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UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

FROM ONE TO MANY, FROM MANY TO ONE: SPEECH COMMUNITIES IN THE MUSKOGEE STOMPDANCE POPULATION

A Dissertation

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

By

PAMELA JOAN INNES
Norman, Oklahoma
1997

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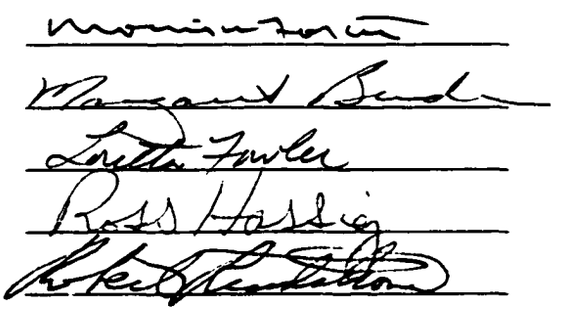
FROM ONE TO MANY, FROM MANY TO ONE: SPEECH COMMUNITIES IN THE MUSKOGEE STOMPDANCE POPULATION

A Dissertation APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY



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Acknowledgments

This data on Muskogee stompdance community language use norms and interaction stems from almost seven years' work with members of that community, from 1989 to 1997. Throughout that time, many people have welcomed me, to varying degrees, into their grounds, their homes, and their activities. My debt to these Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole people is too great to ever adequately repay. Many of them have become close friends, and I value their friendship deeply.

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Abstract

Sociolinguists use speech communities as their units of analysis. While widely used, the concept of the speech community has never been defined precisely. Many sociolinguists assume the populations they study are speech communities because of the ambiguity surrounding what a speech community is, making it difficult to compare findings from various studies.

In this work, discrete definitions for a number of orders of speech communities are offered. The existence of different orders of speech communities are examined in the Muskogee stompdance population. Membership in this group is dependent upon participation in the stompdance religion and, for most people, a Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, or Yuchi identity. This population, being both socially distinct from other Muskogee populations and heterogeneous, is an analytically interesting group.

Eight orders of speech communities were proposed for the Muskogee stompdance population. Of these, only four were found to exist, the lowest-order, made up of individual grounds (though these were not found to exist among the Yuchi), the penultimate-order, made up of ground clusters, an intermediate-order tribally based speech community, and an intermediate-order language-based speech community. The putative intermediate-order national,

generational, and age-based speech communities and the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community were not discerned. The analytical utility of those speech communities that were found to exist were also discussed.

Several important points regarding the discernment and use of speech communities were dealt with in this work. First, working from the lowest to the highest orders was found to be most informative, providing high quality, detailed data. Second, the types of social and linguistic criteria used to discern speech communities of different orders were presented. Third, the different orders were shown to be useful in comparing different aspects of linguistic behaviors and ideologies. Finally, a means of dealing with internal heterogeneity was introduced.

Chapter 1: Mvskoke-Creek, Yuchi, and Seminole History

> [T]he present Creek or Muscogee body is composed of the following tribes who retain their primitive tongues and customs: the Alabamas, Hitchitees, Uchees, Puccunnas, Abekas, Ispocogas, Natchez. These tribes are inseparably united by compact and consolidated by individual and national interest.
>
> George Stiggins (1989[1831-1836]:24-25)

> It soon became the habit of the Creeks to annex the tribes they conquered in war; and when the white men began to drive out the Indians in the neighborhood of their settlements, these refugees also were incorporated into the Confederacy.
>
> Angie Debo (1941:4)

As noted by George Stiggins and Angie Debo, much of the social differentiation within the modern Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations can be traced to the history of the Creek Confederacy.[1,2] Legends recounted by peoples of the Confederacy tell of social fission and fusion,

---

[1]The name of the Creek Confederacy is derived from the term used by the English to refer to the most populous group within the Confederacy. This group, the Mvskoke, were given the name "Creek" by English traders who first gave the name to those Mvskoke living on Ochesee Creek (Wright 1986:2). As trade between the English and Mvskoke living in other areas flourished, the term "Creek" was applied to additional Mvskoke towns. As various other Indian communities came to be associated with Mvskoke towns or were allowed access to Mvskoke-dominated areas, they too came to be known as Creeks, even though they did not speak Mvskoke (Moore 1988:170-171; Sturtevant 1971:98; Wright 1986:2-3).

[2]The name "Seminole" is derived from the Spanish word *cimarron*, meaning "runaway, wild, untamed." This term was borrowed by Mvskoke as *semvlone* and, later, *semvnole* where it retained the Spanish meaning (Sturtevant 1971:105).

explaining why particular polities combined with or fought others (Swanton 1928:33-74). Early descriptions of the Creeks are filled with observations of the linguistic, social, and cultural differences and similarities among peoples in the Confederacy. Some of these divergences and parallels remain in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations to this day, providing the impetus for a study that questions whether one social community, the stompdance community, that stretches across two such divisible "national" communities, can be considered a single speech community.

Within the Muskogee community several factors (i.e., politics, religion, geography, economy, language, kinship, clans, *tvlwvlke*/grounds, *tvlwv*/ground affiliation, and tribal identity) promote social connections, yet also act as a means of social separation. Many of these factors have been discussed in previous ethnographic and descriptive works concerning Muskogee peoples. However, except for Schultz's (1995) study of Seminole Christian congregations, their influence on peoples' sense and maintenance of community has not been discussed at length. These issues also were crucial in the maintenance and dissolution of social connections in the history of the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people. In most histories, however, political and economic motivations are

most often cited as explanations for decisions made and/or actions taken by Muskogee leaders (see Braund 1993, Debo 1941, Usner 1992, Wright 1986).

The following brief history of the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi peoples, will examine the influence of each of these factors on the actions of people within the Muskogee community over time. Each of these issues must be considered because of its role in the creation of different levels of community and because it continues to have a role in the Muskogee stompdance community. It is necessary to understand when these points arose and what they signified historically. Understanding the role of these matters in Muskogee history is important in this study because they have influenced sociolinguistic behavior and the patterning of speech communities in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations today. It also may be possible to get some diachronic sense of speech community size and development from the historic records of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole peoples.

The history of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole peoples will be divided into five periods: prehistoric (up to 1528), contact (1528 to the early 1700s), colonial (from the early 1700s to 1836), removal (1836 to 1902), and present. These periods were selected because events during each drastically changed Mvskoke

(Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole society. The historical events and the resulting changes in Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi society are considered drastic from an outsider's perspective. The majority of Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people that I have interviewed do not necessarily divide their history in this way.

The contact and colonial periods for the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi peoples will be considered much as Sider (1993:186) defines them for the Lumbee. The contact period is characterized by population loss and changes in native social structures triggered by contact with Europeans and the severe population loss associated with such contact (circa 1528). Contact and depopulation should be distinguished as separate events because population loss due to disease and slave-raiding affected many peoples before they had direct encounters with Europeans. The colonial period (from the early 1700s to 1836) is characterized by continued social change owing to native peoples' incorporation into and reactions to Europeans' and Americans' political, and economic structures. The present period is characterized by the nature and structure of the Muskogee community after the Indian Self-Determination Act of 1975. This act allowed the population of the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations to control their own governments, allowing them to govern

themselves and lessening input and interference from the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

History of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole

Prehistoric Period

Native peoples had inhabited the Southeast[3] for centuries before European contact. Many cultural complexes and cultural periods have been identified by archaeologists working in the southeastern United States. Of these, the largest, most elaborate, and last before European contact, was the Mississippian period (circa A.D. 700-900 to A.D. 1550). During this period, chiefdoms characterized by hierarchical, possibly hereditary positions (elite warriors and religious leaders) were found throughout the Southeast. The most notable of these sites are the large ceremonial centers, such as Etowah and Moundville, where elites lived, religious ceremonies were performed, and trade was conducted in materials to make sumptuary goods or finished goods. These centers provide the best evidence of communal

---

[3]The Southeast is the geographic region generally bounded on the north by a line running through southern North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Arkansas, and bounded on the west by the Mississippi River, though some Southeastern archaeological sites are located just outside these borders. This region includes the states of Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, southern North Carolina, Alabama, Tennessee, Mississippi, Louisiana, Kentucky, and Arkansas (Hudson 1976:5-7; Swanton 1922:1-2).

activity in the form of large mounds, which were built by depositing dirt upon the site. Many of these mounds cover a large area and show a long-term labor investment.

Not all mound centers are as large as Moundville. Sites surrounding smaller, single-mound centers, some of which are rather far from the large, multi-mound centers, have led archaeologists to believe that the chiefdoms of the Mississippian period varied in complexity and stability (Blitz 1993:9-10, 15-17; Cherry 1987; Welch 1991:29-33). Some, such as Hudson et al. (1985), working from Spanish accounts and archaeological data, have reconstructed the boundaries of very large southeastern chiefdoms and have suggested that chiefs held absolute authority over their subjects. Most archaeologists, however, while allowing that some chiefdoms may have been sizable, argue that absolute control was only possible over those small mound centers very near the larger centers (Blitz 1993; Steponaitis 1978; Welch 1991). It is postulated that the small, isolated mound centers were able often to act rather independently of the larger centers and were not necessarily tightly knit into the larger chiefdom (Blitz 1993; DePratter 1983; Hally et al. 1990; Knight 1994; Peebles 1983; Welch 1991). Political control, as evident in the rise and fall of chiefdoms, seems to have wavered throughout the Mississippian period, at times bringing some

portions of the Southeastern population together and, at other times, creating social distance between these populations.

