyapi*  
that / caused to detail own affairs

22. *oŋkaŋ etarhaŋ wana wani kte*  
and / from / now / I live / will

23. *a winuchā cā hoksīyopa*  
when / women / when / children

24. *ko akešakowiŋ wica wakte eya*  
and also / seventeen / mene / I killed / he said

25. *keyapi*  
that say they

26. *hehan wicaša su*  
then / mankind / good

27. *ko šca iyecen wašcon wicakizepi kiŋ*  
and / bad / like / white men / sufferings / the

28. *mišnana tku wawohitika eya*  
I alone / broke off / as one furious / he said

29. *keyapi do*  
that say they / . (M)

30. *tuka mata šca hoksīyopa winuhica hena*  
but / I die / although / children / women / those

31. *niwicāyayapi oŋkaš waše kta*  
you have gone to them / for although / good / shall be

32. *tuka eya heyapi*  
but / he says / this say they

33. *tuka wana ecadaŋ hena den*  
but / now / soon / those / here

34. *awicāhipi kta*  
they bring / shall

35. *keyapi*  
that say they

36. *hehan onkiš waŋ*  
then / we / a

37. *ecadaŋ Pembina keci oŋyaŋpi kte*  
soon / Pembina / there / we proceed / shall

20. That Six's son

21. detailing his own affairs:

22. "And now I shall live

23. from when I killed

24. women, children and seventeen men,"  
he said.

25. They are saying that.

26. Then [of] "the good men

27. and bad men alike

28. I alone broke off  
the suffering of the white men."

he said furiously.

29. They are saying that.

30. But "although I may die.

31. for although it will be good  
you will have gone  
to those women and children."

32. he however said this.

They are saying this.

33. However, soon now,

34. they will bring those here.

35. They are saying that.

36. Then we ourselves will soon

37. proceed there to Pembina.



**38. Sihakimi kici onyagpi kte**

Crooked Foot / with / we proceed / shall

**39. tuka winuh'ca kin**

but / women / the

**40. owasiŋ den yukagpi kte**

all / here / they are / shall

**41. onkaŋ wi waŋzi**

and / month, moon / one

**42. kiŋhaŋ onhdipi kte**

when / we arrive / shall

**43. keye do**

that he says / . (M)

**44. hehan ništaku nayak'ŋ**

then / you / something / you hear

**45. heciŋhaŋ omayakidaka waciŋ do**

if it is so / you think of me / I want / . (M)

**46. hehaŋ onkiš owasiŋ taŋyaŋ oyakoŋpi do**

there / we two / all / well / they are in / !

**47. henana epe kte**

only so much / I say / shall

**48. mitakuye nitawin niciŋca**

my kindred / your wife / your children

**49. om nape ciyuze do**

with / hand / I hold your / (M)

**50. nitakuye waŋ**

your kindred / one, a

**51. Joseph Kawaŋke miye do**

Joseph / Struck Down / I am / . (M)

38. We will all proceed with Major Brown.

39. But all the women

40. will be here

41-42. and we will arrive home

in one month/moon.

43. He [Major Brown] is saying that.

44. Then if you hear something

45. I want you to think of me.

46. We are all well .

47. I will only say this much.

48. My kindred, your wife and children.

49. I take hold of your hands.

50. One of your kindred.

51. I am Joseph Kawaŋke

3.6.1 Dakota Letter 1: 1-25-1864 Joseph Kewanke. This letter is a personal nonofficial report of events during the Sibley Expedition following the unorthodox kidnaping of three *Dakota* from Canada. The end of each reported event is signaled by *keyapi* (that say they; lines 9,16,19,25,29,32,33). The intent is much the same as the use of *-e?i* in Cherokee. The beginning of each event reported and the sequence of events/acts are linked through adverbs of time like *ake* (again, line 5), *hehan* (then, lines 10,17,26,36,46), *kihhaŋ* (when, lines 23,42), *nakaha* (today, now; lines 6,13), and *ecadaŋ* (soon; line 37); demonstrative pronouns *he* (that; lines 8,12,20,21), *hena* (those; line 15), adverbs of place *hehaŋ* (there; line 46) and conjoiners *oŋkaŋ* (and; line 7,22), *ga* (and; line 11), *tuka* (but; lines 30,32,39), *oŋkaś* (for although; line 31), and *hecihhaŋ* (if it is so; line 45; see Figure 3.6 and 3.7).

Involvement devices used, situating the participants, are the subject-object pronoun *ci-* ( I to you) and *-maya-* (you of me; line 45), the pronoun *niś* (you; line 44) or *ya-* (line 44), the use of “he said” (23,28,32,42) or “I say” in contrast to “they are saying,” and the conditional implication of *okini* (perhaps; line 18).

In the January 1864 letter authored by *Kewanke*, he addresses Stephen Riggs and the principals Sibley, and persons of authority. He varied an individual voice and a public voice. The figures are Medicine Bottle, Another Language, and Six’s son, who were kidnaped. The animators of his message are Six’s son and Major Brown, who he quotes (Figure 3.9). As with the Cherokee letters we find the successful use of reported, the contrast of indirect quotes and direct quotes, the

Payu ha

mi tu he ze woua  
 pi ci sti na ei ca ge ze deu on  
 han pi kin en rara tu wan  
 ge ga kipi on han na kum  
 wi cotu abi klu he ga pi ga  
 he cen mi na kape kaa on ki  
 ga pi ga he cen con ka ske ki  
 sca haa sti on si pi ga he cen  
 En con ti pi ze he cen wi nu  
 sca kin o was in mi to ske ki tu  
 On si pi tu ka tu ko mi to ki  
 ga ton mi to ske mi na he sui  
 he han mde he han late i ca ta  
 ga mi na ta wi cu cin ca ga sun  
 ha ku ko ra tu tu u nu u ri ca  
 Me pi he ga pi stan han late  
 sca tag mi na sun wi nu tu wi  
 nu na ei ga pi dan gon he ce  
 ze dan mi ga pi ki R. . . .

Winnu a he ga du ka pi gon  
 he ze on kan he cen si na sa pa  
 i cu pi ga ze ha pi ga tan ga  
 on he ga pi ze he han mde ki  
 han is un tan ka da ka ta on  
 ki ci ga pi gon he ta te ki ki  
 pi he ga pi ga na kum oki se  
 ga in kpa he han to ka ki ci  
 ga pi he ce hua na o na havi  
 Ci ca on tan in pi sui tu ka  
 tan con kin tu tu da na wa wi  
 ga ke sui he ga pi ze he na na  
 si ci na ca on na pe ci ze  
 ze ze mi ta ku ze  
 win gan  
 mi ze

[Fort Abercrombie; January 25, 1864]

1. *Payuha*  
Curly Head or Mary Riggs
2. *mitakuye wowpi cistigwa cicage ye*  
My kindred / letter / little / I to you write / . (F)
3. *den onkogpi kin en kahatoqwan ye*  
Here / we are / the / in / Chippewa village / . (F)
4. *yahipi onkan nakun wicota ahi kta*  
you arrived home /and/ also/ many people/ come / will  
and also that many people will come
5. *keyapi*  
that say they  
is what they are saying.
6. *ga hecen nina kophda onkiyapi*  
and / thus / very / afraid / we are caused to be
7. *ga hecen conkaske ki lcahda eti onsi*  
and /thus/ fort /to / by the side of / encamp/ they bid us  
at the side of the fort
8. *ga hecen en eunipi ye*  
and / thus / at / we go and pitch a tent at / . (F)  
and so we go and pitch tent there.
9. *hecen winuhca kin owasi*  
thus / women / the / all  
Consequently, all of us women were
10. *nitoskekitu onsi*  
put on white women's clothes they asked us  
asked to put on white women's clothes.
11. *taku takomni tokiyotan*  
but nevertheless / how will it be  
Nevertheless, how can it be?
12. *nikoske mduhe sni*  
white women's dress / I have / not  
I have no white woman's dress.
13. *hehan mdokehag*  
then / last summer  
[They say] then last summer.
14. *Tateicah'agmani tawicu cingca*  
Walks Touching Wind / his wife / his children  
Walks Touching Wind, his wife,
15. *ga sunkaku ko kahatoqwan wicaktepi*  
and/his younger brother/also/Chippewa/them they killed  
children and his younger brother were  
killed by Chippewa.
16. *keyapi*  
that they say  
They are saying that.
17. *etanhan Tateicah'agmani cunwipku*  
on that account: Walks Touching Wind /his daughter  
They say that for that alone they let only

**18. Winona eciyapidaṅ goṅ**

First Born Girl / only one named / in the past

**19. hecegedaṅ niyaṅpi**

as for that alone / they let live

**20. keyapi ye**

that say they / . (F)

**21. Winona he eya duhapi goṅ**

First Born Girl/ that/ she says/ you all own/ in the past

**22. he eye**

she says

**23. oṅkaṅ hecen śina sapa icupi**

and / thus / shawl / black / accepted

**24. ga yuhapi yatanyāṅ oṅkeyapi ye**

and / you owned / praising / we that say / . (F)

**25. hehan mdokehaṅ isatanyāka dakota om**

then / last summer / American / Dakota / with

**26. kicizapi goṅ he tate akiktepi**

fighting / in the past / that / his death / to give heed to

**27. kzyapi**

that say they

**28. ga nakun okise ga iṅkpa**

and / also / part and / end

**29. hehan tokakiciyapi**

then / those who are enemies

**30. hecehnana omaha wicica om taṅippi śni**

just so stick to me - Hazel wood/ girl / with / they appear / not

**31. tuka taṅcaṅ**

but / principal thing - body

**32. kiṅ tuwedaṅ wowiyake śni**

the / nobody / relate - captive / not

**33. keyapi ye**

that say they / . (F)

**34. henana nicigca om nape ciyaze**

only so much / your children / with / hand / I take hold of

**35. nitakuye Wiṅyaṅ miye**

your kindred / Lady / I am

18. one named Winona.

19. Walks Touching Wind's daughter.

live. (that was in the past)

20. They are saying that.

21. Winona said that you had owned

22. and she says that

23. she had accepted the black clothes.

24. We are praising that you had owned  
[them and it spared her].

25. Then last summer. Americans fought

26. along with Dakota  
to give heed to his death

27. They are saying that.

28. And it was to part

29. and then end enmity.

30. Just so I stick with the girls-- not visible

31. but the principal thing is

32. that no one be taken captive

33. They are saying that.

34. [I write] Only so much.

I take hold of your hand with your children

35. Your kindred  
I am Wiṅyaṅ, Lady

subject-object pronoun, the contrast of types of statements, and the use of multiple animator of his message.

3.6.2 Dakota Letter 2: Elizabeth Winyan. This letter was written the same day from the same place by the wife of *Kawanke*, the prior author. Events/acts are again sequenced by adverbs of place, adverbs of time, and conjunctions. This evaluative report is an appeal for empathy if not an indirect request. The author relays her plight and suggests a solution through a narrative used to evoke the desired response. Involvement is achieved through use of the pronoun *ya-y-* (you; line 4, 24), and *ci-* (I to you; line 2, 34) through asking the addressee a rhetorical question (line 11), through laudation (lines 21-240), through the use of evaluative conjoiners *hecen* (therefore, thus), *etanhan* (on that account; line 17), *hecegedan* (for that alone) and the contrast of *keyapi* (that they are saying; lines 5, 16, 20, 27, 33 also marking the end of events recounted), with *eye* (she says; lines 21, 22), and *onkeyapi* (we say that; line 24).

*Winyan* authored her January 1864 letter to Mary Riggs and principal benefactors, concerning the figures--the Chippewa warriors. She uses an individual voice and the animators *Winona*, *Walks Touching Wind*, his wife and others to convey her message (Figure 3.9). The letters demonstrate the interpersonal interaction brought about by use of animators. In addition, *Winyan's* contrast of direct and indirect quotes, her use of subject-object pronouns reiterating "you," in addition to multiple animators is very effective. We certainly get a glimpse of the emotional impact or key of the situation facing the women of the camp.



1. **Ta.makoce**  
"His Country" or Rev. Stephen R. Riggs

2. **Ohagna token ohanye ciŋ**  
"Action" / how / activity / the /

3. **he ima.ya.nahe ciŋ**  
that / fully satisfy you / the /

4. **āā.yake kte**  
I you . tell / shall /

5. **He Ta.hohpi.wakaŋ ga Iyozaŋ.zaŋ**  
That / "His Lightenings Nest" / & / "Bright" /

6. **hena om huta ekta**  
those / with / the edge / at /

7. **zuya i.pi**  
go on a war party / they had been at

8. **tuka wašcuŋ kte.pi kta**  
but whitemen they kill shall

9. **oŋi.pi šni**  
they had gone / not

10. **he taku wahpaya**  
That / what / anything movable one has: plunder

11. **pahi.pi kta**  
they pick up shall

12. **ga nakuŋ šuŋk.taŋka wazi**  
and also horse one

13. **icu.pi ciŋ.pi oŋi.pi**  
they take they desire / they had been

14. **Wopetuŋ.haŋska**  
"Tall Merchant" or Gen. Henry H. Sibley

15. **wana caŋ šdaciya daŋ**  
already / wood / made bare / only

16. **coŋkaška kiŋ en hi kiŋ iyohakam**  
fort / the / to come to / the / after

17. **he i.pi**  
that they had gone to

18. **he wikcemna yamni**  
that / ten / three: 30

19. **hecetu pi nacece**  
that is right / good / probably

1. Rev. Stephen R. Riggs

2. Of *Ohagna*'s activity

3. to your full satisfaction

4. I will tell you:

[ I will tell you  
of *Ohagna*'s activity  
to your full satisfaction: ]

[ I will tell you: ]

5. That *Tahohpiwakaŋ* and *Iyozaŋzaŋ*

6. had been with those at the edge

7. of the war party

- 8.-9. But they had not gone  
to kill white men.

[ I will tell you: ]

- 10.-13 (That) what plunder  
they had been desiring to take  
they could pick up:  
and also a horse

- 14.-16. General Henry H. Sibley.

after coming to the fort.

already only wood made bare.

[ I will tell you: ]

- 17-19. (That) they had been at....

that [other] thirty. . . .

that is probably right . . . .



20. *hecen wana owasiṅ nazica*  
hence / already / all / had fled /

21. *wašicuṅ ki akiyahde*  
whitemen / for one's own / to take off home /

22. *ča ti.pi kiṅ*  
when / dwellings / the /

23. *turwe.dag en oṅ šni*  
no one / in / was / not /

24. *hecen wa.kipaya waṅzikš pahipi*  
thus / plunder / some / pick up they /

25. *oṅkaṅ lyu maka coṅkaške wa*  
and / into / earth, sod / fort, enclosure / a /

26. *en l.pi*  
in / had gone, they /

27. *hecen hanyetu*  
hence the night /

28. *oṅkaṅ tukten šunk.taṅka ti.pi waṅ iyeya.pi*  
and / there / horses / dwell (stable) / a / found they /

29. *hecen šunk.taṅka ota i.wica.cu.pi*  
hence / horses / many / them took they /

30. *oṅkaṅ Oḥana iš nom icu*  
and "Action" he / two / he took /

31. *keya ohdake*  
he said that / telling about himself /

32. *hecen hdicu.pi*  
so / started to come, they /

33. *oṅkaṅ turwe hekta oṅ*  
and someone / behind / was /

34. *oṅkaṅ šunk.taṅka ti.pi kiṅ ideya.pi*  
and / horses stables / the / set fire, they /

35. *ga hdicu.pi*  
and / started to come home, they /

36. *keya*  
that said he /

20. hence, all had fled already.

21. The white men had taken off  
for their own homes

22. when no one

23. was not in the dwellings.

24. Thus they picked up some plunder

25. and they had gone into

26. an earth enclosure.

27. Hence, it was night.

28. and there they found a horse stable

29. so they [others] took many horses.

30. And *Oḥana*, he took two.

31. He said that. . . . Telling it about himself.

32. So they started to come.

33. and someone was behind

34. and they set fire to the horse stable.

35. and they started to come home.

36. that he said.

37. *he wašcuŋ wanzidaŋ tuwedaŋ*  
that / whitemen / one / no one /

38. *kte.pi šni keya.pi*  
killed,they / not / that said they /

39. *iho hecen omdaka*  
See there! / in that way / I told it /

40. *oŋkaŋ ehan.goŋ*  
and / indeed! /

41. *he suŋktaŋka ti.pi waŋ ideya.pi ɕe*  
that / horse stable / a / set fire to,they / . /

42. *epe ɕiŋoŋ*  
I said / in the past /

43. *he toŋye na.wa.kioŋ keye*  
that / differently / I heard / that he said /

44. *iyohakam ohdaka*  
afterwards / he told about himself

45. *oŋkaŋ toka heya*  
and / at the first / thus he said /

46. *ti.pi geya tuwedaŋ en*  
dwell,they / even so / no one / in

47. *ti šni en i.pi ɕe*  
dwell / not / in / had gone,they / !

48. *epe ɕiŋoŋ*  
I said / in the past /

49. *hehe idaya.pi*  
Alas! / set fire, they /

50. *hecen he ka*  
hence / that / he meant /

51. *tuka o.wa.kahinige šni*  
but / it,I.comprehend / not /

52. *ga maka coŋkaške en*  
and / earth,sod / fort / in /

53. *he ideya.pi ɕe epa*  
that / set fire, they / . / I said

37. (That) they killed not one white man.

38. no one, they said.

39. See there! I told it in that way.

40. And indeed!

41. That "they set fire to a horse stable!"

42. I said (in the past).

43. He said that I heard it differently.

44. Afterwards, he told it about himself.

45. And at the first, he said this.

46. They dwelled, even so, no one was in.

47. they had gone in to no one dwelling.

48. I said (in the past)

49. "Alas! They set fire!"

50. Therefore he meant that

51. but I did not comprehend it

52. and [it was] in [and not to]  
the earth enclosure

53. that "they set fire!" [as] I said

54. *hecen wowapi kahi iyeya.pi*  
thus / letter / continue to write / are they /

55. *tuka ieska kin nakun tanye oyake shi*  
but / fluent / the / and also / correct / relate / not /

56. *hecetu do*  
it is so / (M) ! /

57. *hecen yacapi . do*  
In this way / condemned, they / (M) ! /

58. *henana*  
only so much /

59. *Kawanke*  
Joseph "Struck Down"

60. *miye*  
myself

54. Therefore, they continue to write.

55. but it was not related fluently  
or correctly.

56. It is so!

57. In this way, they were condemned.

58. Only so much [will I say].

59. *Kawanke*

60. I am

*Kewanke* was the son of *Catka* and *Totidutawin*. His sister was *Wawiyohiyewin*, and *Tonwajitito* was his brother. He married *Winva*, a granddaughter of old Sleepy Eye. He was one of the scouts appointed by Gabriel Renville, after the 1862 Minnesota Uprising. He was a prolific writer. He wrote petitions for many prisoners in Davenport appealing their sentence. He was outspoken about corruption among the ranks of the Indian Scouts. He was held suspect by Dakota, by missionaries, by superiors because of his outspokenness and his persistence in writing. He was relentless. He was passed over by his superiors, for head scout. He resigned the scouts, and tried to return to his land. He died mysteriously and thereafter in writing, is only alluded to by his relatives, adding to the mystery of the circumstances of his death and final years of life.

In this letter, he is providing a legal deposition for a court appeal for two men in the Davenport, Iowa prison, whose guilty verdict he felt responsible for. He realized he misunderstood when told by *Ohanpa* where they set a fire. They were found guilty of burning down the Fort when in fact, they went inside and set a fire in the fireplace for warmth. The fact that they took horses was never at issue. The confusion resulted from nonspecific pronoun "they" and the phrase "set fire" without the clarifying preposition "in" as opposed to "to". The Dakota preposition *en* may mean "in, to, at, of, or concerning" leading to the confusion. Further, conflicting interpretations of the concepts of "war party," "plunder," hostile and friendly actions or the rules of conduct during war in general, contributed to injustice during these trials.

3.6.3 Dakota Letter 3: 5-1864 Joseph Kawanke. From my collection, this is the most formal letter written by this author, in his three decades of correspondence. Unlike the others, it does not have a heading in its letter form, nor the solidarity building greeting or closing, but jumps directly to the addressee name, opening and letter body (see Figure 3.2). The letter follows the frame diagramed in Figure 3.6. The frame is set up with the subject-object pronoun *āā-* (I to you; line 4) and the verb “to tell” rendering the beginning of a written deposition for a U. S. Army court for a *Dakota* war crime's defense as: “I will tell you that...that...that” (*āāyake . . . he. . . he. . . he*), representing the series of events necessary for clarification. The goal of this letter is complicated by the lack of a specific “they” ( *-pi*; line 27,28,34) to identify the accused specifically from the general “they.” It was also complicated by the general meanings of the *Dakota* preposition *en* (in, to, at, of or concerning). The issue of who was involved in each act would not have been a confusing factor had Cherokee been the language of the deposition, nor would the preposition in placing the fire set. Although the preposition in Cherokee could also alone mean both “in” and “to” or “on” the location would be clarified by other morphemic information in Cherokee.

The author uses the contrast between a rundown of events, and specific quotes of what the author said to bring about the imprisonment of the subjects (*epe āgōŋ* or I said; lines 42,48), what they said (line 38) and what (one of the subjects) he said (31-36,43-45). The boundaries of reported speech were signaled by the repetition of a framing device (demonstrative pronoun, adverb of time or

conjunction until the verb plus enclitics and the reporting framing device of “he says that...I said”). It is interesting that oral narrative in English, segments sections of narrative the same way (with SVO word order, of course, rather than with SOV order). Contrary to essayist English yet in both cases of *Dakota* and oral English narrative, the inconsistency of tense of the verb “to say” has less to do with signaling time but rather signals a change in the speaker or the climax of the narrative framing the point (Johnstone 1987, Polyani 1979).

In the *Dakota* letters, direct quotes are marked by “I/he says . . . I/he said,” and indirect quotes by “I/he says that/this . . . that/this I/he said,” and reported speech by use of the stative verbs (be thinking, be telling, be of the opinion, etc.). This author used direct/indirect/reported marked quotes as a device that corresponded to achieving formal/informal styles. Indirect quotes were used in this letter to maintain a formal tone/key—and by contrast the use of a direct quote was to distance himself from what was said and link it to others in a manner that sounds objective and logical rather than personal.