The subsistence strategies of the time--agriculture, hunting, and gathering--helped to perpetuate some social and economic relations between prehistoric Southeastern peoples. Outside of the mound centers, archaeologists have found much smaller settlements, commonly called hamlets. These seem to have been the residences of extended families who tended fields, produced their own utilitarian items, and collected the natural food resources near their hamlets. It has been speculated that these families brought their excess harvest to the mound centers to support the religious practitioners and elites in return for religious and military protection (Knight 1986). For such support, the hamlet-dwelling families would receive religious and military assurances, which may have been signified by the distribution of ceremonial pottery and other wares (Pauketat and Emerson 1991).

An elaborate religious symbolism also was shared throughout the Southeast at this time. While some aspects of the material culture found in this area differ somewhat from locality to locality (i.e., in distribution patterns among sites, materials of manufacture, method of production), symbolic motifs and arrangements are

strikingly similar. For these reasons, archaeologists speculate that similar religious and political symbolism and ideology were shared by the peoples of the Southeast at this time, though the ways in which the symbolism was manipulated and the function of the ideology within any given society is under debate (see Brose 1989, Brown 1985, Emerson 1989, and Pauketat and Emerson 1991, for further discussion of this issue).

Despite the possibility of differing perceptions and uses of the motifs and symbols, the fact that such symbols and motifs are shared throughout this large region provides more evidence that the peoples of the Southeast interacted during the Mississippian period. It is uncertain, however, how frequent this interaction was. There is certainly evidence that elites were involved in the interaction, as suggested by the kinds of artifacts found and their provenience at most sites (elite burials or near mound complexes). There also appeared to be interaction between those living in small, dispersed hamlets and the inhabitants of the mound centers, as generally evidenced by pottery or other goods manufactured at the mound center found in houses at the hamlets (Pauketat and Emerson 1991). Neither of these types of interaction would necessarily have been frequent, though it does seem likely that the interaction would have been very meaningful to those

involved.

While not directly observable in the archaeological record, kinship also may have been a uniting factor for prehistoric Southeastern people. Kinship was/is an important means of justifying one's right to a leadership position and of establishing one's place in the social order. As discussed by Blitz (1993:10-17), Brown (1985), and Knight (1986, 1989), ranked kinship groups may have provided the impetus for the establishment of social hierarchy in the prehistoric Southeast. This would be in accord with the role of kinship in early historical accounts as a means of establishing and maintaining leadership positions. Unfortunately, the role of kinship in the formation of chiefdoms in the prehistoric Southeast is not directly observable in the archaeological record.

Kinship also may have been important on another, more general level that would have affected people throughout the social hierarchy. Throughout the history of the Southeast, and even today, the tendency for people to share resources with their kin is remarked upon. Pooling of resources may have been essential, especially for those in the hamlets whose subsistence depended on the activities of several people working together. Extended kin groups would have provided a social unit capable of providing for the needs of its members. Exactly how these kinship groups

were organized and the amount of influence they had on people's daily lives only can be guessed at for the prehistoric period, however.

While some aspects of the political, religious, and economic structures of Southeastern chiefdoms have been explained, several important questions remain unanswered. We are uncertain about how Southeastern chiefdoms arose or why they fell. We also are unsure about the connections between many of these chiefdoms; it is obvious that trade networks between chiefdoms were operating because materials from the Florida coast are found far to the west and north, while materials from the Great Lakes region are found to the south and east. From this evidence, it is apparent that trading relationships were binding together some Southeastern peoples, but exactly how these trade connections were established and maintained, and exactly what segments of the population were most involved in trade, remains unknown.

A larger, perhaps more important issue--and one that we may never understand fully--concerns how the majority of people within the chiefdoms identified themselves. People living in hamlets were able to move, and had to move when environmental conditions damaged or destroyed crops or game production. While it may be that these people sought refuge at the larger centers, it also is possible they

moved out of the area controlled by the chiefdom of which they had previously been a part. As they made these moves, we are left to wonder whether they changed identity, or whether they had an established identity to begin with. Answers to these questions may be forthcoming, as archaeologists turn their attention from the mound centers to hamlets and other, smaller settlements. Until these questions are answered, however, we cannot be certain about connections between currently identified cultural or ethnic communities and the peoples of the past.

The Contact Period

The contact period was initiated by the Spanish, who sent four exploratory expeditions into the Southeast between 1528 and 1567 (Hudson 1970:16). These expeditions introduced diseases into the native communities that may have decreased their populations by 75 percent (Dobyns 1983:24-26). The role of disease and its resultant population loss in promoting amalgamation and incorporation as means of bolstering political, economic, and military power among the Southeastern peoples is under debate. Some researchers, such as Dobyns (1983:297-345), have suggested that severe population loss, with a concomitant loss of military, political, and economic power, forced peoples to consolidate in order to resist being overtaken by others

and to pool resources. Others, such as Hudson (1976:202-210), consider that amalgamation and consolidation were already known to Southeastern peoples because of chiefdoms prior to European contact. No matter what drove Southeastern peoples to use these strategies, they were prominent during the late contact period and throughout the colonial period as a means to maintain military and political strength (Nairne 1988:63).

At the time of first contact with Europeans, at least some peoples in the Southeast still were apparently living in large chiefdoms. How much the early historical chiefdoms resembled prehistoric chiefdoms and the exact nature of social relations between individuals and communities within these chiefdoms are still ambiguous, despite the Spanish accounts. As pointed out by Blitz (1993:7) and Swanton (1922:47, 168), the Spaniards described the chiefdoms according to their own feudalistic worldview, which would have influenced how they described and interpreted what they saw. In their descriptions, the Spaniards mention tributary arrangements between outlying settlements and the chief's settlement, military arrangements, and diplomatic alliances (Bourne 1922 I:32, 47, 51, 53, 68, 70; II:5, 11, 16, 18-19, 25, 73).

These descriptions, combined with the Spaniards' evident success in using hostage "chiefs" to secure food

and other goods as they traveled through the chiefdom, suggest that there were social ties between settlements. Exactly what kinds of relations existed, however, remain unclear. From the Spanish accounts, many of the Southeastern settlements appear to have been parts of large, complex chiefdoms. In the types of chiefdoms described by the Spaniards, settlements were tied to one another for military, political, and economic reasons.

Between 1528 and the mid-1600s, we have little documentation regarding the social configuration of many of the peoples who became known as Creeks. Most of Spain's colonization efforts during this and later periods were in Florida, and we have little from the Spanish concerning peoples living farther north where the majority of peoples incorporated into the Creek Confederacy were living. The Spanish were interested in establishing missions along the Florida coast and had begun conquering and converting indigenous peoples there. Most of these peoples did not speak Muskogean languages, and none but the Apalachee were incorporated into the Creek Confederacy. These populations were quickly and drastically decreased owing to diseases, forced labor, and poor living conditions.

At the same time the Spaniards were taking a toll on Florida's peoples, they were encouraging them to capture and enslave inland and northern peoples for use on the

Spanish island colonies (Sider 1993:192). This set off a chain reaction, however, as Florida's peoples experienced such treatment themselves from northern peoples, when the latter associated with other European powers for protection (Sider 1993:192). The British established such protective arrangements through the colonies of Virginia and Carolina, both of which allowed for contact between the English and the peoples living north of Florida. The British exacted a toll for supplying arms and ammunition to the native peoples, however; the British desired two commodities, slaves and animal hides, with slaves being of more value. Thomas Nairne, the South Carolina Indian agent, noted in a 1708 letter, that the rewards of slave raiding were much better than those that could be achieved from hunting for furs and hides:

> Formerly when beavor was a comodity they sold about 1200 skins a year but no imployment pleases the Chicasaws so well as slave Catching. A lucky hitt at that besides the Honor procures them a whole Estate at once, one slave brings a Gun, ammunition, horse, hatchet, and a suit of Cloathes, which would not be procured without much tedious toil a hunting.
>
> (1988:47-48)

Under the guise of security, the native peoples of the Southeast became entwined in European political and economic interests.

Because of the British demand for slaves, which enabled slave suppliers to acquire the European trade goods

to which the Southeastern peoples became attached, many of those peoples who became known as Creeks acted as slave raiders. The Westo (Yuchi) moved into the area of Charles Town (Charleston) prior to 1670, and used the guns and ammunition obtained from the Virginia colony to take the previous inhabitants (the Cusabo) as slaves (Sider 1993:192). Slave raiding was carried out by members of many Creek settlements against the Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, and members of other Creek settlements. Most slave raiding, however, was carried out against the peoples of Florida.

While not advocating slave raiding, the French also began to play a role in the Southeast during this period. The French colonized Louisiana and Alabama in the early 1700s, chartering Mobile in 1702 and erecting Fort Toulouse on the Alabama River in 1717. The French traded primarily with the Choctaws, providing them with arms, ammunition, and other trade goods. The Choctaw found the arms and ammunition to be useful not only for hunting deer but also for hunting their neighboring enemies, the Mvskoke and their allies (Nairne 1988:37, 51, 53).

Slave raiding and warfare acted to both separate and unify the Southeastern peoples, who were encouraged to fight and enslave one another by the British, French, and Spanish. Friction caused by slave raiding and increased

pressure for land and other resources seem to have led to the formation and growth of the Creek Confederacy shortly after contact (Braund 1993:4-5; Knight 1994:386-387; Wright 1986). Initially, the Creek Confederacy allowed a number of peoples to form alliances with former adversaries, thereby strengthening their political and military positions. Most peoples who entered the Creek Confederacy at later dates also entered for military reasons, either through conquest or for alliance (Adair 1930:274, 285; Swanton 1922:318-320, 1928:692-702).

Peoples who came to be part of the Creek Confederacy formerly lived in Alabama, Georgia, Florida, and Louisiana, and included the Natchez, Hitchiti, Koasati, Alabama, Mvskoke, Yuchi, Seminole, and others (Swanton 1946:153). According to language family affiliation, speakers of Muskogean languages[4] made up the majority of the Confederacy's population, but other languages were spoken

---

[4]The Muskogean language family includes Mvskoke, Seminole (which some consider to be a dialect of Mvskoke), Alabama, Koasati, Hitchiti, Mikasuki, Choctaw, and Chickasaw (Haas 1941). Of these, Choctaw and Chickasaw were probably not spoken by a great number of people in the Confederacy, as the peoples speaking these languages remained distinct and separate from the Confederacy. Of these eight languages, Mvskoke is still spoken in Oklahoma, Seminole is spoken in Oklahoma and Florida, Alabama is spoken in Texas, Koasati is still spoken in some Alabama-Koasati communities in Louisiana and Texas, Hitchiti is extinct, Mikasuki is spoken in Florida, Choctaw is spoken in Oklahoma, Louisiana, and Mississippi, and Chickasaw is spoken in Oklahoma (Crawford 1975:28-44; Haas 1979:300-301).

by people in communities within the Confederacy. These languages included: Yuchi and Natchez (language isolates), Shawnee (an Algonquian language), Koroa and Tioux (Tunican languages), and Biloxi (a Siouan language), among others. The Mvskoke language seems to have been used as a *lingua franca* among Creek Confederacy members by the nineteenth century (Bartram 1928:294, 519; Stiggins 1989:30, 34-35, 37).

As peoples were incorporated into the Creek Confederacy, they were established as tribal towns or *tvlwvlke* (singular: *tvlwv*), the arenas in which everyday life was transacted (Bartram 1928:382-383, 400-401; Pope 1792:65). *Tvlwvlke* were the primary religious, political, economic, and family centers for most of the population. The English term "town," which is commonly used in most English-language sources, is somewhat misleading as a gloss for the Mvskoke *tvlwv*. *Tvlwv* refers to a collection of people who share close social relationships and who commonly act together for religious, economic, and political reasons. Unlike the English term "town," *tvlwv* does not refer to a particular settlement type, as some members of a *tvlwv* could live in different settlements or in hamlets. The Mvskoke term for a moderately sized population center--to which the term "town" commonly refers--is *tvlofv*.

"Town" is now being used by Mvskoke people in a manner consistent with the traditional term in the label for some political units--tribal towns. Three tribal towns are recognized by the United States as political entities separate from the modern Muskogee (Creek) Nation: Thlopthlokko, Kialegi, and Alabama. Modern tribal towns approximate the traditional *tvlwvlke* in that members have an identifiable citizenship and are part of political and economic entities responsive to a relatively small population. Neither the Seminoles nor the Yuchis recognize towns or *tvlwvlke* as important entities within their current political or social structures. The Seminoles are divided into fourteen bands, which are political divisions. The Yuchis rally around their stompground and church organizations.

Historically, each *tvlwv* was independent with its own governing officials and responsibility for the welfare of its own citizens. *Tvlwvlke* could act autonomously or with other Confederate *tvlwvlke*, depending on the situation and the views of their leaders (Adair 1930:278-283; Opler 1952:171, 173). *Tvlwvlke* could act alone in military matters, and most would not recognize treaties unless they had been signed by their officers (Opler 1952:173).

According to John Pope (1792:65), who traveled through Creek territory in the late 1700s, individuals within

tvlwvlke were somewhat free to follow their own wishes. He suggests that *tvlwv* officers were accorded little power, but appeared to rule by example and suggestion, and that no ruler of any single *tvlwv* wielded power over another *tvlwv*'s inhabitants (1792:65). This observation is supported by others who wrote during the same period, each of whom noted that no single person in the *tvlwv* held exclusive executive or judicial power (Bartram 1928:388-390; Milfort 1959:83-84).

There were internal and external factors that brought *tvlwvlke* and individuals together and helped reinforce the Confederacy. Warfare and slavery provided the most salient external factors promoting cohesion among the *tvlwvlke*. When situations warranted concerted action, councils would be called, and leaders from many *tvlwvlke* would meet (Bartram 1928:313, 388-390; Milfort 1959:172-173). The decisions issued from such councils, whether for peace or war, were not binding on each *tvlwv*, but most apparently did follow the decision (Adair 1930:278-283; Bartram 1928:307, 313).

The importance of peace and warfare were reflected in the administrative structure of *tvlwvlke*. Clans and *tvlwvlke* were classified into red (war) or white (peace)

categories (Bartram 1928:358-359; Swanton 1928:33-74).[5] These distinctions were known throughout the Creek Confederacy, and the clans recognized as constituents of the red and white divisions were fairly similar. Swanton (1928:121, 123-127) does note some differences in the clan distributions between the red and white divisions in some *tvlwvlke*. The white *tvlwvlke* and clans were supposed to be supporters of peaceful coexistence, often advocating peaceful resolution to conflicts with neighboring tribes and peoples (Adair 1930:167; Bartram 1928:313). When peace treaties were to be made, the meetings of the warring parties were held in the *tvlofv* of one of the several white *tvlwvlke*. Within the white *tvlwvlke*, the *mekko* (the *tvlwv* leader) and other office holders were chosen from white clans.

In contrast, the red *tvlwvlke* and clans were supposedly warlike, advocating aggressive policies and violence (Adair 1930:84; Bartram 1928:313). When war talks and proposals were being made, these talks were held in a *tvlofv* of one of the many red *tvlwvlke*. These talks were

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[5]The creation of these divisions is recorded in some versions of the origin myths of several different peoples within the Creek Confederacy (see Swanton 1928:33-74). The colores red and white play an important role in Mvskoke, Seminole, and Yuchi cosmology, and were significant colors for many Southeastern peoples (Adair 1930:84, 167; Bartram 1928:139, 358-359; Milfort 1959:132). For more information, see Swanton (1928:33-74), Hudson (1976), and Wright (1986).

not limited to red clan members but were open to any who wished to discuss plans for war. Within the red *tvlwvlke*, the leaders were chosen from red clans.

Tvlwvlke were occasionally forced to change their color identification owing to losses in ceremonial ballgames, though clans were never forced to change. Men from red and white *tvlwvlke* played each other during yearly ceremonial stickball games, a lacrosse-style game that still is played. Historically, one *tvlwv* would challenge another to play one game per year for a predetermined number of years, with the men from each *tvlwv* making up the teams (Haas 1940:479-481). At the end of the challenge, if one *tvlwv* lost a majority of the games or lost four games in a row, that *tvlwv* was expected to change its affiliation to the color of the winning *tvlwv* (Haas 1940:481-482). Clans, apparently, did not undergo changes of this sort.

Tribal identities (Yuchi, Mvskoke (Creek), and Seminole) were not divisive features at this time. The peoples within the Creek Confederacy were treated as a collective unit, and Europeans made no distinctions along linguistic or tribal lines. Among Confederacy members themselves, however, these distinctions were, at times, important. *Tvlwvlke* most often would act in accord with surrounding *tvlwvlke*, which were often made up of people speaking the same language and sharing similar social

configurations. Whether these distinctions were viewed by Confederacy members as stemming from different tribal identities is unclear.

Kinship and clan membership were other divisive and consolidating factors that affected individuals across *tvlwvlke*. The first of these, kinship, often provided people with relatives throughout *tvlwvlke*. An individual's father generally had married in from another *tvlwv*, setting up his residence with his wife's family (uxorilocality) (Swanton 1928:79). Thus, an individual probably had relatives in several *tvlwvlke*, as both the father's and mother's close male and female relatives are important kin in the Mvskoke kinship system. Mvskoke kinship terminology is listed in Table 1. Mrs. Linda Alexander provided the terms used by women and Mr. George Bunny provided the terms used by men.