The author uses the exclamatory terms *iho* (See there! line 39), *ehangon* (indeed!), *hehe* (alas! line 49), and *hecetu* (it is so! line 56) to lend support to his statements and to focus on the conflicting evidence in effort to clarify the confusion by contrast. These exclamations show a shift in his orientation and management of information as they did in Ezekiel Proctor’s Cherokee letter.

In the 1864 *Dakota* deposition letter, *Kewarke* is the author-animator, and *Ohagna* and “they” (*Iyozarzan* and *Tolipiwakan*) are also animators. *Ohagna* is the

figure, quoted indirectly as he first told the story to *Kewanke* who misunderstood. *Kewanke*'s testimony was first given out in the field, following the arrest. This misunderstanding results in *Ohagna* and the two others' (the "they") imprisonment. Thereafter, *Kewanke* made many attempts to clear their names, and finally wrote this deposition explaining the nature of the misunderstanding. The public voice, a qualified witness, is effected through the objective distance maintained partly thorough the lack of interpersonal dialogue. *Kewanke*'s use of the purposive adverb "hence" adds to the explicit and point-by-point presentation of his text. The addressee is Reverend Riggs, but the principals are the military court, the judicial system and General Sibley (Figure 3.9).

3.6.4 Dakota Letter 4: 1874 Catherine Totidutawin. This letter is a testimonial narrative written for the *Iapi Oaye* by the oldest *Dakota* Christian woman convert. She wrote several letters, but this is the most formal and here she is quoting Biblical scripture in light of her memory of it. Each quote is signaled by the occurrence of *qa nakun* (and also, lines 18,21,25,30,34), following *heye* (it says this, line 13). She had great difficulty seeing within the last ten years of this letter and most of the time her letters were in her daughter's or son's handwriting.

There are small changes in the *Iapi Oaye* publication of *Totidutawin*'s letter from the features consistent in her earlier letters. I am sure someone edited the letter before its publication. The printed letter in this publication used diacritics when the author's script did not evidence any diacritics except for the *ŋ*. Also where she used *ga* (and) the press used *qa* or *ɣa*, where she used *āgōŋ* (past tense)

1. **"Totidutawij Wohdaka"**  
Her.dwelling.red.woman / telling of herself
2. **Tuwe tokaheya Wakpa Minisota ohna,**  
Who? / the first; before / River / Minnesota / upon /
3. **Dakota ounyanpi kin en,**  
Dakota /in, exist in, dwell in, we are / the / in, to, off
4. **Wakantanka oie kin wicada**  
Spirit.Great / word,speech / the / believe,agree with /
5. **qa icu qon he miye.**  
and / take, receive, that/ (past) / that / I.me. ! /
6. **Tuka wanna wamakanka,**  
But / now,quickly / it.earth.upon: creation /
7. **qa wamašake šni,**  
and / it.me.easy, / not /
8. **heon etanhan owasin wocekiye**  
therefore / from / all prayer /
9. **emiyeciyapi kta wacin.**  
me called by they / shall / I want
10. **Wanna ecadan hanyetu mici hi kta e**  
Quickly / soon / night / for me / arrive at /will/
11. **he ape manka.**  
that / hope wait expect / me be /
12. **John Wayuotanin wowapi wicowoyake 3 en**  
John it.manifest / book / declaration, chapter / 3 / in
13. **Jesus iwahomaye ga heya:**  
Jesus / promise.grant me / and /say this,that /
14. **"Tuwe ohiye cinhan he tipi wakan mita**  
Who /overcomes / when / that / dwell.they / spirit / my /
15. **Wakantanka tawa,**  
Spirit.Great / his
16. **ohna canihupa wan.wa.kaga kta,**  
upon / back / it.I.make / shall /
17. **qa icimanna tankan ye kte šni,"**  
and / ever (never) / without / (FM)! / will / not /

1. "Totidutawij's Narrative"
2. Who first, of the *Dakotas*  
upon the Minnesota River,
3. believed and existed in
4. the word of God?
5. That was me.
6. But now, upon the earth
7. it is not easy for me
8. Therefore, I will want all
9. to name me in prayer.
- 10 -11. Be expecting that soon night  
will come quickly for me.
12. In the book of John, chapter 3.
13. Jesus says and promises me that:
14. "Whoever overcomes.  
they dwell in My Spirit.
15. His Great Spirit.
16. I will bear upon My back
17. and will never be without!"

18. *qa nakun*  
and / also, and /
19. *"Tuwe ohiye cinhan*  
Who / overcomes, / if, when /
20. *he wokoyake ska koyake kte šni,"*  
that / clothing / white, clean, new / put on, wear / shall / not /
21. *qa nakun*  
and / also, and /
22. *"Tuwe ohiye cinhan*  
Who / overcomes / if, when /
23. *he manna kihnakapi qon*  
that / manna / keep, lay up, they / past t. /
24. *he etanhan yunwakiye kta,"*  
that / from / eat, feed, I cause to / shall /
25. *qa nakun*  
and / also, and /
26. *"Tuwe ohiye cinhan,*  
Who / overcomes / if, when /
27. *owihanke kin iyahdeya*  
end of time / the / even to /
28. *miohan kin yuha un kinhan,*  
my action, work / the / own, possess / be in / if, when
29. *oyate kin en wowašake waqu kta,"*  
people / the / in / it, me, strong / give (waqu) / will
30. *qa nakun*  
and / also, and /
31. *"Tuwe ohiye cinhan can wiconi,*  
Who / overcomes / if, when / when / eternal life /
32. *Wakantanka tamaga cokaya he cin,*  
Spirit, Great / his field / middle / that / he want
33. *hetanhan yunwakiya kta,"*  
from there / eat I cause to / shall /
18. Also
19. "Whoever overcomes
20. shall not wear new clothing."
21. Also
22. "Whoever overcomes,
23. lays up that manna
24. that I will cause them to feed from."
25. Also
26. "Whosoever overcomes
27. even to eternity,
28. being in possession of my work
29. he will give the people strength."
30. Also
31. "Whosoever overcomes
32. I will cause to eat from the middle
33. of the Great Spirits field for eternity
- as he wants."



34. *qa nakun*  
and / also, and /
35. *"Tuwe ohiye cihan*  
Who / overcomes, reaches / if, when /
36. *he oiyotanke mitawa kin akan*  
that / a seat / mine / the / upon /
37. *mici iyotang.wa.kiye kta,*  
myself / I caused to sit down / shall /
38. *miš eya ohi.wa.ye*  
I / say, said / I overcome /
39. *ça Ate oiyotanke tawa en*  
and / Father / a seat / his / in /
40. *kici manke cin he iyecen."*  
with him / I am the that in a like manner
41. *Mihunkawanzi,*  
My Brother /
42. *wanna anpetu oni maka onkan*  
Now / day / in life / earth / on /
43. *Wakantanka maqu qon*  
Spirit, Great / gave me / past t.
44. *he wanna iwahuni kta e*  
that / now / I finish / shall / 2-1
45. *otaninyan mda,*  
manifestly / I go
46. *heon dena woohiye Jesus iwahomaye*  
therefore / these / victory / Jesus / promises me
47. *ça kihde ciqon,*  
and / place ready / past t.
48. *he miš epa wanna ekta wahde kta*  
that / I / I said / now / at / I go home / shall
49. *ape waun.*  
hope, wait, expect / I am
50. *Iša mitawa kin on wanna waniyetu Sakpe*  
Eyes / mine the for now winter, year / six
51. *Wowapi Wakan yawa šni waun,*  
book-spirit: Bible / read, say over / not / I am

34. Also
35. "Whosoever overcomes
36. upon My seat
37. shall I cause to sit down."
38. I say, I overcame
39. and I am in the Father's seat,
40. with Him ."
41. My Brothers ,
42. Now, the Great Spirit daily
43. gave me life on earth
44. that now I will finish.
45. Doubtless, I go now
46. thus [with] these victories
- Jesus promised me..
47. And He has readied a place.
48. I said that, now I shall go home
49. as He expects I am.
50. My eyes, for now six years.
51. have not read the Bible.

52. *tuka hinnahin tawacin micante hena*  
but /as yet / mind,will,understand / my heart / those /
53. *on wowapi yawa waun iyecaca.*  
for / book/ read / I am / like /
54. *Hehan tawacin on wowapi codan*  
Then / mind, understand / of / book / without/
55. *odowan kin 78 henakeca onmaspe.*  
hymn / the / 78 / sufficient, enough, / piece for me/
56. *Odowan onmaspe hena owasin*  
Hymn / piece of, for me, those / all /
57. *wowapi kin den owapi kta kepa,*  
book / the / here / written, part / shall / I say that /
58. *tuka micinshi he iye okan kte*  
but / my son / that /that / old age, / shall /
59. *ni keye,*  
no say that
60. *ca heon ecamon shi.*  
when / for that, therefore / do,work / not /
61. *Mihunkawanzi owasin nape ciyuazpi.*  
My Brother / all / hands / I take hold of you (pl.)
62. Catherine Totidutawin  
Her dwelling,red.woman/  
Woman of Her Red House
52. But I read my heart as of yet
53. like a book for his will
54. then understanding
- without the book.
55. The 78<sup>th</sup> Psalms is
- a sufficient piece for me
56. All those Psalm pieces
57. shall be written here in that
- book for me. I say.
58. But my son, he shall not age.
- 59 he says.
60. and that does not work.
61. Brothers. I take hold of your hands.
62. Catherine Totidutawin

Aver 112. *Iapi Oaye*, Vol. 1-16, June 1874  
Vol. III, No. 6, page 22

Catherine Totidutawin was the first female *Dakota* convert to Christianity. She was a former member of the Medicine Dance Society. The second wife of Left Hand, she was reported as being set aside by Left Hand upon conversion along with her three children. As a relative to *Wakarmani* as she was fortunately always welcome to take refuge in his tent. In the aftermath of the 1862 Minnesota Sioux War, she was sent to Fort Snelling, then to Crow Creek. Nearly blind, she, her daughter, and her daughter's children fled Crow Creek, traveling 180 miles along the James River to reach her son, a scout, appointed by Gabriel Renville. At this writing, she was very old and blind. I imagine that her daughter-in-law *Winyan* wrote this narrative for her as her daughter was in Montana by this time. Her son *Kewajke* was already dead, and she had another son yet alive.

the press used *qon*, and the press never used *onkan* (and) while she did. This is the least interpersonal discourse of any of her letters or any of the *Dakota* letters selected. She is not trying to persuade her reader as in her 1865 letter to General Sibley that indignantly speaks of the injustice of deplorable situations at Crow Creek and tries to move him to take action. This is just her statement, with the quip concerning her son, and her brief opening requesting prayers (lines 2-11.58-60) the only interpersonal remarks. In these portions, she uses the first persons to present her narrative. *Mihunkawarzi* or “my brothers,” is the traditional term of address in among community members or the church congregation and in the greeting of her other letters (line 41) where she takes on a public voice.

The 1874 letter *Totidutawin*, was the author-figure, although I suspect her son or her daughter-in-law wrote the letter. She is addressing the *Dakota* Christians, the principal readers of the *Iapi Oaye* using a public and individual voice. She uses the Bible and her son as animators (Figure 3.9).

3.6.5 *Dakota* Letter 5: 1885 *Icasnahiyayewin*’s Death Notice. This death notice begins with the same elements found in a letter heading but is setting up the narrative of the notice/evaluation/testimonial. Both, the narrative’s use of time and location in setting the scene of the text as well as the letter headings that also use time and place, are similar devices of involvement or of validation. The reported events of the individual’s life are elaborated on by use of conjunctions (and/*qa* lines 7,9,24), adverbs of time (sometimes/*tuktekten* line 10) and adverbial connectors (thus/*ecen*, line 14, although/*eśa*, line 12, also/*ya*, line 21, and quickly/*wanna*, line

1. *Maka.giyuza.pi. O.koda.kici.ye etaghaŋ*  
Earth. brown/ nom.Friend.each other.(church) / from /
2. *Mrs. Lawrence Ica.sna.hiyaye.wiŋ ʒe,*  
Mrs. Lawrence / while.scar.go past.woman / died
3. *Nov. 29, 1885 anpetu kiŋ,*  
Nov. 29, 1885 day / the /
4. *Ortonville Inyan.tankin.kinya hen ʒe.*  
Ortonville / Stone.Big,the / there/ died
5. *Winohinca kin he Minisota ekta*  
woman / the / that / Minnesota / at
6. *wo.ʒce iʒokam wocekiye opa,*  
cause of disease / in the presence of. before / prayer / pursue
7. *qa ohinni wa.hbaye.dan*  
and / always obj.place:home.go.little/
8. *ti.pi.wakaŋ en ya*  
dwell.they.spirit (church) / into / go /
9. *qa tohinini ayu.ʒaŋ ʒni.*  
and / when (did) / touch / not /
10. *Tuktekten hena owicape kin*  
sometimes / those /in;N. man.they / the
11. *taku ʒcaya ʒkan.pi qa iyutayan.pi,*  
kin:something / badly / act;they. and / tempt:try.they /
12. *eʒta iya<sup>1</sup>: wicada ʒni;*  
although Iya / she believe / not /
13. *nina wa.ciŋ.tanka.ya un epce,*  
very / patiently.want.big.adv. / we; us :was / I think /
14. *ecen iye wo.ohiye tanka ekta iyaye.*  
Thus / she / victory / big / at / went: have gone /
15. *Hianaku Lorenzo Lawrence decen wo.yake*  
husband / Lorenzo Lawrence / after / vow: declaration, /
16. *Can.kazipa ti.pi waŋ un.ki.caga.pi*  
carpenter dwell they / one.a / to make for one. they /
17. *wanna yustan.pi*  
quickly finish.they
1. From Brown Earth Church,
2. Mrs. Lawrence, Scar-In Passing died,
3. on the day of Nov.29,1885
4. She died at Big Stone Lake-Ortonville.
5. The woman at Minnesota
6. pursued prayer
- in the presence of sickness
7. and always went
8. into the little home church
9. and never was touched.
10. Sometimes those men acted badly.
11. and they tempted her.
12. although she did not believe in Iya
13. I think she was very patient.
14. thus she went to a big victory.
15. Thus, her husband Lorenzo Lawrence  
declared afterwards.
16. "They make her a carpenters house.
17. they finish it quickly.

<sup>1</sup> Iya was a Dakota mystic creature.

19. *on iye nina i.yuSkin anpetu zaptan ohna kici*  
for: she / very / rejoice in / day / five / with / each other/

20. *ma.nke hehan ehpe.ma.ye do.*  
me exist / then: there / forsake me / .(M)

21. *ya cante.un.sica.pi*  
also: say / sad: sorrowful. we are /

22. *on owasin tancan un.yan.pi.*  
for / all / body / caused we /

23. *Wo.cekiye on miye.ksuye kta wa.cin*  
prayer. / for:we / I.me.hurt / shall / I want

24. *qa de inahni wa.kage ko.*  
and / this / make haste / make / that ??

19..We really rejoiced.  
for the five days together.

19. She was with me, then she left me!

20. I say we are sad.

21. as we are all one body

22. I want prayer for my pain.

23. And make haste."

SOURCE: Ayer 1 I 2. *Iapi Oave*  
vol. 1-16, Dec. 1885, page 47

*Icasnahiyayewiŋ* was the widow of one of *Taoyateduta* or Little Crow's brothers, who was shot by *Tonwajitetŋ* or Lorenzo Lawrence in 1846. Lorenzo was Little Crow's head soldier. Along with Little Crow's other brother, *Suŋkacistiŋna*, they killed two of Little Crow brothers in a fight for the chieftain position. Lorenzo was the oldest son of Catherine *Totadutawig* and the older brother of Joseph *Kewarke* and Sarah *Wawiyohiyewiŋ*. Thomas Lawrence was their son and Moses Thunder Lawrence Pettijohn was his stepson. *Zitkadagrawa* or Daniel Renville was the native pastor of the Brown Earth Church at that time.

17). These devices allow more elaboration or expansion on a topic and involve the addressee with the text.

Finally, the 1886 death notice written to the *Iapi Oaye* paper, principally the Christian *Dakota*, is most likely authored by *Zitkadantawa* or Daniel Renville, the native minister of the Brown Earth Church at this time (Meyer 215). Renville or *Zitkadantawa* uses a public official voice to speak of the figure *Icasnahiyayewin* or Mrs. Lawrence, and uses her husband, church members, and *Iya*<sup>5</sup> as animators (Figure 3.9). Again we notice the use of adverbs

3.7 General Overview of Rhetorical Presentational Devices. The discourse analysis of the Cherokee and *Dakota* letters concentrated on a number of linguistic features and rhetorical presentational devices (identified by Bauman 1982, Biber 1986, Tannen 1985, Thompson 1984). Looking closely at the structure sequencing and rhetorical devices in Cherokee and *Dakota* letters, we observe that both use adverbs of time, place and manner, adverbial connectors, demonstrative pronouns, and conjunctions to sequence the text and signal the genre of the text. The election and frequency of use of these same sequencing tools, in addition to adverbial connectors and exclamatory expressions, draw focus and create involvement with the text (see Figure 3.5 and 3.7).

Adverbial connectors are used more frequently in informal Cherokee and *Dakota* discourse than in formal discourse, contrary to findings in English

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<sup>5</sup>*Iya* is the glutton giant that consumes people during the winter and is associated with cold. In myths, *Iya* is overcome by fire, causing him to regurgitate the people he has consumed.

| <b>DAKOTA LETTER</b>    | <b>1-25-1864</b>  | <b>1-25-1864</b>   | <b>5-1864</b>   | <b>1874</b>   | <b>1885</b>   |
|-------------------------|---|--|---|---|---|
| <b>PURPOSE</b>          | report  | appeal   | deposition  | testimonial   | notice  |
| <b>AUTHOR</b>           | Joseph <i>Kawagke</i>   | Elizabeth <i>Wigyan</i>  | Joseph <i>Kawagke</i>   | <i>Totidutawig</i>  | <i>Daniel Renville</i>  |
| <b>VOICE</b>            | individual/public   | individual   | public  | public/individual   | public  |
| <b>ADDRESSEE</b>        | Stephen Riggs   | Mary Riggs   | Stephen Riggs   | <i>Dakota</i> Christians                                  | <i>lapi Oaye</i>  |
| <b>PRINCIPAL</b>        | Gen. Sibley   | possible benefactors   | Gen. Sibley<br>military court   | <i>lapi Oaye</i> readers                                  | Christian <i>Dakota</i>                                       |
| <b>FIGURE</b>           | Medicine Bottle,<br>Another Language<br>Six's Son   | Chippewa warriors  | <i>Ohanga</i>   | <i>Totidutawig</i>  | <i>Icasnahiyayewig</i>  |
| <b>TOPIC</b>            | Scout events on border  | Danger from Chippewa   | Clear up war crimes   | Testimony/Farewell  | contestable life  |
| <b>ANIMATOR</b>         | Six's Son<br>Major Brown  | Winona<br>Walks Touching Wind<br><i>W'inona</i> 's mother  | Joseph <i>Kawagke</i><br><i>Ohanga</i><br><i>Iyozaigzag</i><br><i>Tohpiwakag</i>                                | <i>Togwagitog</i><br>the Bible                            | <i>Togwagitog</i><br><i>Iya</i><br>Brown Earth Church         |
| <b>GOAL</b>             | role/solidarity marking   | solidarity marking   | perform/role marking  | role marking  | prescribe norm  |
| <b>FUNCTION</b>         | report  | regulative/expressive  | regulative/persuasive   | regulative/exemplify                                      | evaluation  |
| <b>FORM</b>             | full form   | full form  | No greet-open-closing   | No head-open-greeting                                     | No addressee, greeting  |
| <b>MEDIUM</b>           | handscripted  | handscripted   | handscripted  | typeset   | typeset   |
| <b>STYLE</b>            | informal  | informal   | formal  | formal  | formal  |
| <b>STRUCTURE DEVICE</b> | adverb of time<br>conjunction<br>reported past<br>demonstrative p.n.<br>adverb of place<br>repetition | adverb time.place<br>conjunction<br>conjoiners<br>reported past<br>repetition                      | adverbs<br>reported past<br>conjunctions<br>demonstrative p.n.<br>repetition                                    | Pronouns.<br>Conjunction<br>adverb of time<br>repetition  | adverb of place<br>adverb of time<br>word order<br>conjoiners |
| <b>RHETORIC DEVICE</b>  | subject-object p.n.<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> person<br>conditional<br>quote/statement                       | subject-object pronoun<br>2 <sup>nd</sup> person<br>rhetorical question<br>laudation<br>evaluation | subject-object p.n.<br>report event/sequence<br>direct/indirect quotes<br>exclamation<br>1 <sup>st</sup> person | 1 <sup>st</sup> person/3 <sup>rd</sup><br>indirect quotes | reported events<br>elaboration                                |

Figure 3.9 Analysis of Five *Dakota* Letters

(Thompson 1984). Following research by Tannen (1985) and Biber (1986) focusing on the connection of adverbial connectors with interpersonal involvement and interaction, this tendency can explain the higher occurrence of adverbial connectors in informal discourse. Biber also suggests that for English this type of subordination may be used to package a high amount of information into a text. The same is true for Cherokee and *Dakota* letters. In both Cherokee and *Dakota*, where grammatical categories are economical and efficient ways of expressing meaning, it is possible to express even more information in the same space than with English. Both Cherokee and *Dakota* letters support Biber's and Tannen's hypothesis that adverbial connectors facilitate interpersonal involvement and interaction (see Blue 1884; *Kawanke* 1864; *Winyan* 1864).

In both languages, the frequency of use of adverbial connectors was a signal of formal or informal presentation and interpersonal involvement and interaction as suggested by Thompson (1984) and by Tannen (1985). Adverbs of time and place are most frequently used in this manner in *Dakota* and Cherokee and supports their hypothesis for Cherokee and *Dakota* (Becker 1982, Schiffrin 1980). Still the adverbial connectors, like “although” or *Dakota's eśta*, and “also” or Cherokee's *nasgwo* and *Dakota's nakuŋ*, allow more elaboration or expansion on a topic. Purpose and manner adverbial connectors, such as “in that way” or *Dakota's hečén*, or “on that account” or *Dakota's heoŋ*, allow a more explicit level of expression. These are the grammatical features employed to present the text to create involvement.