While both sides of the family were considered important as kin, clan membership and *tvlwv* affiliation were determined through the mother's side of the family (matrilineally) (Woodward 1859:19; Chapman 1900:6). There were up to 50 matrilineal, exogamous clans among the peoples of the Creek Confederacy, though Swanton suggests that many were perhaps not true clans (Swanton 1928:114). Many of these clans were found in a number of *tvlwvlke*, and kinship terms and etiquette were used to address and

Table 1
Kinship Terms

male speaking:

epoca	maternal and paternal grandfathers, grandfathers' siblings and grandfathers' elder male relatives, father's sisters' husbands
epose	maternal and paternal grandmothers, grandmothers' siblings and grandmothers' elder female relatives, father's sisters
etske	mother
etskoce	mother's sisters, father's brothers' wives, stepmother
erke	father
erkoce	father's brothers, father's sisters' male descendants, mother's sisters' husbands
epawv	mother's brothers, men of mother's clan
eraha	elder brother, mother's sisters' sons older than ego
ecose	younger brother, mother's sisters' sons younger than ego
ewvnwv	sisters, mother's sisters' daughters
ehopwiwv	sisters' sons
ehvkpvte	sisters' daughters
epotske	son, brothers' sons, uncles' sons
ecoste	daughter, brothers' daughters, uncles' daughters
ososwv	grandchildren of either sex

female speaking:

epoca	maternal and paternal grandfathers, grandfathers' siblings and grandfathers' elder male relatives, father's sisters' husbands
epose	maternal and paternal grandmothers, grandmothers' siblings and grandmothers' elder female relatives, father's sisters
etske	mother
etskoce	mother's sisters, father's brothers' wives, stepmother
erke	father
erkoce	father's brothers, father's sisters' male descendants, mother's sisters' husbands
epawv	mother's brothers, men of mother's clan
eraha	elder sisters, mother's sisters' daughters older than ego
ecose	younger sisters, mother's sisters' daughters younger than ego
ecerwv	brothers, mother's sisters' sons
ecoswv	ego's children, sisters' children
ososwv	grandchildren of either sex, brothers' children, pawv's children

interact with people from the same clan whether the person was from one's own *tvlwv* or some distant *tvlwv* (Swanton 1928:171). When visitors came to a *tvlwv*, they often were housed by a person of their own clan, regardless of previous acquaintance (Adair 1930:19; Nairne 1988:60-61). Other early accounts, such as Bartram's (1928:385-386), claim that visitors were not confined to residing with clan "kin," but were free to seek shelter and food in any house.

While an individual's clan affiliation was determined matrilineally, the father's clan also played an important role in an individual's life. The terms of address used for members of the father's family and clan tend to show that there was a close tie between these individuals, though these ties do not appear to have been as strong as between an individual and members of his/her mother's family and clan (see Table 1) (Swanton 1928:88). Currently, people are expected to speak up on behalf of their father's clan whenever anyone ridicules it or jokes about it. As with the members of one's mother's clan, members of one's father's clan were accorded respect and behavior as though a kinship relation existed, even though these members might never have seen each other before.

Despite these means of social unification, the decentralized political structure of the *tvlwvlke* caused problems for the European powers who were beginning to make

alliances with native peoples. Incorporation into the European system brought the members of the Creek Confederacy into closer contact with Europeans and further changed the social relations of Confederacy members. The contact period was ending and the colonial period was beginning.

The Colonial Period

The colonial period was another time of great change for the peoples of the Creek Confederacy. The Confederacy was being incorporated into the European capitalist system, causing these peoples to change their economic, political, kinship, and other social structures. As Confederate hunters began to move away from slave raiding, which was becoming less lucrative, to hunting deer for their hides, European companies, primarily British, were establishing strong trade relations with members of the Creek Confederacy to feed the European demand for leather.

Initially, trade with European companies was established in a manner consistent with prehistoric Southeastern economic and political practices. Before contact, Southeastern peoples had supported themselves through agriculture, hunting and gathering, and trade with other native peoples. Trade in the prehistoric period is thought to have cemented friendly relations between

peoples. European companies sought to create economic ties with members of entire *tvlwvlke* utilizing a very similar strategy. Company representatives (factors) often gave gifts to the *mekkake* (*tvlwv* leaders) and other *tvlwv* inhabitants to establish trade and political relations. Once a factor had established trade rights, *tvlwv* members were expected to abide by capitalistic rules; goods advanced on credit were to be paid for when the hunter returned with hides. Factors and company accountants kept detailed records of *tvlwvlke* and individuals' balances (Galphin 1767-1772; Panton, Leslie, and Company 1986; Macartan and Campbell 1762-1766; United States Bureau of Indian Affairs 1795-1814).

An increased dependence on European goods began to put the matrilineal structure of Confederate society under great stress (Wright 1986; Braund 1993). From prehistoric times, matrilineages had controlled agricultural fields surrounding the *tvlwvlke*, and all members of the matrilineage were supposed to help with labor. With an increased reliance on hunting as a subsistence activity, however, men were becoming active economic producers on their own.

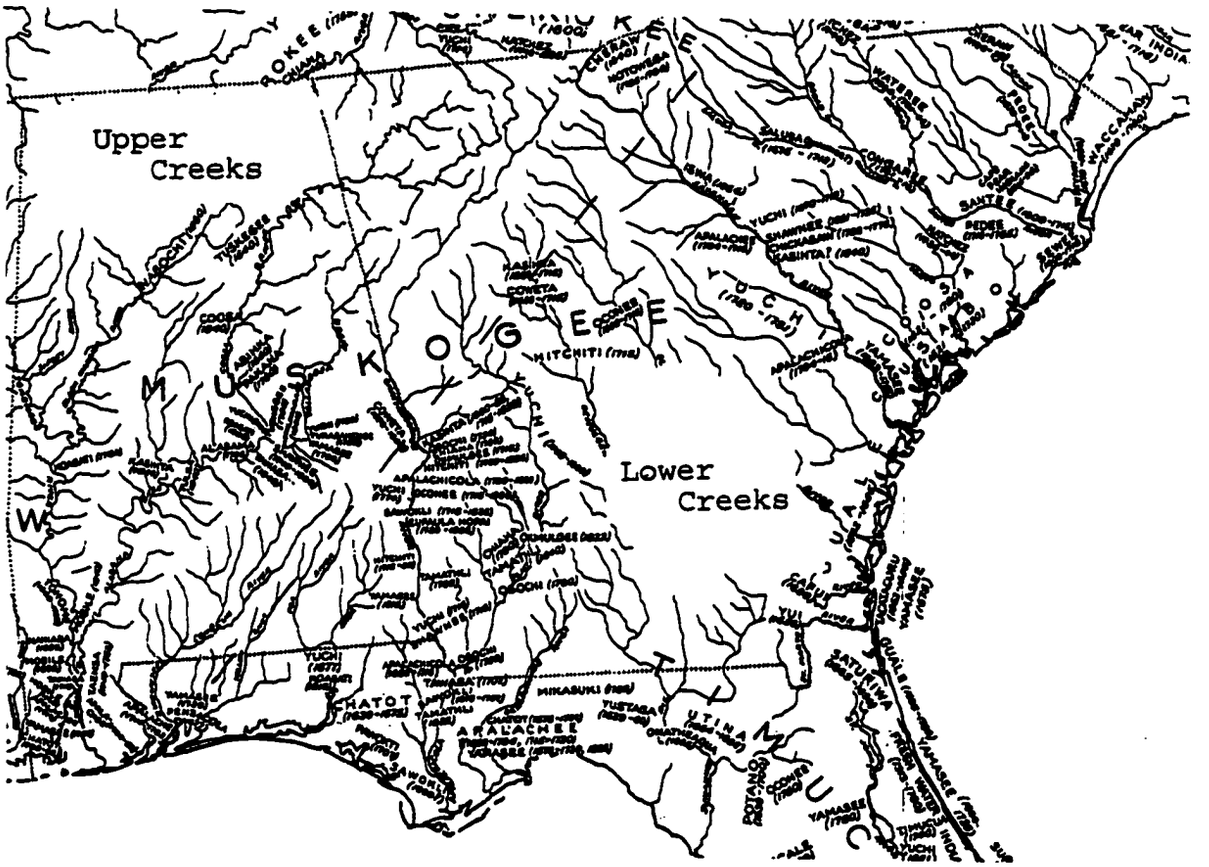
As matrilineages were losing some of their economic importance, and Confederacy members were partially integrated into the European economy, the political

structure also was changing. In many *tvlwvlke*, factors, primarily British, were allowed to marry relatives of the *mekkake*, thereby strengthening their connections to the *tvlwv* leaders and vice versa. Some of the children born from these unions, such as Alexander McGillivray and William McIntosh, rose to prominence in later years because of their ability to negotiate Euro-American and Muskogee interests. Marriages of this type were advantageous for the British factors because *tvlwv mekkake* decided which companies and factors would have access to their people.

These marriages also were advantageous for the *mekkake*. Throughout the colonial period, familial relations to the factor provided *mekkake* with more bargaining power to obtain trade goods or mediate between *tvlwv* debtors and the factor. Connections to the factor also helped when dealing with European or American authorities, as the factor was looked upon as one who could understand both sides; the trick was to persuade the factor to make a deal favorable to the Confederacy. Strong connections with factors and the resulting greater ability to obtain goods gave individuals a chance to attain leadership positions within *tvlwvlke*. Previously, leadership positions appear to have been granted according to age, experience, success in warfare, and clan membership (Nairne 1988:39, 40-43, 62-63).