In Cherokee (see letters 1877; 1884; 1886), we find the same pattern along with the use of subject-object pronouns to induce involvement. In both languages, involvement was increased with the text by use of subject-object pronouns, use of the first person and second person pronouns. To involve oneself with the addressee in some proximity or distance, Cherokee authors used the rhetorical presentation devices, obtaining involvement by use of subject-object pronoun, present tense, interjections, nominalizers, relative pronouns, locatives, adverbs of time, place, manner and conjoiners (see Figure 3.5; Cherokee letters).

*Dakota* authors obtained involvement by use of adverbs of time, place, manner, conjoiners, direct quotes, indirect quotes, relative pronouns and use of an animator (see Figure 3.7; *Dakota* letters). Generally we can predict that in a *Dakota* letter the paragraph begins with an adverb of time. Adverbs of time and place are most frequently used to sequence the packing a high amount of information into a *Dakota* text. The first clause is closed by the verb, conjoined by a conjunction to another noun phrase and bound together by word order, followed by an adverb of manner, closed again by the verb. The final clause of the statement, informs the reader that this first opening statement is the topic that will be expounded on and supported in the narrative to come.

### 3.8 Assessing *Dakota* Presentation Diachronically: Not Simple to Complex.

Once literature on writing focused on planned, formal, essayist style as credited with syntactic complexity, while features of speech were associated with an unplanned, oral, interactive style as less structured or simpler. Looking diachronically at the

letters of one author, *Kewarke*, and the focus on syntactic complexity proved interesting (Biber 1986; Tannen 1982, 1984, 1985, Chafe 1982, 1984, Ochs 1979). The differences evident between the span of letters cannot be attributed to increasing writing skills, i.e., progressive movement from a "Dick and Jane" command of language to an essayist command. Early letters display just as much syntactic complexity as the later ones, and the latter letters as much represented speech (as opposed to essayist expository prose) as the earlier ones. The author was able to use the full range of syntactic and presentational resources associated with both speaking and writing even in his earliest letters. Any unilinear gradient progression which is significantly demonstrated was the increasing effectiveness of presentational strategy with addressees, particularly noticed with Euroamerican addressees. This presentational strategy will again be alluded to in the discussion of the changing niche of individuals, specifically from the spokesman role to a role of direct address.

Differences among the letters corresponded to differences in the author's audiences and his purposes or goals for writing (end). The significant skill gained was that of fitting the presentational rhetorical device or style to the addressee and the goal of the letter. This questions the claim that writing in one's own language follows a gradient acquisition of more complex syntactic forms. A simple to complex ability expected when learning a new language did not occur in learning to write, a new use of their own language. The study supports that native letters are not less organized, less planned, or less oriented. Instead, the letters are yet another

example of Hymes' native organization of linguistic means in contrast to Anglo essayist organization. At the same time the study supports the dynamic of relations and the process of establishing a negotiated stance (and extension of Goffman, Tannen, and Basso's 1974 views of narrative stance) through the medium of letters. In short, what is progressively mastered is the ability to adjust the norm of rhetoric to reach the addressee and principals who have a different rhetorical norm (English).

3.9 Interaction and Agency From the Discourse of Letters. Looking at ancestral Cherokee and *Dakota* discourse, with not only an eye to genre, syntactic form and sequencing, but to function, one can apply Goffman's (1976) suggestion of making author/animator/principal distinctions. Analysis of interaction and agency was based on Goffman's (1979) presentation of self as author, animator, principal and figure which frames and transforms the ongoing writing event (see Schiffrin 1977; Tannen 1985; and section 1.2.3.4). Determining the function or role relies on the criteria proposed assessing the statements (Robinson and Cooper 1985). Goffman (1974, 1976, 1979) defined the terms author (writer using voice), animator (spokesperson or one an author chooses to project his voice), figure (portrayed through talk) and principal (who the message is ultimately directed to) in his concern with situated speech, interaction and speaking for another. These terms are useful in considering the function of the text and the negotiation involved in discourse and the real world. Goffman (1974) was concerned with the ways in which people structure experience/acts.. His work on frame analysis shows how the organization of discourse is itself socially situated (see Figure 3.8 and 3.9).

Goffman then suggests looking for rhetorical devices, and the voice (public/individual) used effecting presentation of self was added. It is a consideration whether the voice (role or image portrayed) used is individual, group/public or official/authoritative. However, it is the relationships between the author (his/her historical and reported identity), using his/her voice (the role or image portrayed), using the animator (who an author chooses to project his/her voice through as a rhetorical device), for the audience, the principal, and the addressee (the recipient of the message), that vitalize the content of the letters (Goffman 1974,1979; see letter analysis; Figure 3.8 and 3.9). The use of an animator is a frequent device to achieve interpersonal involvement and create a perception of objectivity from the figure or event of the text. Comparing the ten letters analyzed here, the *Dakota* more frequently than the Cherokee used an animator as a rhetorical device in the example letters. In using an animator the author is manipulating distance, often to persuade, demonstrate, or objectify the main point.

In addition to these cues one must evaluate what is not said, if there is self-aggrandizement and how is it achieved, if there is ambiguity in the letter, and what voice the author is using in the letter. Authors chose to use an individual voice or a public voice, to act as an advocate, a reporter, to lend credence to someone else's statement, to evoke injustice, to evoke fair play, to project oneself in a role, to maintain and confirm a relationship. Furthermore, the subject matter or letter topics are viewed as the purpose for writing. Hymes considers these as part of his goals or

ends. Figure 3.8 and 3.9 demonstrate that those goals/ends are as varied as the circumstances and the authors of the letters.

Therefore, not only are the sequencing and organizational devices that signal involvement considered, but so are evaluation the roles, the goal/purpose of the author in each phrase, what is done by what is said (ends or outcomes) of that overall text, and the effects of language use. Then, interaction and social stance becomes an interesting study in Native American discourse as well. The individual situation and the approach to optimize that situation begins to leap off the page.

The native language author/writer/voice, the addressee/audience, the goal/purpose for writing, the type of discourse (statement, report/record, request, evaluation, summation), the topic, the setting, the animator, the principal must all be taken into consideration. Possible functions of the types of discourse are: expressive, creative, transactional, regulative, persuasive, informative, descriptive, generalizing, logical, speculative, hypothetical, and deductive (Cooper 1985; Robinson 1985). The roles assigned by the author or others are considered. These considerations, once noted and analyzed, describe the text and helps identify the presentational devices of interaction.

3.9.1 Voice, Role, Goals, or Ends. When considering the social functions (goals, outcomes or Hymes ends) and roles of the Cherokee letters analyzed, we find the function-roles of an announcement of the editor as a public authority, an edict from the principal chief as a public authority, a request and report as an individual seeking public good, and a request and directive as an individual relating

to a trusted friend. In the *Dakota* letters analyzed, we find the function-roles of a deposition of one individual as an eye (ear) witness, a narrative of an individual as a testimony, and a death notice by an individual as a laudatory report on another as a testimony. These are just a minute sampling of the evident social functions and social roles exhibited by Cherokee and *Dakota* writers.

Furthermore, in noting the goals of the author in a letter, it is also noted whether the author is subscribing to the norm, role marking, solidarity marking, or informing; using imperative or emphatic focus, inclusion, exclusion, persuasion, regulation, qualifying, being expressive, or orientating; by personal narrative, sequencing, evaluation, assertion, restatement, exemplifying, contrasting, or warning, in effort to effect his goal. The individual's choice of rhetorical device and strategy becomes apparent.

The attention given to the form, structuring and rhetorical devices of these letters provides a sample of the repetitious patterns that are unique to Cherokee and *Dakota*, and also others common to other languages. The unique factors help prepare us for the way this language is normally used in contrast to other languages. The common factors show that these languages use a range of forms and rhetorical devices to convey messages of differing goals with differing levels of involvement.

Diachronically, the letters demonstrated change. Changes in social organization of the community and of the family unit. Changes in of the roles they wanted to play and the roles they were expected to play. The letters provide a feel for the individual's story within a historical community. Judith Irvine (1989)

considers language use as indexical of a social group, category or situational relation. There are degrees of internal differentiation or repertoire and degrees of participation and exclusion, not wholly discretionary, that are social indexes. In the analyses of the ten letters, Goffman's participants were listed as the role filled by participants in relationship to the letters. However, the social roles of the participants in the larger context were also reported by the author.

**3.9.2 Roles, Social Relations and Indices.** The nineteenth century Cherokee letters range from authors who were the principal chief (Ross), an editor (Boudinot), medicine man, secretary to the chief (Proctor), and a prisoner (Blue). Other roles mentioned were of tax collectors, legislators, sheriffs, judicial court members, store owners, and family members (see Figure 3.8). The nineteenth century *Dakota* letters range from authors who are men and women, filling the roles of scouts (*Kewanke*), wives (*Winyan*), mother-in-laws (*Totidutawig*), prisoners (*Ohanpa*), farmers, hunters (*Tonwajiteton*), native ministers (*Zitkadantawa*), friends of foreigners (Euroamericans and other Indian nations), and enemies of foreigners (Figure 3.9). Other roles mentioned were as members of a separate colony (*Umahu*, Hazelwood) in addition to a band (*Mdewakanjon*, *Sisseton*, *Wahpeton*, *Santee*), as persons placed on the reservation, as persons under the agencies influence (*Sihahmi*, Joseph R. Brown), as persons under the regiment of the military, the chain of command, as persons relying on rations, as persons aware of the contrasts of civilian and military life, or as fugitives (*Pezihutawakan*, *Iatokeca*, *Sakpe's* Son).

In addition, the articulation of *Dakota* women's roles is interesting. Women were restrained by gender roles, dependent on the male, their social assets credited to the male (prestige transfer), their voice used to amplified the male or used as a public supportive voice (*Totidutawij*, *Winyan*). It is interesting how women were affected by reprisal of war, removal policies, and how a small minority of women had changed their role and had that status usurped by the war (*Wawiyohyewij*, *Totidutawij*). This information is available in self reporting statements in the letters. Indices bear some relationships to the cultural system of ideas about social relationships and the history of persons and a group. We need to hear these narratives to adjust our notions of history and individual experience.

Considering *Dakota* use of literacy during the 1860s, the changing roles and indices are highlighted by the following examples. One *Dakota* native teacher removed to Crow Creek wrote about the men's concern over the long term effect of women becoming literate. *Wawiyohiyawij* also wrote that women were discouraged that *Dakota* men knew how to read but did not encourage others to learn to read. Another wrote that they were anxious for news, for more books, and handwritten material.<sup>6</sup> *Wawiyohiyewij* (1864) also wrote that "we make them read books. I always read it first. The women desire to read very quickly. I made as many as thirty to read. They went ahead swiftly." *Kewanke* as native minister wrote of his convincing conversation in converting men at Devil's Lake to Christianity. The experiment of sending native ministers out was in jeopardy and the

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<sup>6</sup>*Winyan* to Mary Riggs, January and April 1863.



voice used, the self-aggrandizement achieved, was also an effort to save the program. *Tonwanjiteton*, as a *Dakota* farmer wrote that his credit is slandered by the merchant when he wanted to buy a plow. As a man anxious to become a United States citizen demanded in writing that his community should have policemen, streetlights, and community services found in the Eastern cities. And a woman, running from Crow Creek with her nearly blind mother and three children, to find her brother's family wrote (broad translation):

I will tell you, we were at the Missouri River. They imprisoned my husband [*Caskeday*]. Indeed! [Oh! It is true!] Since that [incident], I am not recognized very much with anything—being without a man. At any rate, I am [yet] somewhat well. This year is being very difficult for me. We came to *Capijka* [Wahpeton-Breckenridge], finding the trip [about 150 miles from Crow Creek] extremely difficult.... On my back I carried food and clothing. Then we came to many buffalo. As though I had already gone [by]. Truly! And indeed! No one hunted a thing for me! Usually, I have gone further with my son, when carrying fresh meat to give my children. But as it was, [ buffalo but no hunter] I was very sorrowful.

--*Wawiyohyewij*, April 27, 1864

*Dakotas* quickly perceived that Euroamericans had a harder time ignoring a letter-writing *Dakota* than a non-writer. There was always the possibility that a literate *Dakota* would communicate with someone else who would “hear” the message received. This was an interesting factor in the political arena when a literate *Dakota* would abandon the spokesman tradition to jump the perceived chain of command or channels of communication and go over the head of a white government or military agent (*Tonwanjiteton*, *Kewanke*, etc. see Figure 3.10). Letters addressed to the newspaper, to U.S. military officers, to governors or presidents often aimed at

influencing opinion or achieving a specific action from another principal. The deposition letter (analyzed in the preceding chapter) clarifying a misunderstanding due to translation in a trial after the war is one example. Another was a *Dakota* scout informing on the corruption of a head scout, also *Dakota*. Yet another was a *Dakota* challenging the U. S. army policy concerning the presence of extended family members when so many males were in prison. The choice of the animator or addressee was a critical device in the involvement and overall strategy of the letter.

3.9.3 Medium, Roles and Continuity of Prior Domain. Bernard Spolsky and Patricia Irvine (1982:75) claim that Cherokee literacy came to function in domains where writing was perceived as continuous with some prior use within those domains where it was still held useful by members of the community. For example, they propose that this was the case for fixed oral formulae as the prior domain of the Cherokee medicine books that followed. The medicine man made a change of choice on the medium by which to fix his formula. Walker (1969:151) reports that a large number of adult Cherokee men were semi-professional Indian doctors. Their practice entailed the ability to read handwritten Sequoyan in private for content. This ability was held in opposition to type set or printed Cherokee read aloud in public, as in church, “merely for declamation.” The handwritten syllabary was used to fix the words of the shaman in recording his formulas and incantations.

By contrast, the *Dakota* did not routinely transfer sacred material or comparable fixed oral types of discourse. Spolsky and Irvine claim that Cherokee shamans recognizing the dangers of having committed their secret knowledge to

paper, mislabeled pages and gave misleading headings to the information. Thomas (47) claims that creating a permanent record allowed the knowledge to be obtained more easily where in the past formula needed to be committed to memory. Traditional integrity was maintained by the differential distance of script and typeset. Thomas speculates this weakened the priesthood and diffused the knowledge to individuals, increasing conjuring practices and fear of knowledge spreading to unauthorized individuals, no longer picked by prior priests (47).

Legalistic Cherokee documentation may provide another example for prior domain found historically in the importance of the annual reading of the wampum belt (Bartram 1971: 298), and reports of the oral law reading among the non-Christian *Kinu<sup>h</sup>wa* of Oklahoma (Strickland 1975:12). Once again it was a change in the choice of medium. Harvey J. Graff (1981), speaking of the Western world, points out that doctrine, edict and law conveying institutional procedure and ideology is predictably the first use of literacy in societies. These readings are examples of prior domain for both the Cherokee nations use of English followed by use of Sequoyan to record edict and law (Spolsky and Irvine 1982). The Cherokee National Council's recording law, establishing the press, and funding translation of the Bible plus their sanction of the Sequoyan Syllabary in addition to medicine men writing down their formula (Fogelson 1961:217), supports Graff's idea on doctrine, procedure, and ideology. In contrast, however, the *Dakota* were not as centrally organized, not as uniformly legalistic, leaving the literacy experience to the option of smaller bands, unlike the Cherokee case. However, the earliest *Dakota* exposure to

literacy was English edict, doctrine, and law conveying institutional procedure and Euroamerican ideology in the form of treaties.

Prior domain may also be considered the case with the *Dakota* role of the spokesman, followed so naturally by the role of the spokes-writer. Recall the forthright letter written to President Zachary Taylor, via Minnesota Governor Alexander Ramsey on November 2, 1849 (see letter by *Mazawakandapi*, *Wamdiokiya*, *Wakanmani*, etc., end section 2.5.1). This is a group policy statement in which the “spokes-writer” used an official public voice, which is signed by the group, as with a treaty. Remaining within the spokesman tradition, this letter was not sent directly to the intended party (the principal) but to a selected spokesman, Governor Ramsey, who they assumed would lend weight to their voice. Other letters also utilize this same device of finding an intermediary spokesman (or animator) to further strengthen the message to the intended party in their behalf. The change here was also a change of medium as well as adjustments in the role itself. These three examples concur that native language writing came to function in domains where writing was perceived as continuous with some prior use within those domains where it was still held useful by members of the community.

**3.9.4 Changing Roles and Strategies.** Both the Cherokee and *Dakota* examples in letter writing are linguistic behaviors characteristic of dense and multiplex social networks (L. Milroy 1980,1991). Each written language is functionally wellsuited and appropriate for the various sociocultural contexts in which its writers employ it. The *Dakota* spokesman role is a diachronic example of

social change, changing voice, and rhetorical use of an animator. Some of the other *Dakota* letters in my collection demonstrate the extension of this spokesman role by the indirect routing of the message of *Kewauke* (author) to Riggs (addressee, animator) to Sibley (principal); or *Ohayna* (author) to *Kewauke* (addressee, animator) to Sibley (principal); or *Tomwaniteton* (author) to Riggs (addressee, animator) to Sibley (principal); or *Kewauke* to Sibley (addressee, animator) to Brown (principal); as illustrated in Figure 3.10 (see *Kewauke* May 1984 letter; *Totidutawin* 1874 letter; and the 1885 letter for mention of these other participants).

*Kewauke* was the author of many *Dakota* letters to Sibley (addressee), during his lifetime reflecting their changing relationships with the fur trade (Brown and Sibley), the missionaries (Riggs), the government agencies (Brown; Sibley) and the military (Sibley, Brown, Renville). Before the 1862 war *Kewauke* addressed Sibley, the fur trader, through his mother's husband who trapped for Sibley or through Reverend Riggs who was his mother's minister at Lac qui Parle. When *Kewauke* became a native minister (1843), he then addressed the missionary, Reverend Riggs directly. When (1863) *Kewauke* became a scout he addressed the head scout, Gabriel Renville or *Tiwakan*, who in turn spoke with agent Joseph R. Brown, who should have communicated with then--General Sibley. However, when *Kewauke* perceived that *Tiwakan* and Brown were not communicating with General Sibley for him, *Kewauke* attempted to communicate through the militia chaplain, Riggs, and when he found even that ineffective he finally wrote General Sibley directly. In

association to *Kewanke*, it also portrays that his principal, Sibley, went from being his fur trader, to his governor, to his general; Riggs went from being his mother's minister, to his mission representative, to the army chaplain. Not only did this reveal a long continued attempt to maintain use of a traditional spokesman in letters, but it portrays the author's changing role or niche in each situation, and the strategy, often by use of an animator in the text, to effect his own goals. It was as a final resort that *Kewanke* abandoned the traditional "spokesman" process. As a last resort, he spoke in his own behalf directly to Sibley as his addressee. The change in these relationships, roles, niches, etc. demanded a change in presentational strategy within the letter to address the new situations and goals of changing times.

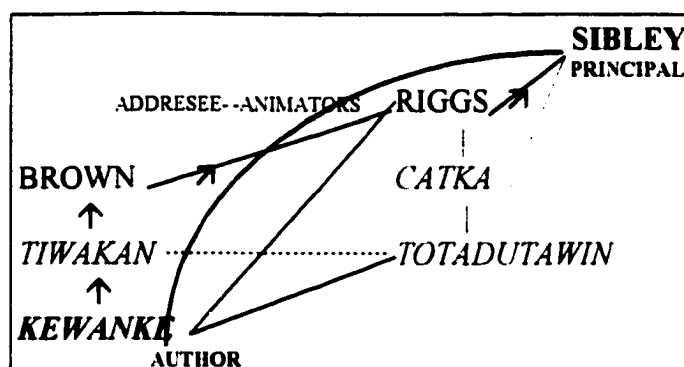


FIGURE 3.10 *Dakota* Author-Addressee-Principal Network

3.9.5 Self Reported Changing Roles and Individual Status. More specifically, comparing the letters of this one *Dakota* author, *Kewanke* or "Struck Down," over a period of thirty years (1843-1868) proved very interesting. *Kewanke* was a *Mdewakantonj* born about 1827. He first attended Lac qui Parle school (South Dakota/Minnesota border) on the upper Minnesota River in 1839 when 12 years old and again in 1845 when 17 years old. This attendance was seasonal and

sporadic during those years, as *Kewanke* was the provider for his mother's tent at the age of 12 when she was "given up" as *Catka*'s second wife upon his joining the mission church. His older brother was Little Crow's (leader of the 1862 war) head soldier. From *Kewanke*'s letters we learn that he was one of the experimental native missionaries in 1843 sent to other Indians up the Missouri River fur trade network (mid North Dakota). His third and last year of sporadic schooling was at Kaposia, Little Crow's village on the Mississippi River below present St. Paul in 1849 when he was twenty-two years old. He married *Winyay*, "Lady," the granddaughter of old Sleepy Eyes of the Swan Lake Band (author of January 25, 1864 letter). When the *Dakota* were removed after defeat in the 1862 Minnesota Uprising, *Kawanke* was employed as a scout for the Sibley Expedition. He moved from camp to camp under the orders of General Sibley, agent Joseph Brown and head scout *Tiwakan*, Spirit House, or Gabriel Renville. *Kawanke* and *Winyay*'s letters are examples of the rich information available on this time period from a *Dakota* individual's point of view (see ABCFM; NARG 75; Anderson 1986; Sibley Papers, MSHS). Native American language documents have not found a voice in the telling of social history.

### 3.9.6 Direct, Indirect, Repeated, and Non-existent Statements in Letters.

The lack of attention paid to documents in the native languages is disturbing. The social-historical knowledge available from the direct statements of individual *Dakota* has been ignored while English versions of events in history stand as the official

voice. That *Dakota* voices have not revised our histories is a serious problem. That anthropologists have not utilized the understanding provided by those voices is a result of their bias against documentation. The bits of information provided by numerous authors concerning the *Dakota* between 1829 and 1890, reaped from the translation of their letters in my collection may or may not be supported by other information. This information will be listed as that discovered in direct statements, in indirect statements, from recurrent statements, from self reporting, and from what is not said.

Direct statements were considered as direct discourse stated by the writer's own written words, most often concerning the topic of the letter, the point of the letter, or in out right observation. From the translation of direct statements by authors we know that *Dakota* men worried about *Dakota* women learning to read and the effect it would have on those women; that they were anxious to hear news about specific people and events; that they asked for more books and handwritten material; that they copied books to read and pass around (*Wawiyohyewiij*); that an illegal raid launched from Pembina across the Canadian border kidnaped 1862 *Dakota* war hostiles (*Kewanjke*, January 25, 1864); that *Dakota* feared attack by the Chippewa while near Fort Abercrombie (*Wijjyayj*, January 25, 1864 letter); that they knew of and reported financial impropriety in the collection plate at church, in their relations with merchants (*Torwayjitetoyj*), agents and superior officers in the handling of wages, rations, and credit at the Indian store; that authors used a public voice when writing as a group (*Mazawakanjapi*, *Wamdiokiya*, *Wakanjmani*



November 2, 1849) or to newspapers (*Totadutawij* 1874) or periodicals; that from the use of idioms they called the Meti “old women”; they called the German immigrants “bad talkers”; they called the Mankato executioners gallows for three hundred *Dakota*, the “High Woods”; and they called buffalo robes the symbol of “life living,” a term that they then transferred to blankets (*Kewanjke*).

Indirect statements are those written by the author in the course of the letter not as the point, topic, or main focus of that being written about, but related to the written statements. An indirect statement is also that which can be inferred or mentioned as an aside, often supported by more than one letter. From the translation of indirect statements and/or recurrent statements in the letters we know that authors were valued for their ability to write letters for others; that it was normal to fire a gun in the air to announce one’s arrival back to camp; that the soldiers’ lodge was an active social policing force, and in war they honored a concept of passive participation (as opposed to active or pacific<sup>7</sup>); that frugality was shameful in the role of hospitality, as being a generous host was preeminent; and the extent of responsibility to family and extended family (*Kewanjke*, *Tonwanjitetonj*, *Totidutawij*, *Wawiyohyewij*).

Recurrent statements are those repeated in substance or in full repetition of a statement, more than once, or in more than one letter; for example, the desire to return to the land considered home (*Ohajna*, *Kewanjke*, *Tonwanjitetonj*, *Totidutawij*,

*Wawiyohyewiŋ, Mazawakanŋdapi, Wamdiokiya, Wakanmani*); the desire to acquire horses (*Ohayŋna, Kewanŋke, Tonwanjitetonŋ, etc.*) and certain tools becoming necessities (*Kewanŋke, Tonwanjitetonŋ*); and the mention of the items they made in the course of routine.

What was not explicitly said was also revealing, particularly of Hymes' norms, of the key or tone and on roles. *Dakota* did not use the names of kin in their letters (*Ohayŋna, Kewanŋke, Tonwanjitetonŋ Wawiyohyewiŋ*) but euphemised that information in indirect reference, and a male never used the name of the mother-in-law (*Kewanŋke, Tonwanjitetonŋ*). They never spoke of the dead, unless in a purposeful anecdote (as *Wigyan* 1864). In addition, letters from women were more open, personable, informal conversation, free to express fears, feeling and interpret events (as *Wigyan* 1864), whereas men's letters usually had a main purpose and did not deviate widely from that message (*Kewanŋke* 1964).

This chapter looked specifically at letters written by Cherokee and *Dakota* individuals in the nineteenth century, narrating their own story in their own language. The letters are *motivated from the point of view of the meaningfulness and appropriateness that individuals felt about their language as it was used in actual social and cultural contexts. All languages include grammar, but go beyond grammar.* In considering the Cherokee and *Dakota* language discourse, four levels

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<sup>7</sup>One could go with a war party but not be actively hostile or shoot in the air intending to miss and still be considered as fulfilling the obligation demanded by the soldiers lodge.

of analysis were utilized to look at each native language. Noted *as a sign system*, each language has the interesting property of being both *unmotivated and arbitrary (purely symbolic in semiotic terms) and motivated (iconic and indexical in semiotic terms)*. It is *unmotivated and arbitrary from the point of view of its properties as formal, abstract system*. However, looking at rhetorical presentation and involvement in discourse, it is apparent that *language is both cultural and social*. It is *cultural in that it is one form of symbolic organization of the world*. It is *social in that it reflects and expresses group memberships, relationships and strategies within the event of each letter* (Joel Sherzer 1987; specifically italics). Therefore, we concluded this chapter discussing the expressions of roles, indices, and relationships of letter writers in the nineteenth century.

## CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION: DATA FROM CHEROKEE AND *DAKOTA*

## WRITTEN DISCOURSE

Documented writing may let us forget, or even camouflage, how much more it is that we borrow from [prior] existing texts, how much we depend on membership in a community for our language, our voices, our very arguments. We forget that we, continually appropriate each other's language to establish group membership, to grow, and to define ourselves in new ways, and that such appropriation is a fundamental part of language use, even as the appearance of our texts belie it.

--Glynda Hull and Mike Rose (1989:152)

A view of the general Cherokee and *Dakota* experiences with literacy was compared historically in the second chapter of this dissertation. The specifics of both orthographies as they pertain to language specific attributes influencing translation and the recoverability of each language is compared in the Appendix 1. The norms of communication in letter form, the structuring, rhetorical presentation, the agency, and interaction in each language as manifest in letter writing were compared in chapter three. This fourth chapter steps progressively back from the analysis that adds to a Cherokee and a *Dakota* sociocultural historic description of the nature of nineteenth century letter writing to draw conclusions from these comparisons. Chapter four reviews and compares the historical experience, the language specific, the discourse specific, the social and general information available from the languages used in these Native American letters. The chapter then broadens the application to native languages in general, considers information on maintenance of language integrity, social identity, vernacular literacy, and

recapitulates the type of information available in Native American language letters. This chapter argues for increased and thorough multidimensional study of documented forms of language use. It argues for exhausting the resource of form, content, function, and context. It argues for viewing Native American written letters as active agents voices rather than as stagnant relics put away for safe keeping.

The sources for this dissertation were three fold: history, language, and letters. The results of this dissertation begin to contribute to a Cherokee and *Dakota* revision of history, the description of the Cherokee and *Dakota* use of their languages, and a description, analysis and comparison of nineteenth century Cherokee and *Dakota* written discourse. The summation demonstrates the relationship of sociocultural and historical meaning elucidated by native language letters.

#### 4.0 Looking Back: ᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠᎵᎠ Sagwu yvwakt or Ehanŋa warŋaŋka.

Similar Cherokee and *Dakota* experiences were found in the history of both groups. Initially they found themselves dealing with Euroamericans who were using documents to define their homeland and their civil liberties. Both Cherokee and *Dakota* experienced the thrust of missionaries involved in literacy movements, involved or encouraging the printing of materials that were religious, acculturative, or educational. Both found a segment of their population taking hold of the skill of writing for pragmatic use, rather than as a task oriented experience (religious task, prescriptive schooled task, etc.). Cherokee and *Dakota* use of writing reflected their dialect, their language norms, and their discourse patterns. Writing did not

| CHEROKEE AND <i>DAKOTA</i> COMPARISON IN nineteenth CENTURY EXPERIENCE   |  |
|--|--|
| CHEROKEE - <i>DAKOTA</i> SIMILARITIES  | CHEROKEE - <i>DAKOTA</i> DIFFERENCES   |
| 1) Government Treaties and ABCFM missionary efforts provided impetus to literacy   | 1) The Syllabary was a native invention<br>The roman alphabet was the base of the <i>Dakota</i> orthography, also influenced by the IPA  |
| 2) Literature in native language<br>-bilingual newspapers<br>-religious/missionary publications<br>-formal & business communications               | 2) The National Council sanctioned the use of the syllabary<br>The <i>Dakota</i> made no formal statement or policy toward   |
| 3) The medium was reflective of the vernacular use (phonology, morphology, syntax, form) and therefore a distinctive medium—no prescribed standard | 3) Most Cherokee archived communications were formal<br>Many more <i>Dakota</i> informal interpersonal letters archived  |
| 4) School policy later initiated to prohibit use in school   | 4) Formula and sacred text were recorded in Cherokee<br>Little sacred text is recorded in <i>Dakota</i>  |
| 5) Oral tradition remained a valid form of documentation   | 5) Few archived writers of the Syllabary were female<br>Several archived writers of <i>Dakota</i> were female  |
| 6) Standard dialect not established prescriptively therefore more reflective of dialect than English use   | 6) Continued use in mission church services of Cherokee<br><i>Dakota</i> continuity interrupted in mission churches  |
| 7) Communities tended increasingly to become bilingual, then increasing trend to become monolingual in English —due to economic factors            | 7) Cherokee bilingual newspapers enjoyed longevity<br><i>Dakota</i> monolingual newspaper embraced   |
| 8) Community retention of native language use often index to native religious and general political economic factors                               | 8) Recitation practice of Sequoyan Syllabary   |
| 9) Literacy corresponded to leadership or socially responsible role or quality of individual   | 9) Religious task literacy with goal of uncritical adoption with Christian effort & divine authority associated with both Christian text and formula text                      |
| 10) Pragmatic informal literacy occurs between people well known to each other   | 10) Although Sequoyan Syllabary initiated in <i>Otati</i> dialect the Syllabary is tolerant of other dialects in idiosyncratic spellings correctly interpreted by all speakers |
| 11) Resilient to imposition of English prescriptive form onto native language discourse pattern  | 11) Cherokee editors of Cherokee Nations newspaper<br>ABCFM missionaries editors of <i>Dakota</i> newspaper  |
| 12) Initial minimal acceptance of Christian taught literacy attempt to maintain integrity of traditional culture                                   | 12) Sequoyah contributed the Cherokee orthography<br>Joseph Renville contributed to the <i>Dakota</i> dictionary   |
| 13) Few loan or borrowed words (Voegelin; Frake)   |  |

FIGURE 4.0 Comparison in Cherokee and *Dakota* Experience

invalidate oral tradition, but became an additional native language repertoire defined differentially by the language community maintaining native language integrity. Thereby, literate abilities were demonstrative of community leadership and responsibility more than an imposed mandatory expectation. Oral tradition remained a valid form of documentation (see Figure 4.0).

Following a period of use, pressure was exerted in both communities for schools to give instruction in English, and the vernacular language was viewed as not only of no use to the students but detrimental to the cause of their education and

civilization (Atkins, 1887<sup>1</sup>; Meyers 188-200). After the Dawes Act, English only became the standard for school use, particularly in boarding schools. Therefore, both communities went from use of their ancestral language, to bilingualism, with English their second language, to English as their first language (see Figure 4.0). The economical factors tied to English reinforced this progression, yet the traditional and religious factors prevented the ancestral language from disappearing and use of the vernacular language continued. Therefore, discourse in the native language can be considered indexical of social roles, of change in social roles and social organization, and of individual practices within the language community.

There are obvious differences that surface in review of the Cherokee and the *Dakota*'s particular experience. While the Cherokee syllabary was a native invention, the Riggs roman character orthography used in *Dakota* was a missionary contribution. While the syllabary is viewed as the most salient aspect of Cherokee, the dictionary contributed to the vitality of *Dakota*. While the Cherokee Nation adopted English, sanctioned Sequoyan, and then adopted the syllabary, the *Dakota* nation was not centralized enough for an official policy concerning language practices. While in the Cherokee experience Sequoyan was the impetus of the Golden Age of Literacy, conquest, removal and separation werea vitalizing factors in the *Dakota* diffusion of native literacy. While the Cherokee Nation maintained the major newspaper with native editors, ABCFM missionaries maintained control of the *Dakota* newspaper (see Figure 4.0). Each language community maintained

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<sup>1</sup>John D. C. Atkins, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report,

language integrity in newsprint differently: Cherokee created distance through choice of orthography while Dakota maintained separate entities. While Cherokee language documentation is abundant, in the Western History Collections the handwritten medium was dominated by medicine formula and official business or goal oriented correspondence, whereas handwritten *Dakota* correspondence in various archives prevails between well-known individuals exchanging information. These differences are due in part to the differential historical nature of their nineteenth century experience. There is nearly a void of traditional sacred material recorded in *Dakota*, only the Sword manuscript claims to approach that handscripted parallel.<sup>2</sup> Also, women writers are more often found in *Dakota* than in Cherokee (see Figure 4.0). This is due to the differing perceptions for uses of writing in each culture.

In both experiences of Native American writing, Sequoyan literacy and *Dakota* literacy did not depend on school rooms but spread relatively quickly as individual speakers taught one another the new skill. Missionary school roles show sporadic attendance for *Dakota* students. However, the letters make it clear that *Dakota* taught one another to read, write, and do math as a matter of course. The same was reported of the Cherokee during the Golden Age of the Syllabary (see Figure 4.0). Leap (1981) referred to a period of prelearning of passive observance that was not considered part of learning. This is the case in most language

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1887, p.xx-xxi-xxii.

<sup>2</sup>Raymond J. De Mallie and Calvin Fastwolf are separately working on the Sword manuscript.



communities (Schieffelin and Ochs 1986). The individual's acquired ability to read, particularly for the Cherokee was then considered more of an advent of communal responsibility. Although writing may have seemed less spontaneous because script initially required practice, all contemporary reports remarked about how quickly the skill was learned in the native language (one day to one week). This quickness was in opposition to the time required to learn prescribed schooled English (four to seven years). Reading and writing was a socialized acquired experience not necessarily removed from the ordinary day or situation for initial Native American literacy. As the Scollons (1979:13) noted: "much of the discussion of the acquisition of language could nicely be rephrased as the preparation for literacy. Those stages and strategies of language development that at first appeared universal and then appeared almost irrelevant may now turn out to be necessary preparation for a particular type of literacy." This discovery came to light with the shift from studies of grammatical structure to the proliferation of discourse studies and the context of communication, as well as with the segmentation of the idea of literacies from English essayist literacy. Late life literacy acquisition became the norm for the Cherokee and nineteenth century *Dakota*. Leap (1981:172) observed that typically there was a long period of "prelearning" in which the learners watch, passively in the natural routine context of the home or church without coercion.

In the native view, this prelearning is not considered a part of learning. If remembered at all, it is thought of as a period of failure to learn, which is quite unrelated to the subsequent attainment of literacy. This ultimate achievement often comes later in life and generally in a noncoercive context. It is thought of as a sudden revelation. A Cherokee will say, for example, that it is easy to learn

to read Cherokee, that he learned in two days, in a day or even in an afternoon (Leap 1981:172).

Acquisition was valued as the insignia of being ready to accept social responsibility. Cherokee syllabary learning became a function of age and maturity (see Figure 4.0). Also in the *Dakota* instance there was evidence to support the continued role of a spokes-writer as a valued role of social responsibility and maturity. Walker (1969:151) claimed that the Cherokee associate literacy with knowledge, and that knowledge was the prerequisite to the full acceptance of an individual as a mature and responsible member of the Cherokee community. Yet literacy was not a universal standard. The Cherokee did not expect that all members of their communities become literate and did not link literacy with the Anglo social definition of learning. Historically there was no pressure on children to become literate while they were young. Nor was there a tendency to withhold the opportunity from the elderly. What was valued was that responsible people in key community roles be literate (see Figure 4.0). Leap (1981:172) claimed that it usually turned out that each household either had a member or access to a member of the community who was literate in Cherokee.

In spite of movement toward Anglo ideals, the Cherokee and *Dakota* faced great loss within the first half of the nineteenth century. The letters, as native voices from the past, not only narrate their story but provide a written portrayal of each native language's discourse. Both the Cherokee and *Dakota* utilized written text in a domain when and where it was congruent with their experience and own goals. Their social and linguistic history attests to the fact that when the speaker saw the

usefulness of the medium they claimed that medium and utilized it in accord with their own language's characters and within their own culture's view of usefulness. Social and linguistic history of the Cherokee and *Dakota* demonstrates that individuals varied in their interests, their beliefs, their roles, their goals, their strategies, their actions, reactions, and were resilient in applying the resources used. These letters demonstrate consistent patterns and forms of language specific use. Most important and overlooked is that these letters provide insiders' perspectives on social-historical issues and relationships during turbulent times.

Jack and Anna Kilpatrick's Social Documents of the Cherokee reveals information comparable to the type of social information found in the *Dakota* letters. That Kilpatrick's letters are English translations without the Cherokee transliteration is unfortunate. Unfortunate due to an English translation's lack of specificity or attention to the same detail originally provided to readers. The information is broader in the ancestral language and weighted differently in the rhetorical presentation of an English translation than of Cherokee or *Dakota*. In order to make these documents readerly for the prescriptive essayist English palate, one must squeeze the ancestral language into the boundaries delimited for the English form that does not accommodate the detail or presentation of these other two languages. To paraphrase and adjust a sociolinguistic maxim: "All languages are equally complex, and equally capable of expressing themselves sufficiently," but not all "packed" equally. They do not load the same rhetorical mechanisms

expressing the information presented with the same weight or grammatical manner, in packing the information.

This brings us to a major bias encumbering the utilization of Native American languages. There is a view that translations cannot be relied on to adequately reflect the spoken language. Going from a narrow or morpheme specific translation, to a readerly broad or prescriptive English translation seems to be a task in sacrificing the dimensions, specificity, the socialized flavor of the native language. Therefore, translations are held in ill repute. This has also worked the other direction as well, in that Amerindian is underestimated as an ill fit with prescriptive essayist English. Both bias are based in the same misjudgment, looking from the base of essayist English and not from the integral framework of the ancestral language.

4.1 Specifics From the Language. Social information can be gleamed from the various levels of language. Mooney, Long, Gillespie, Walker, Foley, Dorsey, Boas, Deloria, Rankin, Nichols, Shaw, and Coberly demonstrate that phonology and orthography provides information on social and regional dialects and various markers of identity (see Appendix I). In both experiences, Cherokee and *Dakota* languages had their initial literacy audiences limited at their outset. This was due to use of a roman character phonetics representation or orthographic system, based on both American English pronunciation and on the British and the American International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) representation system adopted by members of

the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. Like English, neither the Cherokee nor *Dakota* adopted a phonemic representation.

In 1889 Hugo Schuchardt (1980) scrutinized grammatical aspects of Native American students' writings in English. In his article, Hugo Schuchardt identified pronoun repetition of a noun subject, coalescence of personal and possessive pronouns, coalescence of masculine and feminine pronouns, omission of the /s/ (also

### COMMON CHEROKEE-DAKOTA FACTORS

#### VISUAL DEVICES

1. Spatial use/Letter form mark degree of *formality* to *informality*
2. No capitals, indentation, punctuation

#### INFORMAL/INTERACTIVE LETTERS:

1. Employ rhetorical contrast of types of sentences
2. Use more interpersonal devices
3. Indicate interpersonal/interaction by letter opening.
4. Make points through use of animators

#### STRUCTURAL DEVICE USES

1. Consonant sequence marks dialect
2. Use of Reduplication to lend weight or focus
3. Segment paragraphs with adverb of time
4. Sequence to topic by conjunctions and joiners
5. Frame sentence/voice/quotes with demonstrative pronouns
6. Signal end of sentence segment with modals or enclitics
7. Frame episode using the historic reported present
8. Use past tense to mark quote boundaries
9. First level structural devices are genre specific
10. *Formal* letters use simpler/direct structural sequencing
11. *Informal* letters use more elaborate structural sequencing

#### FORMAL/DIRECT LETTERS:

1. Do not use greetings, openings or solidarity closings
2. Limit contrasting of types of statements
3. Repetition limited or absent
4. Use a public voice more frequently

#### RHETORICAL DEVICE USES

1. By change of word order
2. By change of grammatical category
3. Rhetorical use of Animator
4. Rhetorical use of contrast
5. Bridge points with adverb of time
6. Create setting with adverb of time
7. Create involvement by conjunctions and joiners
8. Create involvement/interaction by use of subject-object pronouns
9. Create involvement/interaction using 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun "you"
10. Use the historic present for evaluation /speech of authoritative figure
11. Use past tense to gain footing /authorship (Goffman 1981)
12. Indicate mood with modals or enclitics

FIGURE 4.1 Cherokee and *Dakota* Commonalties

mentioned by Leap 1977) of the third person singular present, confusion of the imperfect and perfect verb forms, emphasis on aspectual rather than tense distinctions in the verb system, and variable deletion of the copula with occasional hypercorrections. Schuchardt questioned whether this was evidence of a stabilized, caste-bound variety of English (a pidgin language) or a collection of learners' errors related to the process of acquiring English as a second language.

In view of the native language patterns of Cherokee and *Dakota* demonstrated in this dissertation and elsewhere, the reply to Schuchardt must be that both were congruent with their grammar (see Figure 4.1). The native grammars of both Cherokee and *Dakota* were congruent in the following ways: pronoun repetition of a noun subject, coalescence of personal and possessive pronouns, coalescence of masculine and feminine pronouns, and omission of the /s/ of the third person singular present. Both languages have prefix and free pronouns t! ʔa mark the subject or topic by repetition. Neither language has gender specific pronouns, and only *Dakota* has gender enclitics that mark the speaker. In both languages, the third person plural is marked in a different position and differently than the /s/ of English that often sounds like a -z-. In addition, Cherokee does not mark the plural of animate nouns and *Dakota* does not mark the plural of inanimate nouns, and both languages rely on agreement of the number in subject and object pronouns to indicate plurality (mentioned also by Leap 1977). Therefore, those aspects found in the student's English writings were consistent with their native language.

Similarly, *Dakota* may seem to evidence confusion of the imperfect and perfect verb forms in prescriptive English as it relies on context to convey that information. Whereas, Cherokee has more specific markers indicating combinations of verb processes, thus the English lack of specificity would be the only factor causing confusion here. Cherokee in particular, but also *Dakota*, places emphasis on aspectual over tense distinctions in the verb system, but Cherokee is very specific about both. Cherokee does not use the copula to signify the same information nor with the dependency of English, so Cherokee may evidence variable deletion of the copula in English with occasional hypercorrections. *Dakota* uses an English comparable copula.

The Cherokee and *Dakota* languages, as well as other Native American languages, are vastly understudied. As a result, the misguided generalizations, assumptions represented by Hugo Schuchardt in 1889 endure like myth. Even if we are able to identify certain salient facts from language's morphology about the organization of their natural environment (human-animate-inanimate; alienable-inalienable; concrete-abstract; reported-witnessed; live-rigid/long-flexible-indefinite-light-heavy-round-liquid; by the mouth, the foot; proximally close or distant; raised-on the ground; growing-no longer growing; etc.) we need to be less content with how little we know. The principals and processes of classification are distinct in each instance and at each level of language use. Much of the distinctiveness that characterizes a particular Native American language has come to highlight its speakers' culturally salient, socially significant reality in discourse. Recognizing this,

it becomes difficult to make generalizations about “Indian language” which would be valid for all of the languages of Native America (estimated as more than 200 families).

The figures 4.1 and 4.2 presented in this chapter are reiterated summary findings of Chapter 3 presented in chart form concentrating on the factors held in common by these languages. It is important to connect the information found in analysis of the letters of this dissertation to the nineteenth century conceptions of Schuchardt and the present day “informed” view of Native American language use.