The importance of these attributes in determining successors for *tvlwv* leaders were not altogether diminished by marriage alliances. Elderly men often were not taken on hunting expeditions and were not as able to amass wealth (or debt) as their younger counterparts. It thus was possible for young men to gain prestige and higher social status through economic activities. Young men also were able, thanks to the autonomous structure of the Confederate *tvlwv*, to make their own military and economic decisions, at times bypassing the decisions of the *tvlwv* leaders. This splintering, like that before the Creek War of 1813, was costly to the Confederacy.

The configuration of the Creek Confederacy also changed during this time. Groups of *tvlwvlke* were recognized by Europeans as distinct from others according to their geographic location. Around 1710, Europeans and Americans recognized a division of the Confederacy along a northeast-southwest axis, with the northwest *tvlwvlke* being known as Upper Creeks and those in the southeast as Lower Creeks (see Map 1) (Sturtevant 1971:98). At times, leaders of either the Upper or Lower Creeks were recognized as leaders of the entire Confederacy, as when the British and Carolinians recognized Brims of Coweta (a Lower Creek) as a representative for the entire Confederacy in negotiations to end the Yamasee War in 1716. By 1765, Americans and



Map 1. Locations of Upper and Lower Creeks *Tvlwvlke*
From: Swanton (1946:Map 11)

Europeans had made a further division between the peoples of Florida and those in Georgia and Alabama, with those *tvlwvlke* in Florida being recognized as Seminoles (Sturtevant 1971:105).[6]

While Europeans and Americans considered these geographic identities as fixed, Confederacy members did not. *Tvlwvlke* were able to move from one area to the other, and movement across the Florida line was common. The Spanish enticed Lower and Upper Creek *tvlwvlke* to move into Florida to act as buffers between Spanish areas and those controlled by the British (Sturtevant 1971:101-103). The following *tvlwvlke* moved into the area by 1764, at which point they were considered to be Seminoles: Tallahassee, Mikasuki, Chiskataloofa, Tamathli, Ocklocknee, Oconee, Apalachicola, Sawokli, and Chiaha (Sturtevant 1971:102-103; Swanton 1922:22, 134, 142, 169, 177). A similar pattern of movement was evident for the Yuchi, who first lived among the Lower Creeks. Some remained there, while others moved to Florida and became part of the Seminoles. Movements of this nature were common throughout

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[6]The term "Seminole" is sometimes used in the literature to refer to all peoples indigenous to Florida as in Bartram's (1930) or Milfort's (1959) work, or for those peoples who settled in the Alachua region of Florida as in Woodward's (1859) work. This is also explained in Sturtevant (1971:105). In this work, Seminole refers to those people in Florida who were originally part of the Creek Confederacy and who came to be known as the Seminole tribe of Oklahoma or the Seminole tribe of Florida.

the colonial period, especially as pressure for land grew.

Geographical differentiation was not of great importance, and probably was not even recognized, before contact, but it made a great difference after contact. After contact, trade and political relations were not always equal among the Europeans and Americans and these geographically defined divisions (see Braund 1993, Sturtevant 1971, Swanton 1922, 1928, and Wright 1986 for greater detail). For several years, the Upper Creeks, Lower Creeks, and Seminoles traded with Europeans from different areas of the country. The Upper Creeks traded with the Spanish and French in Florida and Louisiana, respectively. The Lower Creeks traded primarily with the English in Augusta and Savannah. The Seminoles traded primarily with the Spanish in Florida (Braund 1993). The European powers manipulated the military, economic, and political actions of the Creeks and Seminoles to benefit European interests. The British appear to have been most successful at this manipulation because they were most free with goods and credit.

While the distinctions Upper Creek, Lower Creek, and Seminole were inspired by Europeans and continued to be recognized by Americans in order to ease communication, these distinctions came to be recognized by the Southeastern peoples themselves to varying degrees. The

territorial concerns of each division differed somewhat from the others. The Upper Creeks were concerned with Choctaw and Cherokee encroachments. The Lower Creeks and Seminoles were more concerned with European political and military maneuvers (Braund 1993; Debo 1941). Through these common concerns, people in Upper Creek, Lower Creek, and Seminole *tvlwvlke* began to work together for the good of those *tvlwvlke* in their area and an areal identity came to be recognized.

Europeans and Americans often selected leaders of the divisions and treated with these individuals as if they could make collectively binding decisions, despite the fact that these "leaders" were not recognized as such by their native "followers" (Braund 1993; Green 1982). An example of such imposition of leadership by Euro-Americans is made explicit by Woodward (1859:45) in a letter to a friend:

> You see that it is generally the half-breeds and mixed-bloods that speak our language, that the whites get acquainted with; and if, in case of a little war or anything of the sort, one of those that the whites know go off among the hostiles, he is by the whites dubbed a chief.

In many cases, the decisions made by these representatives were contested by members of the division which they "governed" and such discontent often showed as intermittent warfare or raiding.

In the mid-1700s, as trade in deerskins became less lucrative for members of the Creek Confederacy, Euro-

American settlers were beginning to encroach on Confederate lands. The peoples of the Confederacy cultivated the fertile areas along many creeks and rivers in the Southeast (Adair 1930:274, 276; Bartram 1928:400-401). They also controlled access to hunting and foraging grounds that were used to supplement agricultural harvests (Bartram 1928:400; Braund 1993). This type of land was most attractive to Euro-American settlers, and this caused much friction and negotiation between the Native inhabitants and Euro-Americans.

During this same period, traders were beginning to urge *mekkake* to cede or sell their land to pay off mounting debts, though this practice was not to reach its zenith until the 1800s. British traders had been supplying Confederate hunters on credit, giving out arms, ammunition, and goods on the expectation that they would be repaid upon the hunter's return. If the hunter subsequently was unable to pay his debt, the trader could carry the debt over to the next year (which most did), stop trade with the debtor (taking the loss), or take the debtor's family into custody with the option of keeping or selling them as slaves (Hudson 1970:39-40; Sider 1993:198). The last option was taken, at times, during the early 1700s, when slave trading was at its peak. By the mid-1700s, however, the majority of traders were forced to decide between the first two

options, and most chose the former.

In order to get the deerskins needed to pay off their debts, Creek hunters spent increasingly more time away from their *tvlwvlke* as deer became scarce (Creek Chiefs 1959a; 1959b). It has been estimated that some hunters spent almost half of the year away from their families and towns (Hawkins 1980:381). The time spent away from the *tvlwv* was not always profitable, and by the mid-1700s the British companies trading in the Confederacy were beginning to ask *mekkake* to sell land to clear the debts owed by people in their *tvlwv*. These demands were not always met, for many *mekkake* appear to have realized that the companies were asking the *tvlwv* to pay for the debts of individuals (Henri 1986:12-13). When such demands were viewed as being grossly unfair by *tvlwv* inhabitants, the factors' stores of goods often were raided and skirmishes erupted with encroaching Euro-American settlers.

Territorial disputes became an increasing problem in the mid and late 1700s. With the founding of Georgia in 1733, settlement in territory held by members of the Creek Confederacy was legal for British colonists. American settlement of land held by Confederacy members increased dramatically after the American Revolution, and this caused many Confederate *tvlwvlke* to change their locations. During the Revolution, most British companies had moved

their headquarters to Florida, setting up trading houses in Pensacola and St. Augustine (Braund 1993:165). British goods thus were still available to the Creeks and Seminoles, but the locations of the trading centers from which the *tvlwv* factors received their wares and to which they shipped the hides had changed and, more importantly for the Creeks, British wares became less available (Braund 1993:170). After the revolution, Americans established trading posts (factories) in the Southeast. Their trading efforts were not as successful as those of the British, however, because the American factories did not extend credit.

Movement of the British trading houses, combined with the influx of Americans into Confederacy territory, caused some *tvlwvlke* to move south, away from the more populous areas. More *tvlwvlke* came to Florida at this time, including Kolomi, Kan-hatki, Okchai, Tawasa, Fushatchee, Eufaula, and Conchartee (Sturtevant 1971:103; Swanton 1946:147, 181). Some Yuchi *tvlwvlke* also were moving, though most sources locate them north of Florida (Swanton 1946:213-214). The Floridas remained a haven for discontent or harassed people from the Creek Confederacy until the mid-1800s, when the United States invaded the area and sought to expel the Seminoles.

Around the time of the American Revolution, the

leadership of Confederate *tvlwvlke* was changing; several older leaders had died and a new generation was rising to take their places. One of these new leaders was to reach great prominence: Alexander McGillivray, the mixed-blood son of a Scottish trader, Lachlan McGillivray, and a woman from the prestigious Wind clan, who is variously identified as a member of Koasati, Abihka, Tuskegee, or Coosa (Green 1982:33; Wright 1986:103). Alexander had been born in Confederate territory, but his father sent him to school in Charleston. Alexander returned to the Creek Confederacy during the Revolution and rose to prominence in his natal *tvlwv*, Little Tallassee or Hickory Ground (Swanton 1946:125).

McGillivray quickly became the leading spokesman for the Upper Creeks and eventually tried formally to centralize the Upper Creek government. By 1783, the United States and other governments considered the Upper Creek councils as the "Creek National Council" and the Upper Creeks became "Creek Nation," though the process of gathering and debating had not changed and the autonomy of all involved was undimmed from the older, less formal councils (Bartram 1928:181). Despite Alexander McGillivray's abilities and foreign powers' recognition of him as a leader for the Creeks as a whole, McGillivray did not have the authority to speak for the Lower Creeks and

Seminoles.

With McGillivray's rise, the Lower Creeks, Upper Creeks, and Seminoles with anti-American sentiments began to feel disenfranchised. McGillivray established two head *tvlwvlke*, Tuckabatchee and Hickory Ground (McGillivray's own *tvlwv*), both of which were in the Upper Creek area. Upon filling the role as leader of Creek Nation, McGillivray was deemed able, by the European and American governments, to make binding decisions affecting the entire Creek Nation. A number of Creek leaders refused to be bound by agreements reached between McGillivray and other governments, however, including some leaders of Upper Creek *tvlwvlke*. Lower Creek leaders often were not invited to the councils at Tuckabatchee or treaty negotiations outside of Creek territory in which tracts of Lower Creek land were occasionally given away or sold (Wright 1986:140). Lower Creeks found themselves powerless to protest these decisions by political means, though they sometimes fought them militarily.

Upper Creek leaders, such as Tame King and Fat King, became concerned with McGillivray's use of his position to manipulate trade routes and the distribution of trade goods in Creek territory. To control trade was to wield power, for the Creek were dependent on European trade goods at this time. Men still were hunting deer for their income,

though this occupation was losing its importance because of the emerging reliance on land sales to maintain single and multiple *tvlwvlke* in the lifestyle to which they had become accustomed. Still, a leader's power over trade lent his people some security, for a powerful leader could obtain money, goods, and services for his people. If a leader was not highly esteemed by outside powers, which were often persuaded of a leader's power by his ability to "control" the actions of other *tvlwvlke*, his own people were less likely to benefit.

The Seminole, who had by this time been recognized by the Europeans and Americans as a distinct people, but who were made up of Mvskoke, Yuchi, Hitchiti, Koasati, and Alabama people, were not entirely unhappy with McGillivray (Wright 1986:111-112). Their leaders were invited to some of the councils in Tuckabatchee, but they did not always follow the decisions of these councils (Wright 1986:117). The Seminoles were able to trade with the Spanish and British, who were under Spanish regulation, both of whom had factories in Florida, and the Americans, who were accessible through Lower and Upper Creek lands. Seminoles tended to work with either the Upper or Lower Creeks as it suited their purposes.

The divisions between the Upper and Lower Creeks widened as Lower Creek *mekkake* protested some of

McGillivray's actions and acted on their own in some important matters. In 1783, some Lower Creek *mekkake* signed the Treaty of Augusta, trading eight hundred acres of land on the Oconee River to Georgia for the restoration of trade with Augusta merchants. Trade provisions were important for the Lower Creek *mekkake*, who had found themselves intermittently cut off from traders during the American Revolution.

The articles in the Treaty of Augusta were exactly what the Georgians wanted. With the end of British control over commerce and settlement in Creek territory, Americans began looking to benefit from both trade and land acquisitions. America was expanding, and Creek lands were prime settlement areas in the Southeast. With the British hold on trade broken, the Georgians thought the trade agreement would give them the boost they needed to establish their own economic power.

For a majority of the Creeks, including some of the Lower Creek *tvlwvlke*, these treaty provisions did not work in their favor. Trade was slow in coming, while settlers and others with their eyes on Creek territory were quick to emerge. The influx of settlers and squatters began to grow even though people in many of the affected *tvlwvlke* were hostile to such newcomers. McGillivray and other Upper Creek leaders, whose people had to contend with American

settlers, were unhappy with this agreement, but had been unable to persuade the Lower Creek delegates to reject the treaty.

By 1787, McGillivray had found enough support among those opposed to the Treaty of Augusta to begin military movements against the Georgia settlers. The military might of the Creeks fighting with McGillivray was augmented by other tribes, including the Iroquois, Hurons, Chickamaugas, and Shawnees from the north (Braund 1993:172). McGillivray also had gained control over trade in Creek territory, allowing only representatives of Panton, Leslie and Company, a British company operating out of Florida, to establish trading stores in Creek *tvlwvlke*. Some traders with connections to Georgia-based trading companies were able to do business in some Lower Creek *tvlwvlke*, but many were forced out.

The discontent of the Creek people was channeled into numerous armed skirmishes with American settlers. By 1789, the federal government and Georgia officials were interested in lessening the hostilities. George Washington invited McGillivray and other Creek representatives to New York in 1790. There, McGillivray signed the Treaty of New York, to settle the dispute. Under this treaty, the Creeks gave up nearly three million acres of land between the Ogeechee and Oconee rivers, some of which already had been

given away by Lower Creek leaders in treaties signed with Georgia. In return, the United States government promised to protect Creek territory, allow goods to cross into Creek territory duty-free, and established a perpetual annuity. Article twelve of the treaty, which was a precursor of things to come, called for the United States to establish Indian Agents among the Creek and to introduce agriculture and other "civilized" practices. The provisions of this article were to cause still more divisiveness among the people of Creek Nation in later years.

After McGillivray's death in 1793, the actions of Benjamin Hawkins, United States Indian Agent overseeing the Creeks from 1796-1816, were to have a profound effect on Creek peoples' lifeways. Hawkins was given his position with the understanding that he would work to make the Creek more like Anglo-Americans. The primary thrust of his mission was to convert the Creeks to intensive agriculture, wean them from hunting, and open up their former hunting grounds for Anglo-American settlement (Green 1982:36; Henri 1986:58-60).

Hawkins was successful in getting some Creeks to adopt commercial agriculture, patrilineal descent, and a greater reliance on the nuclear family as opposed to the extended family. He also established two capitals, Tuckabatchee and Coweta (Upper and Lower Creek towns, respectively), which

were the meeting places for National Council delegates from legislative districts (Green 1982:37). Most of those whom Hawkins seems to have influenced were Lower Creeks, who were more disposed to adopt Anglo-American practices and ideas than were Upper Creeks (Braund 1993:180-184; Green 1982:38). At Hawkins' urging, the National Council endorsed private ownership of property, conversion to Christianity, and diminished the importance of clan kinship (Wright 1986:150-152). Each of these undermined some aspect of Creek social organization.

Private property holdings were eroding the communal character of the *tvlwv* and communal interest in production. Conversion to Christianity was perceived as destroying another communal characteristic of the *tvlwv* as members would no longer gather for seasonal ceremonies. Ceremonial leaders' positions were in jeopardy, and many of these leaders warned against Christianity (Wright 1986:156-159).

Diminution of clan power was perhaps the most disturbing change advocated by Hawkins. Hawkins proposed that a police force not based on clan kinship be created to enforce the laws of Creek Nation and to exact retribution for crimes. Previously, crimes were punished by the victim's clan kinsmen, who were allowed to go so far as to take a murderer's life in repayment. The criminal's clan also could be involved in restitution for if the culprit

escaped, one of his kinsmen could be punished in his stead or his clan could be made to repay the victim's clan. By abolishing this practice and establishing patrilineal descent, Hawkins sought recognizably to lessen the power wielded by clans throughout Creek Nation.

Hawkins, by shifting political control of the Creek National Council out of the hands of Upper Creek *tvlwvlke* to Lower Creek *tvlwvlke*, also had managed to aggravate regional differences. The Upper Creek were in the position that the Lower Creek had occupied during Alexander McGillivray's life and were disgruntled by many of the political decisions made by the Lower Creek-controlled National Council. Many Upper and Lower Creeks were still obtaining goods through trade in deerskins, though this had become much less profitable. In 1811, at Hawkins' urging, the National Council agreed to the construction of a road through Upper Creek territory, which would cross much of the hunting land used by several Upper Creek *tvlwvlke*, especially those of the Alabamas (Wright 1986:152). Such a move was much more harmful to the Upper Creeks than the Lower Creeks and was opposed militarily by some Upper Creeks who also were helped by some Seminoles (Wright 1986:152-153).

Social changes of this sort and land sales were beginning to upset many Creeks and Seminoles. Several

small parcels of land were sold between 1799 and 1803, and even larger sales in 1804 and 1805 found Seminole and Creek delegations selling one million and two million acres, respectively, to cover their debts (Braund 1993:179; Green 1982:34). By 1813, many people in Creek *tvlwvlke* had had enough. The Creek National Council, at Benjamin Hawkins' urging, and individual Lower Creek *mekkake*, such as Tallassee King of Tallassee and Fat King of Cusseta, had given away their lands to pay off mounting debts and to decrease tensions with Anglo-American settlers (Green 1982:30-36). These moves angered many Upper Creeks, who had welcomed Tenskwatawa, a Shawnee prophet, and his brother, Tecumseh, in 1811 and who had listened closely to their call for action against American intrusions. These Creeks, while fighting for some of the reasons promoted by Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa--lack of inclusion in treaty negotiations and increasing sales of their lands--took a different route than that advocated by Tecumseh as they vented their frustrations against some of their own people as well as American settlers during the Creek War.[7]

The divisions within the Creek community were evident

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[7]This war is also known as the Redstick War because of the red sticks carried by those who danced in the prophetic dances introduced by Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa. These red sticks may also have been the sticks used by many Southeastern people to count the days before warriors gathered for battle (also called the sticks of broken days) (Milfort 1959:148, 149; Hitchcock 1996:132-133).

in the Creek War of 1813-1815. Many of the accounts and histories describe this war as a conflict instigated primarily by the Upper Creeks (Debo 1941:78-79; Green 1982:41-42; Wright 1986:166-169). This is not completely accurate, however, as some Upper Creek *tvlwvlke* and *mekkake*, such as Big Warrior of Tuckabatchee, allied with the non-Redstick faction (Hassig 1974). Some peoples commonly identified as Lower Creeks, such as the Yuchi, supported the Redstick faction. Some Seminoles also entered the fray on the Redstick side and others aided the non-Redstick faction. The Redsticks also were helped by the Shawnee, who had been involved in earlier attempts to create a unified front against European and American dominance as Tenskwatawa and Tecumseh had proposed. In an analysis of the factionalism within the Creek confederacy during the Creek War, Hassig (1974) found that youth, not geographic identity or Red/White identity tended to best explain participation in the Redstick faction as the young relied upon war exploits for social mobility.