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#### **CHEROKEE AND DAKOTA LANGUAGE SHARED GRAMMATICAL DEVICES**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. Mark relational proximity of object                                | • Indicate mood with modals or enclitics (rhetorical)                                    |
| 2. Contrary use of grammar (rhetorical)                               |  |
| • Change of word order  | 6. Pronouns  |
| • Change grammatical category   | • Frame sentence/voice/quotes with demonstrative pronouns (structural)                   |
| 3. Adverbs of Time:   | • Create involvement/interaction using subject-object pronouns (rhetorical)              |
| • Segment paragraphs with adverb of time (Structural)                 | • Create involvement/interaction using 2 <sup>nd</sup> person pronoun “you” (rhetorical) |
| • Bridge points with adverb of time (rhetorical)                      | 7. Historic Present  |
| • create setting with adverb of time (rhetorical)                     | • Frame episode using the historic reported present (structural)                         |
| 4. Conjunction/conjoiners   | • Use the historic present for evaluation /speech of authoritative figure (rhetorical)   |
| • Sequence to topic by conjunctions and conjoiners (structure)        | 8. Past Tense  |
| • Create involvement by conjunctions and conjoiners (rhetorical)      | • Use past tense to mark quote boundaries  |
| 5. Modals/Enclitics   | • Use past tense to gain footing /authorship (rhetorical: Goffman 1981)                  |
| • Signal end of sentence segment with modals or enclitics(structural) | 9. Verb aspect emphasis over tense   |
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**FIGURE 4.2 Cherokee and *Dakota* Shared Grammatical Devices**

In spite of the fact that Schuchardt admitted he knew nothing of Native American language’s grammar to judge the extent of that influence on his findings, the stigma of his implication of substandard English ability remained a factor decades later (Ochs 1979; Cooley and Lujan 1982). To the uninformed and



differently acculturated English eye, these syntactic and grammatical inferences appeared unschooled, reinforcing stigmatized attitudes. Jack Kilpatrick's (1965:372-6) article on the Cherokee language hints at an explanation of Native American speakers' English. He contrasts the Cherokee and English languages and suggests the inference of native language patterning may be the plausible explanation. Whether in the 1880s or 1900s, the contrast to essayist English standards has never been explained specifically from the various levels of specific Native American languages in a comprehensive systematic rebuttal. The problem is rearticulated in Cooley and Lujan (1982) and Leap (1974:79-89; 1977; 1980:179-91; 1993) who find even today, that Indian-language grammatical rules have priority over the corresponding English grammatical rules in the formation of subordinate clauses, the marking of cross-reference relationships between nouns and verbs, and in other morphemic and syntactic constructions in the surface structure.

In their study of English speech patterns of Native American students at the University of Oklahoma, Cooley and Lujan (1982) found the consistency of the patterns displayed evidenced learned patterns of stylistic discourse. They specifically noted: the implicit rather than explicit link of topics and when established the topic is linked by and to the subject; the use of pronoun redundancy to establish coherence; the frequent use of reported speech; and the repetitive reference to elders to engender unity. Cherokee and *Dakota* initial writings focused on for this dissertation exhibit all of the traits Cooley and Lujan found in English presentations. In view of the discourse of the native language in the letters, we can now state that

once established, the topic and the setting rely on context and pronouns for coherence. In both Cherokee and *Dakota*, this is achieved implicitly in pronoun morphemes and through redundancy (Proctor, *Totidutawig*) and not explicitly stated. Reported speech markers in English, “I said...he said,” or “I said that...he said that,” have the additional role of framing or structuring text as well as functioning as presentational devices for footing (1877 Proctor, line 6; 1864 *Winyan*, line 5,16,20,27,33; 1-1864 *Kewanke*, line 9,16,19,25,29,32,35,43). The reduplicate reference to elders was not a device of the formal or informal letters selected in this dissertation, but is frequently used in narratives of an anecdotal event, local legend, or narrative with a moral or persuasive purpose for the public good (see letter 1984 *Winyan*). This device in *Dakota* was used as a form of public validation or legitimacy, as English uses the objective third person, “they say” or the citation as an animator to lend weight to ones own message.

4.2 Discourse Patterns. In *Dakota* and Cherokee discourse, information is signaled morphologically, syntactically and lexically, as well as prosodically, requiring particular attention to syntax, and especially to sequential relations among sentences and context. Both languages mark phrase boundaries, complete thought boundaries, and convey logical sequencing by syntactic form. Structural patterns of discourse confirm utilization of adverbs of time, place, manner to segment paragraphs; use conjunctions and conjoiners to sequence to the topic; utilized modals and enclitics to signal the end of a sentence; use demonstrative pronouns to frame sentence or voice; utilize the historic reported present to frame episodes; use

the past tense to gain footing; and use repetition to add intensity or affirm another grammatical signal (see Figure 4.3).

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#### **CHEROKEE STRUCTURAL DEVICES**

- 1) Demonstrative pronouns
- 2) Repetition & conjunction/conjoiners
- 3) Adverbs of time, place, manner
- 4) Word order & conditionals

#### **CHEROKEE RHETORICAL DEVICES**

- 1) Pronoun use create involvement
- 2) Vary letter form to fit purpose
- 3) Contrastive types of statements signal point, change in footing.
- 4) Relative pronoun used in *formal* letters
- 5) More subject-object pronouns in *informal* letters
- 6) Formal letters used contrastive word order structurally

#### **DAKOTA STRUCTURAL DEVICES**

- 1) Adverbs of time, place, and manner
- 2) Conjunctions & conjoiners
- 3) Repetition in all but the most *formal* letter
- 4) *Formal* letter use change of word order
- 5) *Informal* letter use of pronouns
- 6) *Informal* letter use of reported past

#### **DAKOTA RHETORICAL DEVICES**

- 1) *Informal* letter use of subject-object pronouns to create involvement
  - 2) *Informal* letter use of 2<sup>nd</sup> person pronoun
  - 3) *Informal* letters create involvement by employing and contrasting a variety of types of statements
  - 4) *Formal* letters limit variety of types of statements
  - 5) Broader use of rhetorical figures
  - 6) Broader use of rhetorical animators
  - 7) Marking the speech of Male/Female
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FIGURE 4.3 Cherokee and *Dakota* Structural and Rhetorical Devices

Rhetorical patterns of discourse show the utilization of adverbs of time to bridge points and create a setting with other adverbs; utilize conjunctions and conjoiners to enhance and elaborate involvement; use modals and enclitics to indicate mood, tone or key; utilizing subject-object and other pronouns to create involvement and/or interaction; utilize the historic present for evaluation, or to lend weight to footing/stance; use the past tense to mark quote boundaries; use repetition to add intensity, duration, clarity, or formality; the utilization of letter space to signal level of involvement; and use rhetorically contrasting statements to reach effect. Another point to emphasize with Cherokee and *Dakota* syntax is that contrast of word order or use contrary to the grammatical norm signals either a

point being made, a shift in emphasis or footing, or carries meaning in some way. Redundancy is also crucial to information, lending focus, weighting, segmentation or marking (see Figure 4.3). There is also heightened emphasis on social or rhetorical conditions (context, relationship, synchronic event) rather than on static truth value. The inherent nature of these native language letters is involvement rather than essays written to oneself.

Cherokee and *Dakota* patterns of discourse situate nineteenth century letter writing in the vernacular language used. The patterns of discourse emulated in these documents are grammatical in marking relationship (inclusive, exclusive, proximal, distal); utilizing aspect over tense and attention to motion/volition; demonstrate treatment of temporal-spatial concepts; and demonstrate change over time. Cherokee and *Dakota* discourse are represented in written form that reflects the current daily language used by a community of speakers, in contrast to an imposed, prescriptively taught form or task oriented literacy. Labov insists on the primacy of vernacular as a base for structural analysis. This is particularly important in view of a general and pervasive tendency in the western world to view formal high-status varieties, such as an essayist style, as in some sense the real language (Milroy 1987:58).

4.3 Native Language. From the vantage point of ancestral language grammar and rhetorical presentation, not only is the logic of the inference clear, and the stigmatization unfounded, but the status of Native American language literacy in the vernacular a viable option due prestige. Leap (1981:126-7) estimates that there

are presently 17,571 Iroquoian speakers and 20,221 Siouan speakers. The opportunity remains to learn from these languages. The design of the phonology, grammar, semantics and usage patterns of each tribe's ancestral language tradition affect the design of the comparable patterns of the tribe's English code.

The attention given to the form, structuring and rhetorical devices of these letters provides a sample of the repetitious patterns that are unique to Cherokee and *Dakota*, and also others common to other languages. The unique factors help prepare us for the way this language is normally used in contrast to other languages. The common factors show that these languages use a range of forms and rhetorical devices to convey messages of differing goals with differing levels of involvement. Functional presentational strategies revealed: the author's perception of himself and his choice of role using either individual, official, or public voice; portraying a message through use of animators, figures, and rhetorical grammatical devices; playing with the line between the addressee of a letter and the principal of the letter; and contrasts the tension of the articulated letter topic and the figure portrayed.

Each Native American code appears to be best understood as a unique configuration of linguistic, social, historical, and cultural influence (form, content, function, and context). The shift from the native language to English was not effected until late in contact history, within the last 100 years and Amerindian English appears to be a linguistic phenomenon recently added to the verbal repertoires of tribal speech communities (Hutchinson 1977; Brandt and MacCrate 1979; Miller 1977, Leap 1982). Resilience against the imposition of English

prescriptive essayist form into Cherokee or *Dakota* language discourse patterns was maintained until most speakers experienced English as their first language.

4.4 Native Language Integrity. Both languages resisted adopting loan or borrowed words into the ancestral language. Charles Voegelin (1953) suggested that word borrowing may be seen as a method of maintaining language purity and cultural integrity. When speakers are confronted with a new object or concept they may extend the meaning of a native word to cover it. In accord with Voegelin's assumption on extension, the *Dakota* chose the traditional word for "bright" or "radiant" to refer to a window in a house (and then later to refer to a window curtain). Voegelin argued that by choosing to use the English loan word instead, as with "*Wajiniyi*" for Washington (Proctor letter 1877, line 9) in the Cherokee language, or Ortonville (Renville letter 1885:line 4), Jesus and manna (*Totidutawig* letter 1874:line 46, 23) borrowed into *Dakota*, they kept the native word in its purity for the native object. Therefore, Voegelin argued that code switching, English word borrowing and acceptance of literacy in English rather than in the native vernacular might be seen as way to maintain the integrity of their own culture.

Expanding on Voegelin, Spolsky and Irvine (1982:250) defended the same issue maintenance of language integrity in literacy, using the native vernacular of Navajo rather than English. They point out that the crucial point of departure is how literacy functions in a community, based on the differential use of the vernacular. In early Cherokee and *Dakota* letter writing, there is very minor word borrowing or code-switching with English. Dates, numbers, place names and proper

nouns related to the Euroamerican experience are the only borrowed or loan words in nineteenth century Cherokee or *Dakota* letters. Viewed diachronically, there is far more utilization of extending meaning than adopting loan or borrowed words. The maintenance of the integrity of the language is quite firm. In addition, the *Dakota* only accepted printing their language in a separate newspaper, one newspaper printed in English and one in *Dakota*. Moreover, the Cherokee accepted a bilingual newspaper but with separate orthographies (Figure 4.0). This contrast demonstrates differential distancing in native language literacy use, or what Spolsky and Irvine term “maintenance of integrity” manifested differently in use by different communities.

Albert Wahrhaftig (1970:20) notes a decline in Cherokee literacy to sixty-five percent of those over the age of thirty-five in the twentieth century. John Gulick (1960:61) hypothesized that syllabary survival signaled passive resistance to continued socio-cultural pressure from whites. Gulick (1960:78-79) notes “Subtle is the preference for speaking Cherokee at home where White persons are rarely . . . . The process of resistant attitudes toward the Whites and . . . learning to appreciate the satisfactions of symbolizing those attitudes by continuing to speak the language whenever possible.” Similar to the missionary Riggs concerning the *Dakota*, Gulick shows that while the Cherokee language in print was sanctioned by whites as a step toward “White civilization” it was overlooked as a means of encoding tradition and identity. Meanwhile, in both the Cherokee and *Dakota* experience, the oral use of the language was still held suspect, yet typeset technology was encouraged as print

for a public audience. Gulick overstated the intent of speakers for resistance by speaking their own language, but it exemplifies the Anglo conflict with the native language question. . . .

4.5 Change, Identity, and Views of Language. National identity, language, literacy, bilingualism, code-switching are issues that are often but cannot be lump summed in discussions. Ronald Wardhaugh (1987:5) relates speaking a language to expressing a nationality or identity and that a shift expresses a change in choice. "In fact, there is widespread belief that a shift in language often brings about a shift in identity and there may be resistance to adopting a new language because the new identity is unwelcome . . . . On occasion people may go so far as to fear that taking words into their language from another language will weaken their identity and pose a threat to their continued existence." This quotation and the last statement specifically touch on points that are often confused. If speaking about shifting from primary use of the Cherokee or *Dakota* language to English, this would be truer than if one is speaking about a shift from speaking in the Cherokee/*Dakota*/English language to writing or reading in the same Cherokee/*Dakota*/English language. For example, the broad translation of either Cherokee or *Dakota* would leave out specific information in English held very pertinent to the same text in the original language. Similarly, Ong (1982) and Scollon (1979) express the belief that literacy presents new ways of thinking. If literacy presupposes essayist English form, or a change in language, then the "new ways of thinking" may become an operative in that transition. However, if literacy is in the vernacular and follows the



ancestral language patterns rather than imposes English standards, it is another matter. Cherokee and *Dakota* letters would indicate native literacy is not the agent nor is it the major factor of that kind of change. Native literacy is an added repertoire of language use. Contrary to the Anglo experience with English literacy and documentation, Cherokee and *Dakota* writing or documentation has not diminished the validity of oral documentation or the oral tradition, as we espouse has happened in “Western” culture. Nor is there the mistrust of oral history. On separate occasions an acquaintance in each community had occasion to check documented English history and documented native literature against oral tradition without hesitation, skepticism or doubt of the primacy of the native oral documentation over the written documentation.

In reference to replacement of one language, medium, or repertoire by another, i.e., “new ways” implies a mass alternate totality and “old ways,” implies a past or discontinued relic, rather than as a surviving variable of individual election. Spolsky and Irvine (1980:248) made two points. One, that literacy in the vernacular is most likely accepted when the domain or domains of use already exist prior to the introduction of writing in which it is perceived as useful by the community. This view acknowledges the role of prior domain (context, history, experience). Second, literacy in the vernacular is most likely accepted in domains or for communicative functions perceived as congruent with traditional social and cultural patterns of the community group. When alien or not congruent, literacy, language, medium, or repertoire, in a new domain is preferred in code-switching, borrowing, the second or

standard language, i.e., English. This view acknowledges agency and variability. Once again, while the Wardhaugh, Ong, and Scollons' statements hold a degree of truth, they need a note of caution. Identity is malleable and flexible. Therefore, people may adapt certain aspects of their language while maintaining most aspects of their language in a conservative manner.

This dissertation demonstrated some adaptation with rhetorical presentation of self used flexibly in the letters. Language change is variable, identity with that change is variable, and none of it is quite so neat. Ryan, Milroy and Becker recognize variability and agency in negotiation of stance to enhance individual status or identity with a group. Diachronically, these acts change in accord with the non-contested context or contested context of the situation. However, it is clear that the language is a malleable tool. Both languages demonstrate change over time, particularly in comparison to modern day use. The contrast of modern Cherokee use highlights archaic forms in older documents and suggests the influence that prescriptive essayist English rules exerted on bilingual speakers. Documentation demonstrates the twentieth century increase in the use of the *Lakota* dialect over *Dakota*, primarily due to demographic and historical changes. In addition, select morpheme segmentation, basically of sentence final morphemes and proper nouns morphemes, became popular in *Dakota* rather than fusing morphemes into word segmentation.

4.6 Vernacular Literacy. Vernacular literacy in Cherokee and *Dakota* avoided the constraints of essayist literacy of English. Scollons (1979) also found

that both vernacular and fixed Kutchin types of literacy avoided essayist English. Use of vernacular was even the case with *Kewanjke* and John Ross's formal letter style. Even so, it only adjusted their presentation, and did not totally realign their vernacular language use from the language norm. There is less "spelling" variation among users of early Cherokee and *Dakota* writing than among "folk spellers" of early written English, with or without factoring in educational acquisition. English eventually aimed to regularize and then standardize English use, through dictionaries, grammars, and education, creating a prestige essayist dialect. Neither Cherokee nor *Dakota* standardized to that marked degree (Figure 4.0). There was no prescriptive normative standard imposed on the language. Moreover, neither the Cherokee nor *Dakota* language writing imitated essayist English in the nineteenth century, but rather exhibited their own integral system through literacy events based in their own language, based on their own language patterns, therefore maintaining the language's integrity. Written text demonstrates language used in the native vernacular. Resilience against the imposition of English prescriptive essayist form into Cherokee or *Dakota* language discourse patterns was maintained until most speakers experienced English as their first language.

The handscripted communication reflected the vernacular use of the language (morphology, syntax, discourse, form) and was a distinctive medium. Pragmatic informal communication occurred between people known to each other. Even though a style range of formal and informal letters develops, style was a flexible rhetorical strategy tied to involvement rather than to a prescribed form (see

Figure 4.0 and 4.1). The Sequoyan Syllabary reader dialect imposed some constraints on representative use of the language, yet beyond those accepted restraints (much as they are accepted in English) the use remained representative of the language in the user's eye. Schools did not successfully prescribe a standard form in either case. In addition, no nineteenth century *Dakota* missionary corrected even one *Dakota* letter writer, nor did one Cherokee or *Dakota* writer correcting another.<sup>3</sup> The syllabary in part imposed a model for Cherokee that exerted more influence than followed from outside instruction. In the case of the *Dakota*, use also reflected consistency not gleamed from the classroom. Vernacular use of *Dakota* writing varied from that taught in the classroom in such consistent and expected ways, one comes to see why it was easy to accept the integrity of the vernacular over the schooled.

In consideration of the narrow and few studies of Native American languages in contrast to English or European languages, it is easy to make broad statements that make Native American languages seem similar, and make cultural implications based on such distinctions. In many cases, scholars have linked the uniqueness of the forms of expression in any given Native American language to the particular interests, situations, needs, demands, and priorities of the community. However, this is not to imply that the Native American cultural experiences gave deliberate shaping or structure to Native American language grammar, but rather that speakers of Native American languages give formal expression to their world

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<sup>3</sup>At the Santee Press however, it was different as missionaries were the

view and classification of the universe through the sentences generated by those grammars (Leap 1981, Whorf). Attention needs to be given to that written expression.

4.7 Depiction of Cherokee and *Dakota* Written Text. The ten nineteenth century Cherokee and *Dakota* letters selected as examples accurately sample the broad range of topics discussed by nineteenth century authors of individual letters. The examples specifically represent: the typical spatial forms used in this genre of written discourse; a random cross cut of the range of formal to informal letter styles of discourse written by individuals in a Native American language; a variety of structural frames and the predominant patterns of structuring used in that genre; describes the rhetorical presentation of various discourse purposes; and shows a variety of roles and functions in the writing experience of two native languages from a native language stance.

The letters suggest a range of variation within the genre and style of that language's correspondence. The letters also suggest a sustained use of the medium rather than a sporadic use. Furthermore, the diachronic span detected changes that occur over 21-61 years specifically (60 years generally) and in that time span demonstrate a change in rhetorical strategy but no change in syntactic or grammatical complexity. Therefore, the ten letters relate to the larger corpus as analyzed examples of one previously undescribed genre of Cherokee and *Dakota* languages' literacies.

Chapter four reviewed and compared the historical experience, the language specific, the discourse specific, the social and general information available from language use in Native American language letters. The chapter then broadened the application to native languages in general, considered maintenance of language integrity, social identity, vernacular literacy, and recapitulated the type of information available in Native American language letters. This chapter argues for increased and thorough multidimensional study of documented forms of language use, such as the study of language use demonstrated in form, content, function and context.

Native American literacies need to be addressed in the native language rather than through English translations. Native American literacies need to be studied in the uniqueness of their history, language, discourse and sociocultural context. Native American discourse can be utilized for multiple levels of language, sociocultural and historical information. The study of Native American languages can benefit from innovative studies demonstrating different methods by which to utilize Native American text.

The social-historical information reveals the information shared in a native language that is often contrary or unrecorded by our present renditions of history from documents in other literacies. It self reports on the roles Native Americans filled in changing social circumstances during the turbulent events of their nineteenth century history. It records the changes from a native writer's point of view

concerning relationships, social structure, negotiation of stance, and daily life. hopes, aspirations, fears, and decisions. It is the voice yet to be read and “heard.”

4.8 Still Many Documents Ignored. In the Gillespie Collection found in the Western History Collections at the University of Oklahoma, Mooney speaks of the materials he was able to present and publish in contrast to that remaining an “untapped source of syllabic manuscripts” awaiting translation in the Bureau of American Ethnography, private hands in Oklahoma, North Carolina, and the Agency at Cherokee, North Carolina. Mooney declared he transliterated and translated only a third of the materials he collected. The Bienickie Library at Yale University reports it is not even certain of the content of its numerous uncatalogued Cherokee documents. In the Minnesota State Historical Society, there are numerous Dakota documents and in various smaller state libraries, the National Archives, there are numerous Cherokee and Dakota documents, the seal unbroken on the binding around them. It appears the available sources to learn about the use of the Cherokee and Dakota language are not exhausted.

The aim of my work, has been to work from a stance of the native language’s structure as used by a native voice, to represent that organization of actual language use and to recount that expression to the best of my ability. Since this country’s history of standardization is relatively short, it is amazing that the success rate has been so high in negation of diversified native language voices. It is amazing that letters in the voice of Native Americans telling their own stories are ignored. Therefore, their telling is negated from informing a century and a half of

Americans on their actual use of their language, as discourse, as grammatical language, as articulated actions, or as social ethnohistory. Speakers and non-speakers of these languages alike have denied generations this information. Not only are the words not looked at, not read, not used, they are not “heard.” The time has come to question the filter. Even as strides are made to preserve and revive languages, it is more comfortable to follow the English mold, the institutions and ways intact rather than follow the written voices still waiting to “speak.”



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Dakota Tawasitku Kin or The Dakota Friend

Iapi Oaye

The Word Carrier

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Cherokee Gospel Tidings

Cherokee Messenger

Cherokee Phoenix

Indian Home and Farm

Vinita Chieftain, January 21, 1886.

Le Seuer journal.

Bushyhead-Cook Cherokee Lessons

## APPENDIX I

A COMPARISON OF CHEROKEE AND *DAKOTA* REPRESENTATION  
LETTERS' TYPESET AND LONGHAND

0.0 Documents at a Glance. It is often in the first glance that English speakers turn away from Cherokee or *Dakota* script in frustration. Anytime one looks to historical documentation, one is immediately confronted with handscripted text in various stages of readability and various conditions of preservation. It is challenging enough to read type-printed material, but it is a constant process of guessing and readjustment to attempt to decipher the various penmanships of handwritten material. This is the case with handwritten documents in any language, and it is the case with English, Cherokee and *Dakota* documents. The sight of an unfamiliar orthography, or phonetic symbols written in a new arrangement can chill curiosity.

While it is true that there are fewer contrasting sounds to master, their combinations in use are more variable and semantically charged than in *Dakota*. Whether hearing the spoken or looking at the written **GWY**, *Jalagi* or Cherokee, one is overwhelmed by the range of variation found on the orthographic and phonetic levels of the language. Although considerable, this variation is not random, but forms consistent patterns and provides cues that ensure us of its congruency. Also the Cherokee language's Sequoyan orthography, a smooth vehicle easing articulation of the language, masks many of those meaningful morpheme units which

native speakers intuitively recognize. Furthermore, roman characters are used to represent the Cherokee language in word lists, dictionaries, phonetic transcriptions or as an orthography used before and often instead of Sequoyan. An additional problem is that dictionaries are limited in the number of lexical entries in even the best Cherokee dictionaries or beyond the Riggs or Buchel *Dakota* dictionaries.

Moreover, an English reader, with the left to right linear trained eye, must now add the process of reading the word from the central root out—particularly with verbs. Acquiring this process is one reason to attend so closely to the phonetics and the morphology of the *Dakota* and of the Cherokee language in particular in relationship to the orthography. This is always a challenge for translators using Cherokee or *Dakota* language dictionaries (most in roman characters) which most often pare down vocabulary words to the shortest form of the third person agent pronoun affixed to the root as the lexical entry. The assumption is that users know and understand the grammar. Where English dictionaries consider the infinitive the base form of a verb, Cherokee and *Dakota* dictionaries consider the third person singular present tense the base form of the verb. Therefore, it is impossible to look up each word that occurs as it exists in a document, without paring it down to its simplest form. It is also impossible to utilize the dictionaries unless the input of the various orthographies are understood, whether roman character, phonetic transcription, a folk variable, or Sequoyan.

One of the main reasons to attend to phonetics and morphology when interested in documentation is that only by knowing the range of variation permitted

within a language, in addition to knowing the probable inferences of the individual representing the language, can one judge the probable features of the script. Even for individuals just interested in proper nouns in the Cherokee or *Dakota* language, encountering many roman character representations of certain words (like for “Cherokee” or “Cloudman”) without an understanding of the workings of dialect and various systems of representation, may lead one to conclude that the puzzle is hopeless. Even worse, one may conclude that all the various representations are entirely different and miss distinguishing those words and terms that are related or unrelated. This was most clearly the case in the *Dakota* word variably represented as *Maḥpiyawicaṣta*, *Marpiyawicaṣta*, *Mahpiyawicaṣta*, *Marpiyawicaṣta*, *MaRpiyawicaṣa*, *Mahakpeeyaweeshasha*, *Maḥpiya\_Wicaṣta* or *Mahakpeeya Weeshasha*. The presence or absence of diacritics, the guttural h, the voiceless palatal fricative š, spacing and capitalization all vary in the textual representations of the words. However, by knowing the phonetics, the various transcription representations, the folk spellings, and the inferences, it is easy to identify these words as all aiming to represent the same word for the name “Cloudman.”

At the present time, there is a bias of interpretation of historical documents and maps from a non-Cherokee informed or non-*Dakota* informed perspective. For instance, just encountering renditions of place names in Cherokee (primarily roman character orthography) has led the uninformed eye to declaring the representations as too irregular to be dealt with or too variable to be meaningful. This is understandable because one needs more than a passing knowledge of Cherokee

morphology before one can identify a name that may change in accord with the writer's point of view in a particular instance without changing the crucial semantics--which does not change in fact, only in inference and appearance. This same task seems more difficult in Cherokee, because minor changes in phonetic/orthographic representation may alter a morpheme. Therefore, that additional knowledge for the same range of variation is required in Cherokee. For example, **RKW**, *Echota*, **RKᵀ**, *Echote*, **RKᵂ**, *Echoti* **TKW**, *Ijata*, **TKᵀ**, **TKᵂ**, *Ijote*, **TGᵂ**, *Ijati*, *Ichoti*, or *Itsati*, may all be lexically similar in Cherokee (meaning "new-" or "once again -your-fire" or "-your-breath for warmth"). This relationship is far more difficult for the English eye without knowing the history of representation and the language's morphology that clarifies the problem in that: E = I for the first character and is the morpheme meaning "again, or new"; ch = j = ts for the second character means the second person possessive, or perhaps *iji*- "you all" second person plural; on the root *-ota*- "fire warmth/breath"; which can be reported information ending with *-e*-, recent past tense *-i*-, or incipient present *-a*-. *Dakota* is less confusing than is Cherokee in this regard due to the history of its representation. Features of oral language (native and other) influence and are found in written language.

### 0.1 Orthography

Linguists have always been suspicious of traditional orthographies. After all, a traditional orthography directly competes with the linguist, offering its own morphophonological analysis of the language in question. This state of affairs is the more painful because it often happens that an orthography is, by any reasonable linguistic criteria totally unsuited to the language it transcribes, and yet its

users seem perfectly happy with it, and resist all attempts to simplify or rationalize it. The linguist is in the position of a highly-trained physician unable to persuade patients to give up their ineffective and scientific folk nostrums. It is thus no surprise that . . . the relationship between linguistics and literacy should provide further evidence that this relationship is an uneasy one.

—Ignatius G. Mattingly (1994: 87-93)

In many languages, there are irregularities in the fit between the symbol or grapheme (letter) and the phoneme. In that case, the spelling is often nonphonemic and orthography does not represent what is known about the phonology of a language. An orthography is the spelling or writing system of symbols used to represent the language, but as with the modern English alphabet, an orthography does not always represent a phonemic correspondence, but rather the acquired history of its use.

0.1.1.0 Cherokee Orthography. When faced with documents in the Cherokee hand, the issue of representation needs to be addressed. Every system of representation has certain characteristic that a user needs to be acquainted with to interpret correctly. The issues are addressed here, assuming that not all interpreters are native speakers of the language. The concern in this dissertation is an informed interpretation of the symbol. Some problems of representation common to other written languages are augmented in Cherokee. In particular this section will cover the following: similar symbols in various hand scripts; translating meaning based on morphology from a writing system based on representing the writer's dialect or perception of sound; and unwritten rules of interpretation learned through use.

These are obstacles that do not need to hamper work in Cherokee documents if it is known that they are logical and consistent trends.


The Cherokee language Sequoyan syllabary uses a syllabic system of writing with eighty-five different symbols with distinct value. The system uses a discrete symbol for each of the six vowels and the consonant -s-, whereby each of these seven syllabary symbols ideally represent one sound. The other seventy-eight symbols of the Sequoyan syllabary ideally represent syllables or the combination of two to three sounds, comprised of one of the other eleven consonants or one of the four consonant clusters (dl, tl/kl/hl, kw/gw/qu, ts/dz ,or hn<sup>1</sup>) and one of the six

| CHEROKEE SYLLABARY CHART |       |       |       |       |       |       |
|--------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
|                          | 1     | 2     | 3     | 4     | 5     | 6     |
| Vowels                   | Da    | Re    | Ti    | o     | u     | v     |
| 1 d                      | L da  | S de  | J di  | V do  | S du  | P dv  |
| t                        | W ta  | T te  | J ti  |       |       |       |
| 2 dl                     | S dla |       |       |       |       |       |
| kl, hl, tl               | L kla | L kle | C kli | V klo | P klu | P klv |
| 3 g, k                   | S ga  | T ge  | Y gi  | A go  | J gu  | E gv  |
| k                        | C ka  |       |       |       |       |       |
| 4 qu, kw, gw, w          | T gwa | W gwe | P gui | V gwo | C gwu | E gvw |
| 5 h                      | T ha  | R he  | J hi  | E ho  | T hu  | E hv  |
| 6 ts, c, dz, j           | G ja  | V je  | K ji  | K jo  | J ju  | C jv  |
| 7 l                      | W la  | C le  | P li  | G lo  | M lu  | A lv  |
| 8 m                      | T ma  | O me  | H mi  | S mo  | J mu  |       |
| 9 n                      | O na  | A ne  | h ni  | Z no  | A nu  | C nv  |
| hn                       | T hna |       |       |       |       |       |
| n_h                      | G nah |       |       |       |       |       |
| 10 s                     | E sa  | T se  | B si  | T so  | C su  | R sv  |
| s                        | W s   |       |       |       |       |       |
| 11 w, hw                 | G wa  | P we  | O wi  | C wo  | S wu  | E wv  |
| 12 y, hy                 | W ya  | J ye  | J yi  | E yo  | G yu  | B yv  |

FIGURE 0.0 The Sequoyan syllabary<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>The slash clusters represent variants. In Cherokee phonology, these cannot be considered just clusters (Scancarelli 1987:23). The problem in written representation concerns the appearance of the consonants represented as a cluster in various syllabary keys and transcriptions (Feeling 1991; Cowen 1995). This manuscript refers to them as clusters in view of the roman character orthographic representation rather than bringing phonology into the discussion.

<sup>2</sup>This chart is a reproduction of a Cherokee Syllabary Chart given to me in 1991 by my co-instructors, Merry Sunday and George Pumpkin. This chart is

vowels (see Lines 2, 4, 7, and 9 in Figure 0.0) as depicted in the roman character syllabary key. Therefore, the use of the Sequoyan syllabary requires that a vowel follow every consonant except -s- or  (see line 10, Figure 0.0). In addition, the chart suggests an English equivalent key, that in due course encourages a roman character transliteration system be used as an orthography in addition to the Sequoyan syllabary symbols.

0.1.1.1 Disguised Phonetic and Grammatical Aspects. The problem considered in this dissertation is the recovery of meaning and overcoming what are often considered the obstacles in that process. The linguistic glottal stop [ʔ] does not have a syllabary symbol, but is more often represented in broad transcription as (y) or (h). Transcription of the two consonants series (keyed as tl, dl, kl, hl, ts, or dz) lacks distinction in the orthography from the implied roman character English values. In use of many syllabary charts, the aspirated [h] is ignored in many environments. It is particularly lost in the metathesis of the second person singular (*hi-*) and pre-pronouns indicating action proceeding away from the speaker (*w-*), the negation or conditional (*y-*), or lateral position (*n-*). When these morphemes switch places or metathesis in speech, the [h] becomes aspirated, but when represented in the syllabary the aspirated cue for the second person is lost. The chart reproduced here does take these aspirations into consideration in the syllabary key. On all charts there are symbols for the aspirated [h] of [<sup>h</sup>na], [na<sup>h</sup>], and [<sup>h</sup>ne], but usually

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closest to a chart in Durbin Feeling (1991:viii) See-Say-Write and varies from the chart in Smith and Holmes. I added the symbol **G** or (na<sup>h</sup>) where Mr. Pumpkin



not for the remaining [ʰn-] sequences or for [ʰw-] or [ʰy-] sequences (see line 9 Figure 0.0).<sup>3</sup>

The Syllabary chart does not carry through with the t/d distinctions<sup>4</sup> (see line 1, Figure 0.0). While ta/da, te/de, ti/di, tla/dla, ka/ga pairs are distinguished, the pairs to/do, tu/du, tv/dv, ke/ge, ki/gi, ko/go, ku/gu, kv/gv are not distinguished (see line 1 and 3 Figure 0.0). Vowel qualities such as vowel length are not reflected by the syllabary. Therefore, although the word *a:ma*, meaning “water,” and the word *ama*, meaning “salt,” are not pronounced the same, they are both represented as **D 4** in the syllabary.<sup>5</sup>

The syllabary tends to outweigh the functioning grammatical aspects of the language. This is primarily because the syllables, devised as units representing sound, do not correspond with the morphemes or the units of meaning. For example **VYhSP**, “we want them” is divided *do-gi-ni-du-li* in the reader’s dialect, but is morphologically segmented as *d-ogini-duli* or “them-another and I-want;” or **KαWLɿ**, “sister” is in the syllabary dependent readers dialect sectioned *jo-s-ta-da-lv*, yet divided morphologically *jost-ada-lv* or “another’s and my-reciprocal-sister.” Use of syllabic segmentation produces the reader’s dialect (a recognized rhetorical style in recitation or singing likened to sounding out a word), while visual

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suggested it be included on this chart.

<sup>3</sup>Holmes and Smith (1977:115) and Walker and Sarbaugh (1993:73,76), do not, whereas Walker and Sarbaugh (74-5) does.

<sup>4</sup>Linguists see the basic phonemic contrast as being one of aspiration, with the unaspirated consonants being voiced in certain context (Scancarelli 1987:30) yet the key may be mistakenly perceived as voiceless-voiced contrast.

<sup>5</sup>The symbol (:) indicates that the sound has a longer duration.

morpheme segmentation stresses recognition of units of meaning. These are all linguist's complaints and not crucial to the ability of a speaker to write in the native language, only to speakers desiring to be a second-language learner of Cherokee. Pitch, accent, vowel length, glottal stops, aspiration, metathesis, and tone are contextual and subsumed by the speaker of a language during socialization in the speaker's community, whether an English, Cherokee or *Dakota* speaker. Although orality is not exorcized, recovery of meaning is prioritized in working with written documents.

Experience in oral language use usually precedes the native use of writing the native language, so that the signs of representation become associated with the contextual knowledge and background circumstances of the user's community. Therefore a native speaker-writer's input remains implicit rather than explicit. While there are problems in representing sounds of the language from a linguist's goal of narrow transcription, the problems dissolve in the use of the native language writings with knowledge of dialect, morphology, and contextual sociocultural cues in language use. So while sound representation may seem imperfect, it is supplemented at another level of the language in use.

The syllabary, as used by individuals, reflects idiosyncratic and dialectal variations of the writer rather than a prescriptive standardization of phonetic values to syllabary symbols. The phonetic equivalents of the syllabary have not been totally standardized. The Sequoyah syllabary symbols chosen to represent or spell the written vernacular Cherokee can therefore vary more frequently and to a greater

degree than the orthography used to represent *Dakota*, or presently representing vernacular English, and still be understood. Like the English orthography, the Cherokee orthography is nonphonemic. English orthography is no stranger to silent letters that operate as obliquely as the reconstructed vowels. For example, English uses silent consonants in *psychology* and *right*; uses unrepresented sounds in *fuse* [fyuz] and *use* [yuz]; or uses the same sound with different spelling in *aye*, *buy*, *by*, *die*, *hi*, *Thai*, *height*, and *guide*; and also uses different sounds for the same spelling in *thought*, *though*, *Thomas* or *ate*, *at*, *father*, *many* as with Cherokee's *chalagi*, *jalagi*, *tsalagi*, *dzalagi* (different sounds and/or different symbols) for the same orthographic spelling **G W Y** (Mooney 1992:185-6; Foley 1980:161, 227; Gilmore 1984:41; Groom and Oocumma 1989:101).

Any vernacular written Cherokee, in either a roman orthography or Sequoyan, evidences a more variable spelling system than the orthography used to represent the *Dakota* vernacular. The orthography of the *Dakota* language evidences a more regularized appearance of spellings in the written language by its speakers. There is less variation among users of early Cherokee and *Dakota* writings than among "folk spellers" of written English, even without factoring in schooled acquisition. Neither spelling systems has reached the abstractness nor inflexibility of the Standard American English (SAE) of essayist English. English eventually aimed to regularize and then standardize English use, through dictionaries, grammars, and education, creating a prestige essayist dialect. Neither Cherokee nor *Dakota* has standardized to that marked degree.

The conventions of the Santee dialect of Dakota were left to typeset of the Santee, Nebraska Press and missionaries, while letter writings of the individuals forged a vernacular exemplar. Mooney (1891,1992:220) claims the syllabary was based on ᏍᏏᏉ, *Otali*, the old Upper dialect, which made no provisions for the *r* of ᏍᏏᏉ, *Elati*, the Lower dialect or the *sh* of ᏍᏏᏉ, *Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa*, the Middle dialect. Although the *Otali* dialect of the Sequoyan Syllabary was the initial dialect represented in Sequoyah's writing system, the syllabary proved tolerant of the other dialects in idiosyncratic spellings. Those spellings were generally correctly interpreted by all the speakers of Cherokee, and Mooney also noted that each speaker usually made his own dialectic change in the reading of the Sequoyan syllabary. The *Otali* dialect never was imposed as a standard dialect, as was Received Pronunciation (RP) in England or essayist English (SAE, Standard American English) in the United States, although there is certainly a sociolect marking a reader's dialect. In view of English spelling inadequacies it is ironic that, since its inception, many have pointed to the shortcomings of the Sequoyan syllabary as a system representing spoken Cherokee and as a standard spelling system (Pilling 1886; Mooney 1892; Evan James).

0.1.1.2 Vowel Reconstruction in Vernacular and Reader Dialect's Orthography. With Cherokee in particular, it is helpful to be aware of the processes one can expect to encounter. The combination of orthographic clusters intersecting with dialect variables and contraction leads to problems using the syllabary in representation for those clusters not in the Sequoyan syllabary key. The result is

often under-differentiation of the six syllabary symbols (ts/j/c/ch/dz; see Gilmore 1986:41) and vowel combinations. Representation of this sound is often not just the result of dialect (see line 6 Figure 0.0). This is also of the result of a phonological process before representation, when put into the syllabary with a vowel forced in. Thus, the symbol may represent another consonant cluster entirely or represent the result of deletion or contraction as in **TØS hWC** (*i-na-ga-ji-ta-nv*), **TØS WbWC** (*i-na-ga-ta-si-ta-nv*) or **TØS WoWC** (*i-na-ga-ta-s-ta-nv*) for the pronounced *ingatstanv* (again-simultaneously-it-happens-caused to-past tense), electing (ji-ta) or (ta-si-ta) to represent (-*tst*-). Literate Cherokees show a tendency to insert a vowel when writing a consonant clusters as a habit conforming with the syllabary and the trend to maintain the consonant-vowel-consonant-vowel order. Most vernacular readers demonstrate regular deletions of word internal “silent vowels” and even “silent syllables,” as Gillespie (WHC R16) calls them, that they continue to write in the syllabary as full form. One example is **S PKJ** *galijodi* (house), when read aloud as *gajodi* or as *gatsode*, depending on the dialect.

Some users of the syllabary reconstruct spoken contractions when using the Sequoyan syllabary writing system, much as speakers of English contractions do. Other users of the syllabary do not reconstruct the contraction, but only insert vowels with each consonant, resulting in a surface change of the word. If English had a syllabary, this problem would be similar to representing the contraction for “do not” or “don’t” as “do-ni-ti” arbitrarily inserting the vowel -i- rather than “do-no-ti”—still forcing the insertion of the last vowel as required by a syllabary system

of representation; for example, representing “his eye” or “*aktoli*” as “*a-ga-do-li*” or **DSVP** (Feeling 1975:36); and “he is laughing” or “*uyetsga*” as “*u-ye-ti-s-ga*” **ᎠᎩᎩᎠᎩ** (Feeling 1975:185), or “*u-ye-ji-ga*” **ᎠᎩᎩᎠᎩ** (Robinson n.d.:8), or as **ᎠᎩᎩᎠᎩ** “*u-ye-tsa-ga*” (see Gilmore 1986; Shade 1995).

Just as Sequoyan is often sensitive to dialect and phonological process, it can be iconic. For example, representation of the syllabary key consonant clusters evidence reduction in the variable written Sequoyan examples of **ᎠᎩ** *katla* or *kahla* (month) to **ᎠᎩ** *kala*. Notice that the syllabary may represent **ᎠᎩ** *kahla* with or without the roman character <h> (aspirated in some dictionaries, a glottal stop in others). Dialect, although a factor of use of **Ꭹ** and **ᎩᎩᎩ**, may be ignored. **Ꭹ** may be variably represented in roman characters as *tla*, *hla*, *kla* (no), just as it is in **ᎩᎩᎩ** by roman characters *jalagi*, *dzalagi*, *calagi*, *tsalagi* (Cherokee<sup>6</sup>). However, these words are always represented as **Ꭹ** and as **ᎩᎩᎩ** (as sign) in Sequoyan regardless of which pronunciation is used. Thus, these are now iconic signs. To the Cherokee reader, both systems signal the contextual knowledge of the language, as with vernacular and essayist English that readers need to learn to interpret correctly.

0.1.1.3 Vowel Reduction and Clipping. The last vowel in many spoken Cherokee words is sensitive to clipping or vowel reduction. An example is the Cherokee word *hatl*. In Sequoyan, the writer must insert a vowel, either as in **ᎠᎩ** *hatla* or **ᎠᎩ** *hatlv*. Since this is captured in Sequoyan, the syllabary reflects the

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<sup>6</sup>George H. Shirk (1969:124) remarked that Cherokee should be pronounced “Chelokee,” a variation recorded by Schoolcraft 1852 and Gallatin 1836 (Mooney



shortened to *V do* for “what?” regardless of length.<sup>7</sup> That gives us seven separate signs for the same word, each pronounced differently (at least nine possibilities).

Frances Rosser Brown (1952:419) believed that at the time of removal, 1838, the Cherokee language was relatively standardized. Brown continues that after that time the two divisions of people, Eastern Cherokee and Western Cherokee, created different terms “for innovations experienced in different lands.” After the removal, with little communication between the two groups, Brown believes normal language changes in each group were unknown to each other down through the years. Therefore Brown believed that the two groups dialects diverged. Brown noted that Easterners and Westerners were agreed that the language was less standardized than it was when “Sequoyah caught all its sounds” in his original characters (417).