As fighting broke out in Creek-held lands, Anglo-Americans jumped at the opportunity to enter the war in order to gain land. After the battle at Horseshoe Bend in 1814, the militant Creeks surrendered to Andrew Jackson, the leader of American and Lower Creek troops (Wright 1986:155). Although many of the casualties in this war

occurred among the Creek people, some American lives were lost as well, and for these all Creek people were made to pay. Under the terms of surrender, the Lower Creeks lost a large portion of their land because the American negotiators held that some people from Lower Creek towns had abetted the militants and should therefore pay for damages. According to the terms of the Treaty of Fort Jackson, which officially ended the Creek War, the Upper and Lower Creeks gave over twenty million acres of land to the United States, primarily in Georgia and Alabama (Green 1982:43). Both the Upper and Lower Creeks felt these terms were excessive, but neither division had the strength or willingness to resist the Americans' demands.

Destruction of property and settlements caused many people to move between the Upper and Lower Creek and the Seminole areas (Wright 1986:177; Sattler 1987:72-74). Among the Seminoles, Upper Creeks, and Lower Creeks were large numbers of blacks who had been integrated into Seminole and Creek society, just as other Southeastern peoples earlier had been incorporated. Slavery is mentioned in sources dating from the late 1700s and early 1800s, but these references often are followed by information concerning ways in which they could obtain freedom, such as marrying a town member or bearing children (Adair 1930; Bartram 1928; Milfort 1959). By the mid-

1800s, many of these blacks had formed their own *tvlwvlke* and were viewed by some Seminoles and Creeks as equal citizens of the confederacy, though some Creeks and Seminoles were slave-owners (Sattler 1987:81-82). The adoption of permanent slavery and the continued incorporation of freed slaves or runaways into Creek and Seminole communities were to cause much trouble at this and later periods in Creek and Seminole history.

Southern plantation owners and other Anglo-Americans in the South were increasingly concerned about the growing presence of Seminoles and free blacks in Florida. The Spanish, who still controlled Florida at this time, were willing to trade equally with blacks, Creeks, and Seminoles. This meant blacks could receive guns and ammunition, just as they could receive other goods. Anglo-Americans were concerned about these freedoms and afraid that blacks from Florida would encourage escape or rebellion among American slaves.

These apprehensions, combined with an expansionist view, brought the Americans into conflict with Spain and the Seminoles. Between 1815, when the Creek (Redstick) War ended, and 1818, when the First Seminole War began, tensions grew between Anglo-Americans, Upper Creeks, Lower Creeks, and Seminoles. Ambushes and fighting were fairly common as squatters entered Creek and Seminole lands, and

speculators strove to acquire these lands for profit.

In 1818, the First Seminole War began when Secretary of War William C. Calhoun ordered Andrew Jackson to secure Florida. Creeks from Alabama and Georgia allied with Jackson against the Seminoles and Spanish in Florida. Jackson's army swept through Florida, destroying Seminole *tvlwvlke* and Spanish settlements alike. The Seminole population in Florida plummeted because of deaths caused by fighting and starvation. Jackson's army overran most of the Spanish strongholds, forcing Seminoles who had resided around Spanish towns to surrender or move into the wilderness. Many Seminole *tvlwvlke* sprang up in secluded areas, acting as magnets for Creeks who wanted to leave areas in the north, overrun with Anglo settlers.

Movements of Anglo-American settlers into Seminole lands increased after the United States formally acquired Florida from Spain in 1821 and movement into Creek lands continued. Many of the Creeks and Seminoles who communicated with Indian Agents and other administrators working for the American government knew that the general policy being considered involved moving Creek and Seminole people from the Southeast to lands west of the Mississippi. At Jackson's urging, President Monroe had begun to consider removal as early as 1820, but the Creeks and Seminoles remained on their lands until the 1830s, when removal to

the west was begun in earnest.

Before removal, however, the Seminoles and Creeks continued to lose their lands to treaties and secessions. In the Treaty of Moultrie Creek (1823), the Seminoles were first furnished with an economic reason to consider themselves separate from the Creeks. According to the terms of the treaty, the Seminoles relinquished their claim to much of northern Florida, with most Seminoles relocating to a four million mile reserve in the center of the Florida panhandle. Payment for this cession involved the inclusion of a cash annuity (Sattler 1987:79). Creek leaders had been accepting cash awards in most treaty dealings since the Treaty of New York in 1790, with most of this money, however, going toward personal use. The Seminoles, as a collective unit, though, were to receive money from the United States government for a period of twenty years (Wright 1986:236). Only those who identified themselves as Seminole, not Creek, would be eligible for the annuity.

The Creeks also found a reason to unite at this time. In 1825, William McIntosh, the son of a English soldier and a Coweta woman, signed the Treaty of Indian Springs, selling all of the Creek lands in Georgia and two-thirds of the Creek lands in Alabama. McIntosh had assumed a prominent position in the Creek Nation during the early 1800s and remained a leading figure in Creek Nation's

governmental affairs, especially in negotiations with the United States government, until his death in 1827. It seems that some of McIntosh's success as a negotiator with Americans came from the fact that he had been an American ally during the Creek and Seminole Wars. Many Upper and Lower Creeks, who were living on a ten million acre tract of land surrounded by lands owned by the United States, were not in favor of McIntosh's political position (Green 1982:74).

Most Creeks' disfavor with McIntosh became evident after he signed the treaty. After the Treaty of Indian Springs, a statement was drafted by the Creek National Council to the United States in 1824, saying that they would not agree to sell any more Creek lands (Waring 1960). These sentiments were echoed in a letter drafted by Big Warrior (of Tuckabatchee), Little Prince (of Hitchiti), Hopoie Hadjo (of Osweechee), and other *mekkake* in October of 1824 (Niles' Weekly Register 1824:223-224). Despite these documents, the United States recognized McIntosh and a few other Creek *tvlwv mekkake* as having the power to sell the remaining Creek lands in Georgia and Alabama (Green 1982:82-89). McIntosh paid for this signature with his life as Creeks displaced by the land sale burned McIntosh's house and shot him as he tried to flee.

In 1827, after William McIntosh's death, his son,

Chilly, and others who had been loyal to McIntosh, were granted some of the money owed them according to the provisions of the Indian Springs treaty. This group was the first to move west from Creek territory. A few other groups of non-hostile Creeks and Seminoles also moved from Alabama, Georgia, and Florida to Indian Territory shortly after the McIntosh party. Because their leaving was applauded by state administrators and because it was recognized as a voluntary act, these parties were allowed to take their slaves, livestock, and many of their belongings.

The United States Congress passed a relocation bill in 1830 which provided for removal of the native peoples of the Southeast to lands west of the Mississippi. This bill established the United States' policy toward the native inhabitants of the Southeast and legalized the removal of these peoples from their lands. For six years after the passage of the removal bill, Creek and Seminole *tvlwvlke* were located and their populations enumerated. Finally, in 1836, large-scale movement of Creeks to Indian Territory was begun.

The Removal Period

After the removal bill was signed, the vast majority of Creeks moved to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma).

Some Creeks resisted removal from the Southeast, remaining on their native lands though they were harshly treated by state officials and local Anglo-American residents. Of these, the Poarche Creeks in Alabama, recognized by the federal government as a tribe, has maintained some contact with the Creeks who moved to Oklahoma, though this is a somewhat recent development.

Others chose to resist the removal order by joining the Seminoles in Florida. This choice was to offer only a temporary stay from removal as, in 1832, the Seminoles signed the Treaty of Payne's Landing. According to this treaty, the Seminoles were to relinquish all their land in Florida and move to Indian Territory. As part of this treaty, the Seminoles were to be allowed to send a delegation to Indian Territory to select the land upon which they would reside. While the delegation was surveying the lands in Indian Territory, they were manipulated into signing the Treaty of Fort Gibson, stipulating that the Seminoles would be considered part of Creek Nation.

Such maneuverings outraged the Florida Seminoles, many of whom were opposed to becoming subject to the Creek Nation. Much of their objections stemmed from the conflicts between pro-American Creeks and the Redsticks and Seminoles who had fought them in the Creek War and First

Seminole War (Wright 1986:249-254). Anger over this issue and frustration about the removal process led to the Second Seminole War.