Chafe and Kilpatrick (1963:61) claim that even though it is known that Cherokee is split into a western dialect spoken in Oklahoma and an eastern dialect spoken in North Carolina, Oklahoma speech is far from homogeneous. The orthography used in Cherokee is based entirely on the Sequoyah syllabary, but reflection of the local dialect is only precluded in the most iconic words. Therefore a hierarchy of iconicity is evident (section 0.1.1.2 above) always represented as **Ꭰ** and as **GWY** (as sign) in Sequoyan regardless of which pronunciation is used whereas some words vary spelling according to dialect, sociolect, idiolect). Because of all these Sequoyan syllabary factors, it does not seem that surface spelling is

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<sup>7</sup>Lent to me by their former student, Karen Holiday.



regularized, save for the most salient terms, i.e., **GWY** *Jalagi* or Cherokee, regardless of pronunciation. Spelling reflects phonetic changes in the writer's perception, even to the point of varying the representation of the same word within the same composition. Once again the language is situated from the user's point of view. Gillespie (n.d.) claims that there is less syllabary variation among syllabary literates than nonreaders. Nevertheless, standardization of the reader dialect or writer's representations has not taken place to the degree of prescriptive essayist English. It remains descriptive of the user and the user's perceptions.

0.1.1.4 Handscripted Cherokee, Change and Variation. Wallace Chafe and Jack Frederick Kilpatrick (1963:61) claim that at no time did the manuscript style of handwriting ever closely resemble the typeset print Sequoyan. They state that sometimes personal idiosyncrasies make the differences very great indeed. Chafe and Kilpatrick point to changes from **Γ** to **P** for -li-, **4** to **†** for -ha-, **6** to **C** for -nv-, and **e** to **⊙** for -ka-. In the Hendricks Collection of the Western History Collection, University of Oklahoma, one can find many other puzzling scripted characters in the Sequoyan syllabary.

One of the formulae books in the Gillespie Collection of the Western History Collection Library used a flared **N** or **×** symbol for (ya) and a Proctor letter used **ω** for (ya) rather than **α** (see analysis of Ezekiel Proctor to Chief Thompson, August 35, 1877, CNP, WHC in following chapter). Several symbols vary so slightly that it is difficult to keep them straight when printed, let alone when written by hand: **R**, **R**, or **G**, **G**, **G**, **G**, **G**, **C**, **C** for example (see Figure 0.1). Some symbols

underwent modification while yet in Sequoyah's hand, and others following him attempted modifications. Frans M. Olbrechts (Gillespie R16) noted syllabary modifications or a change from a "formal" to a more "stenographic script." When the type was cast for the syllabary symbols in Boston in 1827, the process modified Sequoyah's original shapes somewhat (Chafe and Kilpatrick 1963; Walker 1969). Walker and Sarbaugh (1993) describe the changes in the script of the Sequoyan syllabary. They conclude that from the Hicks syllabary it is known that the syllabic characters existed in their modern forms months before Worcester arrived in the Cherokee nation and all evidence supports the view that Sequoyah was responsible for the printed forms of the syllabic characters. Hand scripted materials demonstrate a wide range of penmanship and script variants from the printed Sequoyan syllabary, as much as witnessed in the variety of individual penmanship of written English.

|      |      |      |      |      |      |     |      |      |     |      |       |
|------|------|------|------|------|------|-----|------|------|-----|------|-------|
| Tgwa | Ti   | Tnu  | Tge  | Tbe  | Tno  | Tso | Jdi  | Jti  |     | Rsv  | Re    |
| Jgu  | Jju  | Lda  | Tte  | thna | tle  | Utl | tha  | 4se  |     | Egvr | Egv   |
| Ltle | Ltla | Pli  | Alv  | Anu  |      |     |      |      |     | Ygi  | Ymu   |
| hni  | hyo  | hji  | bsi  |      |      |     |      |      | Vdo | Vje  | V'gwo |
| bsi  | bye  | Byv  | Ptlv |      |      |     |      |      | Sga | Sde  | Sdu   |
| omo  | mo   | Myi  | ma   |      |      |     |      |      | Jhi | Ag   | Ane   |
| owu  | ohv  | owe  | owo  | oka  |      |     | ou   | Onv  | Ona | Owi  |       |
| Pgwi | Ptlu | Pdv  | Ple  | P'su | idla |     | Ctli | Gwv  | Glo | Gjv  |       |
| Wla  | Wta  | Wgve | Wgwu | Wya  | us   |     | Gja  | Gnah | Gwa | Gyu  |       |

FIGURE 0.1 The Most Easily Confused Handwritten Syllabary Symbols

Many of the syllabary symbols became nearly obsolete due to infrequent selection in certain dialects, particularly with those symbols where aspirated *hs* are ignored in almost all of their many environments, or where writers generalize voiced and voiceless sounds, or where they arbitrarily elect to break up a consonant cluster without prior knowledge of the reader dialect or the grammar. For example, **l**

(*hna*) as in **ŁtG** “war” loosing the signal for <h> as in **ŁOG** or as in **ŁqG** (*dahnawa* as *danawa* or *damwa*); as in **ŁV** “now” becoming **ΘV** (*hnagwo*; see next chapter 1825 Ross letter, line 7, to *nagwo*) and **EtP** “black” becoming **EΘP** (*gvhnage* to *gvnage*); or loosing the aspirated signal for the second person in **ΘVqT** “you come visit (*hwedolv?i*)” looking like **ΘVqT** “he comes to visit (*wedolv?i*);” or finally, the rarely used **G** (*nah*) as in **DEGP** “a Negro/Black” (*agvnahge*; see Cowen 1995; Feeling 1991; Robinson 1988; Smith 1974-5; Chiltoskey 1972; and Alexander 1971).

As Chafe and Kilpatrick (1963) noted, whatever tendency a writer may have to make the spelling conform to the language is overridden by a generalizing tendency that extends the prevailing orthographic pattern beyond its arbitrary limits. This urge to generalize is stronger than the urge to make one pattern coincide with another. It is rather ironic, or perhaps balancing, that a language that is so specific from a semantic and grammatical perspective would adopt a writing system so generalizing. However, in English both categories, the writing system and the semantic packing of grammar, are generalizing compared to Cherokee.

0.1.1.5 Dialect and Social Markers. Acknowledging the historic diversity of the Cherokee language, it is generally accepted that there were at least three Cherokee dialects prior to the Sequoyan syllabary. Some hint of a perceived hierarchy of language varieties where more status is given to Sequoyah’s dialect preserved in his syllabary equivalents. If so, this perception only holds for the most formal written literature of the Cherokee Nation, newspaper and religious print












medium. Other written material and informal discourse are more frequently situated in local settings, so that the readers encounter that local dialect.

Subtle markers of distinction in representation (spelling) have been suggested along lines of Cherokee social divisions, gender divisions, regional divisions and as markers of status aspiration. Below are proposed regional and social markers.

| WALKER, GILLESPIE, LONG AND MOONEY ON LANGUAGE USE |   |
|--|---|
| Phonemes:  | Region:   |
| vowels slightly lower                              | Oklahoma (higher in N.C.)   |
| /h/ instead of /ʔ/                                 | Oklahoma-Missouri border  |
| /ʔ/ instead of /h/                                 | Porum, Muskogee County  |
| /ā / instead of /v̄/                               | Adaire County, south of Stillwell   |
| /tʌ/ instead of /hʌ, kʌ/                           | Flint District, OK or Graham County, N.C.   |
| /ts/ instead of /c, j, dz/                         | Qualla Eastern dialect  |
| /r/ instead of /l/                                 | <i>Elati</i> , the Lower dialect  |
| /ʒ/ instead of /s/                                 | <i>Kitu<sup>h</sup>wa</i> , the Middle dialect  |
| Syllabary Symbols:                                 | Region:   |
| * / instead of <b>Z</b> / <sup>h</sup> no/         | Delaware County   |
| :l: instead of <b>T</b> /gwa/                      | Delaware County   |
| Syllabary Symbols:                                 | Social Affinity:  |
| N for α  | formula (medicine book) language use  |
| /ss/ or redundant s α                              | Nighthawk affinity: formula language:<br>pre-removal documents; Sequoyah's use<br>identified with the earliest days of the syllabary. |
| /s/ stream-lined s-syllables                       | Christian and Bible training, missionary publications:<br>typeset deleted use of redundant s  |

FIGURE 0.2 Hypothesis of Cherokee Use Features

Willard Walker (1969:154) suggests the following trends: 1) the use of the phonetic symbol /h/ instead of /ʔ/ in documents from the vicinity of the Oklahoma-Missouri border; 2) the use of /ʔ/ instead of /h/ in documents from the vicinity of Porum, Muskogee County; 3) the use of the orthographic symbol \* / instead of **Z** for /<sup>h</sup>no/ in Delaware County; 4) the use of the orthographic symbol :l: instead of **T** for /gwa/ in Delaware County; 5) the use of the phone [ā] instead of [v̄] south of

Stillwell in Adaire County; 6) the uses of the “redundant s” or the orthographic symbol  before another syllable beginning with s ( sa,  se,  si,  so,  su,  sv) as used by Sequoyah in his own signature (, s-si-quo-ya), in pre-removal documents from the earliest days of the syllabary, and in formulas. Walker also finds that it marked Nighthawk affinity or those making an effort to retain the pre-press Sequoyan. 7) Finally, Walker found that use of the “stream-lined s-syllables” marked those who were most often Christian, Bible or missionary trained having read missionary publications that did not use the redundant s, due to the change in typesetting at the press (see Figure 0.2). Gillespie (n.d.,R16) claims that the /t/ cluster is more often used in the Western Cherokee dialect of the Flint District in Oklahoma and Graham County in North Carolina. Thomas (n.d.:201) tags the Flint district as conservative. Gillespie claims that /ts/ is more often used by the Eastern dialect of Qualla than /c,j,dz/.

These are interesting suggestions by Walker, Gillespie and Mooney. An acquaintance, a Cherokee gentleman born shortly after the turn of the century, insisted upon the use of the “redundant s.” He was an Oklahoma Cherokee medicine man, related to an original typesetter of the Cherokee Phoenix, and nephew of a Nighthawk noted by historians. His example would agree with Walker’s suggestions concerning use of the “redundant s” (see 6 above). Walker (1969:154) believes that the persistence of these alternative “Christian and pagan spelling” conventions, along with those associated with regional dialects testify to

the continuity of local tradition and to a resistance to assimilation and diffusion that have been characteristic of Cherokee communities.

0.1.2.0 DAKOTA Orthography, Language Representation. There have been a number of attempts to represent the *Dakota* language. The first attempts were in small glosses compiled by Jesuits, early explorers, observers, traders, travelers, and missionaries (Hennepin 1680, Carver 1778, Le Seuer, n.d., Stevens 1825, Atwater 1831, Gallatin 1836, and Catlin 1841). All employed the roman characters in an orthography using some form of a folk phonetic transcription based on their own native language.<sup>8</sup> Early language-specific representations of the *Dakota* language are: Jedidiah D. Stevens (1836) who wrote a *Dakota* spelling book; Gideon H Pond (1839) and Samuel W. Pond (1839, 1842, 1844, etc.) who collaborated and worked independently on the language; Joseph Renville (1839, 1837, 1842); and Riggs (1839, 1842, 1843, etc.).<sup>9</sup> Renville aided the above-mentioned missionaries in the translation of their English Bible into *Dakota*. In this translating process, the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions (ABCFM) missionaries devised what became known as the Riggs orthography, a system that resembled the 1883 International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) values, with

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<sup>8</sup>The Le Sueur journal (being translated by Gary Anderson, et. al.) contains a vocabulary; William Dunbar (1801: 6:1-3) even wrote on sign language used by the Dakota and trans-Mississippi Indians; Atwater, 1831 written in 1829 has a grammar and vocabulary; also see Catlin, 1841; Gallatin, 1836:2:251-252.

<sup>9</sup>Stevens 1836 is 22 pages. [Newberry Library]; Renville and Williamson, 1837 contains 23 pages; Watts 1837 contains 23 pages; Renville 1839 is 72 pages; G. H. and S. W. Pond 1839a contains 40 pages; G. H. Pond and S. R. Riggs 1839b contains 50 pages; S. W. Pond 1842 [The Second Book] contains 54 pages; Marpicokawin 1942 is 12 pages [Newberry Library].

minor exceptions. The Smithsonian Institution published Riggs' grammar in 1852, and with this grammar, the missionaries began teaching the *Dakota* to read and write their native language. Riggs' dictionaries, remain of great value to linguists today despite certain shortcomings, like the failure to distinguish between aspirated and unaspirated consonants. The James Owen Dorsey (1889) edition of the Riggs' dictionary later compared *Dakota* with several other Siouan languages and reflects the Ponds, Renville, Williamson, and Riggs' information with some comparison to the *Lakota* dialect.

For decades the only variation in the representation of the *Dakota* language concerned the following: the lack and then later the representation of aspiration ( $p^h$ ,  $k^h$ ,  $c^h$ ,  $s^h$ ,  $t^h$ ); the lack and then later the manner of representation of glottalized stop and fricatives ( $t/\text{t}^{\text{h}}$ ;  $k/\text{k}^{\text{h}}$ ;  $g/\text{g}^{\text{h}}$ ;  $ng/\eta/n$ ;  $\text{ř}/\text{R}/r$ ;  $ts/\text{č}$ ,  $\text{č}/x$ ;  $x/\text{š}/\text{ś}$ ;  $\text{ž}/j$ ); and finally in handscript, all the script variants of (c, g, p, t) and the lack of distinguishing /n/ from /ŋ/. The handscripted set of roman letters (g, j, p, q, z) were also often indistinguishable in a writer's hand. Another set of roman characters (m, w, n, u)

| RIGGS' ORTHOGRAPHY |                               | DAKOTA SCRIPT |                               |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|-------------------------------|
| ř                  | most often written            | r / R         |                               |
| k                  | often written                 | q             |                               |
| s                  | sometimes written             | x             | otherwise no distinction      |
| ž                  | sometimes written             | j             | otherwise no distinction      |
| no č - c - ċ       | distinction                   | c             | thus contextualized knowledge |
| no g - ġ           | distinction                   | g             | thus contextualized knowledge |
| no n - ŋ           | distinction                   | n             | thus contextualized knowledge |
| no p - p̣          | distinction                   | p             | thus contextualized knowledge |
| no t - ṭ          | distinction                   | t             | thus contextualized knowledge |
| g, q, p, z, j      | often look alike handwritten, |               | thus contextualized knowledge |
| m, w, n, u         | often look alike handwritten, |               | thus contextualized knowledge |

FIGURE 0.3 Riggs' Orthography Compared with *Dakota* Script

were difficult to distinguish when handwritten due to the similar up and down strokes of the characters, just as the problem arises with the penmanship of English writers (see Figure 0.3). Handscripted material most often lacked any diacritics, which remained as subsumed linguistic knowledge and context specific to the *Dakota* language users. As with English written materials, penmanship presented problems for reading clarity that typeset and printed materials alleviated.

#### 0.1.3.0 Comparative Orthography

The *Dakota* orthography uses roman characters, which were imbued with phonetic values close to the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The *Dakota* orthography is relatively clear compared to Cherokee or English about the import of a dialect feature, contraction, or history into use of the written language.

*Dakota* letters and documents in the initial years of *Dakota* native writing used a single consistent orthography, which does not appear to change until after Boas' transcription system gains use (as with Ella Deloria), and therefore is relatively consistent with the Riggs and Dorsey orthography used in Santee, Nebraska *Dakota* language publications. The *Iapi Oaye* press made type set changes on a minor scale, as had the *Cherokee Advocate*. With the Cherokee press the redundant s was dropped. In the *Iapi Oaye* certain symbols were preferred by the editors initially, and then toward the turn of the century the newspaper began to reflect a gradual change toward *Lakota*.

The Cherokee language is a different case. Use of roman character confused the value of phonetic representations of a roman character transcriptions system and



of the syllabary even more than any entirely roman character based orthography--all used irregularly and as representative. Confusion occurred primarily because of the success of early documentation in English where roman characters established assigned values contrary to the IPA. Moreover, early transcription systems were encouraged for use as transliteration and as the orthography, all being roman character based systems. For any standardization of phonetic transcription systems to be worthwhile they must be more than merely transliteration. However, with *Dakota* in particular, transliteration of the phonetic value in the broadest sense and vernacular writing was regular enough in spelling in the majority of written material as not to change the semantic value or overall meaning in context. *Dakota* spelling was more regular in the letters read than between the same number of authors and letters in Cherokee or English. Phonetic value in the orthography of *Dakota* is closer to a linguist's aim of consistency than spelling is for Cherokee.

The Cherokee language has a longer history of native written representation because of an earlier contact situation and more Cherokee adopting Euroamerican life ways early on. However, the *Dakota* language and the representation of its dialectal variants has a longer and more continuous analytic history (since 1852). The Riggs Orthography was the initial representational system for the *Dakota* dialect, made popular by the *Iapi Oaye* and Riggs' early grammar and dictionary. Explicit representation of the *Lakota* dialect began in the 1890s and 1900s (also reflected in the *Iapi Oaye*), followed immediately by representation of the *Nakota* dialect, reflecting the penetration of white society from East to West. Due to this

longer history of explicit representation of dialect in a more transparent orthography, *Dakota* dialects have long been of analytical interest, and are relatively

| Cherokee Dialectal |    |        |         | Dakota Dialectal            |    |    |                  |
|--------------------|----|--------|---------|-----------------------------|----|----|------------------|
| Voiceless          |    | Voiced |         | <i>Dakota-Lakota-Nakota</i> |    |    |                  |
| t                  |    | d      |         | p                           | p  | b  |                  |
| ts                 | č  | dz     | ǰ       | t                           | t  | d  |                  |
|                    |    | k      | g       | č                           | č  | ǰ  |                  |
|                    |    |        |         | k                           | k  | g  |                  |
|                    |    |        |         |                             |    | b  | w m              |
|                    |    |        |         |                             |    | d  | l n              |
|                    |    | kw     | gw qu w | h                           | g  | k  | before l,n,m,w,y |
| hl                 | tl | kl     | gl      | md                          | bl | mn |                  |
|                    | tl | dl     |         | hd                          | gl | kn |                  |

FIGURE 0.4 Comparative Dialectal Features

well identified in far greater detail than they are in Cherokee (see Figure 0.4). In Cherokee, there remain estimates on the number of regional and social dialects and intuitions on the parameters of dialectal boundaries, clouding not just issues of variation but the projected use of the language. The Cherokee language has comparatively more unanalyzed processes that therefore appear more complex. Although *Dakota*'s regional dialects have been addressed in some detail (Dorsey, Boas and Deloria 1939; Rankin 1981; Nichols 1981; Shaw 1981; Coberly 1981), social dialects are relatively unstudied in *Dakota*. However, Lawrence Foley (1980) initiated a study on the social aspects of the Cherokee language, dated by the Labov model and requires refining.

The history of American government policy along with the mission movement and Cherokee and *Dakota* language education lent itself to the "mentalist" notion of the ability of agents or missionaries to "imprint" culture through language. This is a notion dispelled (along with the associated set of traits attributed to "missionary Indians") with each translation of another letter from the

missionary period. This is particularly clear in letters from the *Dakota*. “Imprinting” culture was the hope of the government officials and missionaries. With the *Dakota*, to this day traces of this notion remain associated with those who became literate and tagged as “missionary Indians.” To evaluate evidence of pedagogic influence, the material taught was compared with actual *Dakota* use.

0.3.2 Capitalization and Punctuation of Text. Early Sequoyan Cherokee and *Dakota* are handscripted without the later evident prescriptive English overlay of punctuation, capitalization and indentation of paragraphs. Neither Cherokee nor *Dakota* letters show predictable paragraph indentation or markers within the body of an informal letter in these early years of native language writings. The first word of the first *Dakota* sentence is often capitalized, as are proper names. However, that is generally the extent of the *Dakota* use of capitalization. The personal informal letters in both languages have no English-like punctuation markers. The sporadic use of the *Dakota* enclitics /*do*/ (masculine; see *Kewanke* n.d., 1864 lines 56, 57) or /*ye*/ (feminine; see *Winyan* 1864) may mark the completion of a sentence. In these early years, at least one Cherokee wrote in syllable units rather than word-like groupings (*Unole* to Superintendent Butler, Cherokee Agent, May 15, 1845, WHC). Similarly, at least four *Dakota* individuals wrote letters in units of morphemes rather than word-like morpheme groups,<sup>10</sup> but for both languages the majority wrote in word-like groupings. These variations that occur in various combinations, do not

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<sup>10</sup>*Ecetukiye, Cetaghdeya, Tapetatanka, Mazakutemani*, writing in the 1860s, each tended to segment morpheme units. The first two left wider breaks between words, while the last two blurred word boundaries (MHS).

evidence inflexible adherence to the formal prescriptive schooled rules of writerly style, but rather indicate a flexibility of an acquired style. This does not mean that written Cherokee or *Dakota* discourse was without paragraph and sentence markers, or without consistent presentation order; quite the contrary.

Olbrechts (R16) claimed that syllabary text revealed sentence structure patterns and separated spoken utterances into words by visible junctures. William W. Long indicates the former use of the symbol (~) in the early 1800s syllabary to signal the beginning of a paragraph. This symbol is found in Ezekiel Proctor's letter to Chief Thompson, August 25, 1877 (F13, CNP, WHC) analyzed in the following chapter. Chafe and Kilpatrick (1963) also claim that the eighty-sixth character (J), used to indicate the beginning of a new thought as English writers use a capital case letter, was not introduced by Sequoyah. This symbol is easily confused with the handscripted *S* (*du*) or *Ů* (*le*) and is frequently found in early syllabary writings. The symbol Long and Chafe and Kilpatrick identify may even be the same symbol whether lateral (~) or vertical (J) if taking into account the variable of penmanship.

In contrast to English, which insists on the capitalization of the first word of each new sentence, the beginning of paragraphs, and proper nouns, all Sequoyan syllabary characters are of equal case value. Size of character (upper/lower case) is an irrelevant signal in Cherokee. Proper names were at one time signaled with the morpheme suffix **lh** (*-sini*; see next chapter, *Sitting Down Blue to Treasurer*, June 2, 1887, CNP, WHC) in contrast to capitalization in English, and place names

suffixed locative morpheme **T**(-?i) or syllabary variants **ᑭ** (-yi; Ezekiel Proctor, August 25, 1877 ) or **ᑭ** (-hi).

Early written *Dakota* is found with and without the use of the size of orthography, or capitalization signaling the beginning of sentences, paragraphs, or proper nouns. *Dakota* enclitic morphemes and word order signal punctuation and segmentation of sentences and paragraphs. In historical handscripted Sequoyan and *Dakota*, the English-trained eye does not perceive the punctuation markers (period, exclamation mark, question mark, etc.). In Cherokee, the statements are the unmarked forms or those sentences without modal suffixes (see Sitting Down Blue to Rabbit Johnice, February 6, 1886 in next chapter) while questions, exclamatory statements, etc. are marked by modal suffixes. The later overlay of English punctuation in both printed and written languages is in fact redundant as there are morphemic suffixes that signal the same function as English punctuation markers. However, the newspaper-printed letters do exhibit this overlay of punctuation and capitalization, whether edited or not, in both early type set Cherokee and *Dakota* letters in the newspaper.

## APPENDIX II

### GLOSSARY OF TERMS

**addressee**

The person or persons to whom a letter or the like is addressed or whose attention a statement is aimed at.

**acculturation**

The idea that a group needs to acquire the likeness of another group, often the major group. This often presupposes replacement of one set of values, traits, etc. with that of the major group.

**affix**

The term used to refer to prefixes, suffixes, infixes and circumfixes or any bound morpheme that affixes to the lexical content morpheme or root of a word.

**agent**

A grammatical category associate with pronouns used to mark the agent of transitive or active verbs, the subject of inherent states or inalienable possession. The active as opposed to passive participant in a sentence or event.

**agreement**

The term refers to the grammatical agreement where morphemes of words correspond with each other as to number, person, subject, and object.

**allegoric**

The symbolic ability to convey a deeper underlying meaning by triggering a known story, character, and/or event.

**allophones**

The several variants of speech sounds, which constitute a phoneme.

**ancestral language**

The language spoken by the ancestor of a speaker or ancestors of a group.

**Amerindian**

The term used to refer to Native American or Indians of the continental United States.

**animator**

The one acting for another individual or a spokesperson for another.

**aspect**

The morphemes that characterize the action of the verb, the status of action (not its time relationship), and refer to the inception, duration, or completion of an event characterizing the process of the verb.

**assimilation policy**

The ideal of absorbing a group into the greater majority. The premise holds that by proximity the unlike groups will become more alike, and that they may remain unique but will come to hold something in common.

**author**

The generator of a message. An author/agent/strategist.

**band**

Term used to refer to a community of *Dakota* who live together in an identified social or local group.

**bilingual**

A person who is able to produce grammatical sentences in more than one language. (Lehiste 1988:93)

**bound morpheme**

A dependent morpheme or affix morpheme that cannot occur unattached or without another morpheme to acquire meaning (a prefix, suffix, circumfix, infix, in addition to a root).

**causative**

An affix used to indicate that the pronominal agent caused the activity to take place or used an instrument by which the activity took place. Also called an instrumental.

**Cherokee**

The language or a group of speakers identifying themselves as being Cherokee.

**circumfix**

A split bound morpheme that occurs simultaneously before and after other morphemes to convey its meaning or function.

**civilization policy**

The political goal of replacing Native American traditional ways of living, livelihood, and dressing to appear more Euroamerican in character and appearance.

**class dialect**

A dialect identified with a certain socio-economic class within a general population.

**code**

Any system of language use or symbols following a set of rules so that they can be understood and used.

**code switching**

Switching from one language to another in the course of a conversation. (Lehiste 1988:93)

**communicative competence**

Knowledge of the appropriate style or language to use in a given situation. (Lehiste 1988:93)

**consonant cluster**

Two or more consonants that occur together phonetically without a vowel interceding.

**context**

Refers either to the parts directly before and after a word, a sentence, etc. that influence its meaning; the immediate environment; the attendant circumstances or conditions; or the background.

**contraction**

The shortening of a word by combining two or more sounds or by dropping a segment of the sound sequence of the word.

**contrastive analysis**

Comparison of the structures (of language A and language B) for the purpose of predicting errors made by learners (of language B) and taking account of the anticipated errors. (Lehiste 1988:93)

**convention**

A custom approved by conforming to accepted artificial standards, acts, norms, customs.

**compound bilingual**

A bilingual who has acquired his two languages in the same settings and uses them interchangeably in the same setting. (Lehiste 1988:93)

**coordinate bilingual**

A bilingual who has learned his two languages in separate settings. (Lehiste 1988:93)



**Creole**

A language claimed to have descended from a pidgin, having become the native language (first language) of the children of a group of pidgin speakers. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**culture**

Symbolic behavior, patterned organizations of, perceptions of, and beliefs about the world in symbolic terms. Thus, the locus of cultural behavior can be a single individual, however, it is more typically manifested in or shared by groups of individuals. (Sherzer 1987:295<sup>1</sup>)

**deletion**

The leaving out or omitting of a sound, morpheme, or portion in a word.

**descriptive**

That which describes what is written, heard, or observed in contrast to making statements about an ideal concept or prescribed form.

**diachronic**

Through the course of time or treating a subject or event from a historical perspective.

**dialect**

Speech patterns of individuals distributed according to locale, ethnicity, or social class of speaker, showing sufficient differences from the literary or standard form, yet not sufficiently different from other dialects to be considered a distinct or different language.

**diglossia**

A situation in which a more prestigious form of a language is used in "High" functions and a relatively less prestigious, colloquial form is used in "Low" functions. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**diminutive**

An affix that indicates that an object is small or smaller than would normally be expected, or is less intense than usual.

**discourse**

Discourse includes and relates both textual patterning (including such properties as coherence and disjunction) and a situating of language in natural contexts of use (Sherzer 1987).

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<sup>1</sup>Joel Sherzer, 1987. "A Discourse-Centered Approach to Language and Culture." American Anthropologist, Vol. 89, pp. 295-309.

**discourse markers**

Sequentially dependent elements that bracket units of discourse. They can function to manage information, orient addressee, relinquish attention, emphasize points, provide direction, inform on result or cause, refer to time, support arguments, and invite interaction or negotiation (Schiffrin 1987).

**distributive**

An affix that indicates that the entity is located in more than one place in space or time, or covers a wide space or time period.

**dual**

The number morpheme involving two individuals (first and second person) or two objects.

**duplicative**

An affix to indicate that the action of a verb results in the creation of two parts, that the action involves a change in state, or that there are two third person subjects, objects or possessors.

**enclitics**

A morpheme, word, or series of morphemes or words in *Dakota* that conclude a sentence.

**essayist prose**

The prescriptive prestige style of writing (SED) standard English for publication, or for formal English distribution.

**euphemisms**

Words or phrases that replace the expressions to be avoided.

**exclusive**

The involvement of two parties without another party.

**Federal rights**

The political idea that the United States government takes precedent in jurisdiction over state, local, or individual rights.

**figure**

Who, what, or that being portrayed through discourse in a text or talk.

**footing**

Footing concerns the alignments we take up and that others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance (Goffman 1981).

**foreign accent**

Carry-over of the pronunciation of sounds in language A into the pronunciation of sounds in language B. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**frame**

Frames are the organizational and interactional principles by which situations are defined and sustained as experiences (Goffman 1974).

**free morpheme**

The morpheme not dependent on other morphemes to constitute words or meaning.

**functional**

Functional analysis is employed on text to determine the perceived situational roles participants are playing.

**genre**

A kind, sort or style of discourse, literature, or written material.

**glide**

A transitional sound produced when the vocal organs shift from the articulation of one sound to the articulation of another sound.

**glottal stop**

The sound formed by closing the glottis and suddenly releasing the air with an explosive effect, symbolized by [ʔ].

**grammatical interference**

Use of features from the grammar of language A in the production of language B. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**grapheme**

A significant unit of visual shape. Therefore, a roman character, a phonetic symbol, or a syllabary symbol are examples of graphemes in this dissertation.

**holographs**

The written characters produced by an individual author, in his own hand or penmanship.

**hypercorrection**

Over application of a rule in an inappropriate fashion due to mistaken belief in its correctness; over generalization of a rule. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**hypotactic structure.**

A subordinative arrangement indicating relationship between the parts of structure (as clauses); a dependent construction. (Grimes 1972) via attribution, specific statement, explanation, evidence, analogy, manner, equivalence, setting, and identification.

**idiolect**

A variety of community language use specific to an individual.

**impressionistic transcription**

A transcription based on the perception of the hearer.

**inalienable**

An object that is dependent upon or cannot be separated from the possessor, or which normally is not given away or sold.

**inclusive**

That which involves two parties with another party.

**inflect**

That which adjusts or adds meaning to the root, the lexically loaded portion of a word.

**inflectional language**

A language that inflects grammatical relations of person, number, possession, tense, mood, time and space relations, etc. morphologically or syntactically, inflecting additional information to the lexical meaning of the root.

**interactional analysis**

Interactional analysis is used to determine rhetorical presentation devices used to portray oneself and others (Goffman 1976; Schiffrin 1981, Gumperz 1982);

**interference**

Deviations from the norms of either language that occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**instrumental**

An affix to indicate either that it names an instrument capable of accomplishing the activity or producing the state referred to by the verb.

**IPA**

The International Phonetic Alphabet

**lateral**

In phonetical terminology, a consonant pronounced with complete closure in the front of the oral cavity but with incomplete closure at the sides, to permit there the escape of air.

**level**

In the study of language, a level is the abstracted focus of study, for sound, meaning, organization, representation, etc. called prosody, phonology, phonetics, morphology, semantics, syntax, rhetoric, discourse, text, narrative, etc.

**lexicon**

A dictionary of certain languages emphasizing the meaning of words.

**lexical interference**

Changes in the lexicon of language B due to contact with the lexicon of language A. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**lexical meaning**

The semantic and/or morphologic definition or description of a word or morpheme.

**lingua franca**

Any spontaneously originated or artificially formed language or vernacular combining the vocabularies and elements of two or more languages. [contact vernacular] Originally, the name of the contact vernacular spoken in the ports of the Mediterranean, based on Italian, with admixtures from Arabic, Greek, and other languages. (Pei & Gaynor 1954)

**literacy**

A pattern of discourse involving reading, writing, or communicating through a socialized medium, most often an orthography.

**literacy event**

Any occasion "in which a piece of writing is integral to the nature of participants' interactions and their interpretive processes" (Heath 1982). The definition was rephrased to include "any activity which involves one or more of the following: reading, writing, manipulation of written material or books with the intent to use them for some purpose, or any observed behavior or discussion that makes reference to reading, writing, or other activity in the material culture of literacy (Wagner, Messick, and Spratt 1986).

**loanshift**

A change in the meaning of a morpheme in language A on the model of language B. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**loan translation**

A type of lexical interference consisting of translation of morphemes of language A into language B. Also called a “calque.”(Lehiste 1988:94)

**locative**

An affix that indicates a place or “in the place of... .”

**overdifferentiation**

Imposition of phonemic distinctions from the primary language system on the sounds of the secondary system. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**Macro-Siouan language phylum**

A linguistic classification historically based on cultural, geographic and historical-linguistic similarities and differences.

**markedness**

The relationship of holding the presence and absence of a relevant feature together in correlation. The norm or usual is termed “unmarked” and the less usual is “marked.”

**markers**

The linguistic signals that mark the grammatical categories. There are corollaries at other levels of analysis.

**metathesis**

The transposition of the order of sounds within a word or between two words (Cherokee). The change of the word order in a sentence.

**mode**

The mood, manner or form in which an action or state of the verb is performed or exists.

**modal**

Those morphemes that characterize functional relationships or the psychological atmosphere of the sentence.

**monolingual**

An individual who is able to produce grammatical sentences in one language.

**morpheme**

The minimal linguistic unit of meaning or grammatical function. Its phonemic form and its meaning must be constant as an arbitrary union of sound and meaning that cannot be further analyzed. There are bound and free morphemes.

**morphology**

The study of the internal structure of words and rules by which words are formed.

**narrative**

A form of discourse that involves the recounting of a series of events.

**nasal**

In phonetical terminology, a sound produced with the uvula lowered, allowing the air to escape through the nose, so that the nasal cavity acts as a resonator.

**nominalizer**

An affix that makes a verb base form into a noun, in Cherokee inflecting the adjusted meaning of “one who” verbs and in Dakota changing the word from an action to an act.

**number**

The morphological designation of inflecting singular, plural, or dual number.

**oligarchy**

A form of government where the power to govern is in the hand of a few individuals.

**orthography**

The writing system of symbols used to represent the language for reading and spelling, but does not always represent the phonology of the language.

**outline**

Grimes (1972) basic organization of discourse in terms of coordination and subordination, using dependency.

**overlay**

Grimes (1972) use of accretion, growth by additions

**Overhill**

A dialect of Cherokee in the Overhill region.

**paradigmatic relations**

Linguistic items of the author’s choice as in description or characterization (Hymes 1974).

**paratactic structure**

A co-ordinative arrangement without indicating relationship between the parts of structure (as clauses) (Grimes 1972) via temporal sequence, alternative conjunctions, or response/reply.

**passive competence**

As a bilingual of a minority language, a speaker would know many words and expressions but could not construct or manipulate sentences in their minority language. In addition, they may not be transmitting the minority language to their offspring, and their children are only exposed to the minority language in the presence of the grandparents or older generations at family gatherings and traditional gatherings.

**patient**

Affix to indicate that the object is acted upon by the agent or is the subject of a resultant state or inalienable noun possession in Cherokee.

**person**

The distinction between the speaker, the listener and the subject of an utterance or the person pronouns of a language.

**philologist**

One who studies the science of language, words and linguistic laws (also literature in the 19<sup>th</sup> century).

**phoneme**

A single speech-sound or a group of similar or related speech-sounds that function analogously in a given language and are usually represented by the same letter symbol. The distinct sounds that differentiate words, often represented linguistically in //.

**phonetic inventory**

Those symbols used to represent the sounds in a specific language.

**phonetic value**

The symbol that gives a clue to the pronunciation of the spoken word based on sound or sounds, call phones and represented by phonemes.

**phonic interference**

Perception and reproduction of sounds of a bilingual's secondary language in terms of his primary language. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**phonetic transcription/writing**

A method of writing using signs representing individual sounds or syllables.

**phonology**

The study of the changes, transformations, modifications, etc. of speech-sounds during the history and development of a language, considering the structure of speech forms, accepting it as a unity without considering its acoustic nature.



**phonotactic interference**

Carry over of distributional restrictions of language A into language B. (Lehiste 1988:94)

**pidgin**

A contact vernacular, a spoken language used for communication between speakers who have no other language in common. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**principal**

The party an author intends a message to reach; for example the author may or may not include the addressee in that intent. Or, the overriding concern, role, subject or individual of a message, narrative, event or action.

**polysynthetic languages**

Those languages that have morphemes with qualities of lexical information that are linked together to form words.

**pre-pronoun**

The morpheme position before a pronoun. Cherokee has a number of morphemes that occur in that position.

**presentation device**

The means by which the author projects the self, others and the text.

**prescribed**

That which is idealized and taught as a prestige or “correct” form.

**prescriptive grammar**

The presentation of grammar as a set of rules that must be obeyed by those who wish to be considered as employing the *standard* language. Also called normative grammar.

**prestige dialect**

The dialect used to obtain status oriented prestige. The dialect socially advantages to learn, and use socially, whether or not it is one’s own dialect, the standard dialect, or a stigmatized dialect. The choice of this dialect has the value of a speech variety for social advancement in a desired realm.

**primary language**

The language that is learned first at the youngest age spoken.

**progressive**

Affix that indicates that the activity referred to is ongoing at the reference point of the discourse.

**proxemics**

The study of interpersonal space in communicative situations.

**public voice**

The projection of self as speaking for others or for a group, not just oneself.

**reader's dialect**

A linguistic variety defined by representation of the written form.

**Received Pronunciation (RP)**

The general prestige dialect of the last century in Great Britain.

**reciprocal**

An affix to indicate that the agent and patient of the verb are one and the same, or with certain verbs indicates certain combinations of pronouns.

**reduplication**

The complete or partial repetition of an element or elements of a word (often a morpheme) as a device to inflect emphasis, intensity, repetition, distribution or plurality.

**reflexive pronoun**

A pronoun indicating that the self/selves are the agents of the verb.

**regional dialect**

Linguistic patterns that are specific historically to a geographic region.

**register**

Speech patterns of a "normatively regulated action" (Habermas) or a situational dialect (Ferrara 1991) which are distributed according to the speech situations in which people occupy particular roles. Therefore, they are often linked to occupation, profession or topics. Registers are usually characterized by vocabulary differences. (See Gumperz and Hymes 1972; Trudgill 1983; Ferguson 1982).

**reinterpretation of distinctions**

The process of distinguishing phonemes of the secondary system by features that are distinctive in the bilingual's primary system but merely concomitant or redundant in the secondary system. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**relexification**

Very rapid replacement of the vocabulary of a language by lexical items taken from another language. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**religious task literacy**

A task oriented literacy with the goal of uncritical adoption of the religious in put of the text. Scribner and Cole's 1981 study used Qur'anic type literacy as an example of this specific literacy.

**replacement**

The partial or total replacement of one value with another, whether language, religion, alliance, or social-cultural traits.

**rhetorical presentation**

Rhetoric focuses on the strategic function of discourse in persuasion, placed in specific and social and cultural contexts (Sherzer and Woodbury 1987).

**role**

A social function enacted, as fulfilling a set of preconceived acts.

**roman alphabet/character**

Roman script characters/letters used in the orthography of English, of Dakota, and adapted by the IPA.

**root**

The non-affix and lexical content morpheme of a word. It may be either a bound or free morpheme. It is the meaning extending unit of which vocabularies are comprised, in addition to the affixes that inflect upon the root meaning.

**sacred formulas**

A term gleamed from James Mooney's 1981 publication referring to its content of "shaman's" prescriptions, prayers, and sacred songs collected from the written records of Swimmer and other Cherokee medicine men.

**script**

Hand written characters, or various penmanships of handwritten materials.

**Sequoyan**

The Syllabary as designed and evolved from Sequoyah or George Guess. This text uses Syllabary, Sequoyan, Cherokee Syllabary, and Sequoyan Syllabary without distinction.

**semantic value**

The meaning conveyed by the word, morpheme, linguistic symbol, expression, or phrase.

**semivowel**

An intermediate sound between a vowel and a consonant, or partaking of the nature of both (w and y in English).

**Sioux**

An outsider term used to refer to the Dakota people, evolving from the French term referring to "snake."

**social indices**

Degrees of internal social differentiation or repertoire, degrees of participation or exclusion, etc., which bear some relationship to a system of ideas about social relationships of the individual and the group.

**social register**

Social registers are situational dialects of speech situations in which people occupy particular roles. Therefore, they are often linked to occupation, profession or topics. Registers are usually characterized by vocabulary differences.

**society**

The organization of individuals into groups of various kinds, groups that share rules for the production and interpretation of cultural behavior and typically overlap and intersect in various ways. (Sherzer 1987:296)

**sociolect**

A social dialect specific to a social situation, rather than a geographic region.

**sound substitution**

Replacement of a sound in language B by a sound in language A. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**Standard American English (SAE)**

The prescribed dialect in American English.

**standard language**

That dialect of a language that has gained literary and cultural supremacy over the other dialects and is accepted by the speakers of the other dialects as the most proper form of that language. (Pei & Gaynor 1954)

**state's rights**

The political idea that a state has jurisdiction or priority over the Federal government in particular issues, without excluding itself from the Federation.

**strategist**

A social role that an individual may act out or plan. (Goffman)

**structure**

Structure concerns the organization of a particular texts into units of various kinds.

**structuring**

Structuring is a process, the way in which narrators and other performers of discourse draw on the various resources available to them within their linguistic social and cultural tradition and create their own personal text (Sherzer and Woodbury)

**style**

A linguistic variety effected by the participants, the situation, the physical setting or the occasion in which the activity is taking place (formal, informal, intimate, familiar, polite, deferential, plain, authoritative.)

**substratum**

Primary language of a group of speakers who have shifted from speaking their primary language to speaking another, adopted language. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**superstratum**

Former language of a group of speakers who have been linguistically absorbed into a population that continues to speak its primary language. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**syllabary**

A writing system based on “one symbol for one syllable” as an orthography for reading and writing.

**syntactic interference**

Carry-over of syntactic patterns from language A into language B, or interpretation of patterns of language B, in terms of the patterns of language A. (Lehiste 1988:95).

**syntagmatic relations**

Linguistic items that occur in “chain” and generally handle the co-occurrence of items over larger stretches; to identify a style of speech in terms of the rules of co-occurrence among them; generally an alternation to cope with the choice of styles. (Ervin-Tripp 1972; Hymes 1974)

**transcription**

The text comprised of phonetic representations, descriptive of sounds heard and perceived in a language. Transcription may be narrow and specific to sound detail or broad and general to the discrete sound unit.

**transfer of rules**

Application of a rule characteristic of language A in the production of utterances in language B. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**transliteration**

The representation of a sound or word in the conventional symbols of another language or system of writing. English speakers often use the roman orthography, English sound equivalents, or the IPA to represent other languages.

**translation**

The attempt at representing an equivalency of meaning between two languages. There are various degrees of narrow to broad translations.

**underdifferentiation**

Failure to distinguish two sounds in the secondary system because their phonetic counterparts are not distinguished in the primary system. (Lehiste 1988:95)

**vernacular**

The current spoken daily language of a people or of a geographical area, as distinguished from the literary language prescriptively used primarily in schools and in literature. (Pei & Gaynor 1954)

**vernacular literacy**

A written form that reflects the current daily language used by a community of speakers, in contrast to an imposed, a prescriptively taught form or task oriented literacy.

**voice**

Mikhail Bakhtin's term for the "speaking consciousness"; the person acting in a particular time and place to known or unknown others. Voice and its utterance always express a point of view, always enact particular values. They are social in still a third meaning--taking account of the voices of being addressed whether in speech or in writing. For example: a "public voice" or an "individual voice"

**voiced**

In phonetical terminology, said of a consonant pronounced with a vibration of the vocal cords.

**voiceless**

In phonetical terminology, said of a consonant pronounced without any vibration of the vocal cords.

**wampum**

Beads used as money and ornaments, sometimes made into belts used decoratively, as a medium of exchange and on occasion as a mnemonic device, associated with occasions of tribal importance and associated with them.

**Sources:**

Lehiste, Ilse, 1988. "Glossary," Lectures on Language Contact. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Pei, Mario and Frank Gaynor, 1954. Dictionary of Linguistics. New York: Philosophical Library.