The Second Seminole War was one of the most expensive Indian wars for the United States government, though in terms of suffering, the war was more costly for the Seminoles. By the end of the war in 1842, most Seminole settlements had been razed, people had been uprooted, and most were destitute. American soldiers had begun rounding up Seminoles during the war. These groups were escorted to embarkation stations, and there began their journey west. After this phase of removal was completed, 4,420 Seminoles had been sent to Indian Territory, which left only about 500 Seminoles in Florida (Sturtevant 1971:108).

Upon reaching Indian Territory, the Creeks and Seminoles were taken to Fort Gibson at the confluence of the Arkansas and Grand rivers. This fort acted as a supply depot and soldiers from the fort were a protective force for the Creeks and Seminoles; supplies were disbursed from the fort and soldiers from Fort Gibson protected the incoming Creeks and Seminoles from Plains peoples to the west. At times, the Fort Gibson soldiers also maintained peace between opposing factions of Creeks and Seminoles, but most of these disagreements were settled by the communities themselves.

In deciding where to locate their settlements, people rallied around leaders who appeared to have some pull with the United States authorities, just as they had in the Southeast (Hitchcock 1996:109, 110, 119). These leaders, such as Opothle Yahola, formerly an Upper Creek, and Rolly McIntosh, formerly a Lower Creek, pursued different courses in dealing with United States government officials and traders, just as they had in the Southeast. These leaders and their followers also settled in different regions of the area given to the Creeks, just as they had previously been geographically divided (Hitchcock 1996:111-112, 121).

Upon removal to Oklahoma, the Creeks and Seminoles reestablished as much of their social order as possible. Kinship and clan affiliations remained important in Indian Territory, as they had been in the Southeast. Religious sites were established in the new land and the ceremonies formerly conducted in Alabama, Georgia, and Florida were now practiced in Indian Territory (Hitchcock 1996:132-137).

Not every social unit could be reconstituted so easily in Indian Territory, however, as the form of *tvlwvlke* and their position within the overall social structure were changed. *Tvlwvlke* were formed anew, but members were more dispersed than they had been in the Southeast. It seems people from the same *tvlwv* did try to live relatively close to their *tvlwv* associates (Government Land Office 1896-

1899). People still recognized *tvlwv* leaders and other *tvlwv* members but, upon reaching Oklahoma, *tvlwv* independence was broken, with *tvlwvlke* coming under the authority of the Creek National Council.

The Creek National Council had existed previously in the Southeast but its powers were increased after removal. This council was made up of the *mekkake* from the 45 *tvlwvlke*, four "kings" from the Upper Creeks, and two "chiefs" of the Creek Nation. This body acted constituted the legislative arm of Creek Nation, though Hitchcock (1996:123) noted that the chiefs had the authority to ratify or reject laws on their own. The *mekkake* were to enforce laws in their own *tvlwv*, and judicial cases were decided by the *mekkake*. Thus, the Creeks controlled the executive, legislative, and judicial functions of government within the area granted to them by the United States Government--the new Creek Nation.

This was not met with complete approval by all peoples within Creek Nation. The situation dismayed many Seminoles who had moved away from or fought the Creeks in the Southeast. They were denied sovereignty, being told by United States governmental officials that they were considered to be Creeks. While they had been promised a separate area for their own settlements and jurisdiction according to the Treaty of Payne's Landing, this did not

materialize until 1845, ten years after removal (Sattler 1987:147-148). Some Seminoles established their *tvlwvlke* near Creek *tvlwvlke* in Indian Territory but the majority were unwilling to merge with the Creeks (Sattler 1987:148-150; Hitchcock 1996:112). It was only after receiving recognition as a people separate from the Creeks in 1856, that most Seminoles moved away from the Fort Gibson area to establish Seminole settlements along the Deep Fork River (Debo 1941:130-131; Sattler 1987:152). Still others, also opposed to settling with the Creeks, continued to reside near the fort in Cherokee territory (Sattler 1987:152).

The Yuchi were never considered by United States' officials to be separate from the Creeks, though they appeared so to travelers through Creek Nation. Ethan Hitchcock (1996:121) described the Yuchis of Creek Nation in the following manner:

> The Uchees are more numerous, may be 800, and preserve their distinctive character more than any other band or tribe. Not many of them speak Creek and they intermarry but rarely with the Creeks.

Comments about the Yuchis remaining distinct from the other members of Creek Nation are common in earlier descriptions (Stiggins 1989:31-33), and such distinctiveness probably was maintained by their living in the northeastern region of Creek Nation. The Yuchi were allowed to send representatives to the National Council but never had a

large enough population to enable them to control the proceedings.

There were other differences between segments of the Seminole and Creek populations, and the American Civil War exposed some of them. Creeks and Seminoles who had been allowed to bring along their slaves fought in support of Confederate troops. The Southern Confederacy also was able to gain support among the Creeks and Seminoles by offering an increased annuity and disbursement of more commodities. These promises persuaded some Creeks and Seminoles, primarily because the federal government had been remiss in meeting its payments over the previous years (Debo 1941:142-146).

Many Creeks and Seminoles who had not been allowed to bring their slaves or had not owned slaves before removal sided with the Union. Some of these had seen their spouses and children denied passage because of Negro ancestry. Some leaders of the Creeks and Seminoles remained unconvinced of the Southern Confederacy's assertions that the agreements made with the (formerly) United States government were null and void, and that the Union forces could not prevail. These men, including Opothle Yahola (Creek) and Oktarharsars Harjo (Seminole), and their followers were loyal to the Union.

Creek and Seminole soldiers saw Civil War action,

though it was generally limited to Indian Territory. Many of the engagements involved fighting between Indian units or the destruction of enemy property (Baird 1988:74, 84, 89-90, 92-96). At one point, a group of Union-allied Creeks and Seminoles led by Opothle Yahola attempted an orderly movement into Union-held Kansas. This group was harassed by a Confederate force and eventually was routed on December 26, 1861 (Debo 1941:150-151). Opothle Yahola's followers continued to move north in disarray and many died in the harsh winter. Secessionist Creeks and Seminoles endured similar marches, although the weather was better and fewer of them died (Baird 1988:63-66, 73).

At the end of the war, both the Creeks and Seminoles were punished because some members had sided with the Southern Confederacy. The Seminoles were forced to sell more than two million acres of their original settlement area to the federal government, which would then allow them to buy just more than two hundred thousand acres at a higher price, as a new Seminole homeland and to make amends for the damage said to have been caused by those who had joined the Confederates (Debo 1941:172). The Creeks were made to sell more than three and one-quarter million acres of their lands to the federal government (Debo 1941:174). Blacks, who had lived as slaves and freedmen among the Creeks and Seminoles before the war, were all considered

free and equal members of these peoples according to the United States Government. These actions angered both those who had fought for the Confederacy and those who had fought for the Union, but did not reunite them.

Further signs of factionalism within the Creek community erupted in July, 1882, with the beginning of the Green Peach War. This war was a continuation of armed disagreements between members of a conservative ("Loyalist") faction and the leaders of the Constitutional Creek government. Disagreements had been building between these groups since the cession of land for the Seminole (Debo 1941:239-246), but became most evident during the election of 1879.

The Loyalist nominees, Isperharcher and Silas Jefferson for principal- and second-chief, respectively, were not placed on any ballots and did not have any showing in the election (Debo 1941:246). Isperharcher and his supporters formed an opposition government and conducted council meetings at Nuyaka. Two lighthorsemen (officials responsible for policing Creek Nation), under orders from the Constitutional chief, Samuel Checote, to disarm those attending the meeting, ran afoul of the Loyalist side. In the ensuing battle, the two lighthorsemen were killed, and the Green Peach War was begun (Debo 1941:271-272).

The war was characterized by limited skirmishes

between Constitutional and Loyalist forces during 1882 and 1883. Eventually, the Loyalist leaders were forced to leave Creek Nation and seek refuge in either Seminole Nation or Cherokee Nation. Late in 1882, Loyalist leaders and their followers attempted to penetrate Creek Nation and unite at Nuyaka, but the Constitutional party and its federal allies defeated the Loyalists. According to the terms of the 1883 agreement ending the Green Peach War, members of both the Loyalist and Constitutional factions recognized the Creek constitution, pledged their loyalty to Creek Nation, and promised to take part in elections (Debo 1941:280). The Loyalist party received promises that the seemingly unresponsive, overly bureaucratic Creek government was to be streamlined.

The Curtis Act of 1898, was soon to promote unity among the Creek and Seminole people. According to its provisions, all tribal governments were to be abolished on March 4, 1906, the United States was to have jurisdiction over all Indian peoples, and all tribal money was to be administered by the Department of the Interior. As part of the dissolution of the tribes, lands were to be held in severalty, with each tribal member receiving an allotment of 160 acres. Allottees were identified by the Dawes Commission, established in 1893, which was given the task of compiling tribal rolls.

These actions were resisted by many of the Creeks and Seminoles, as documented in correspondence between the National Councils and Principal Chiefs of both Nations and the Congress and President of the United States (Creek Nation 1889; 1890; Perryman 1894). In all cases, the complaintants were united against the Dawes Commission and the provisions of the Curtis Act. The federal government finally had found a cause that could bring together the citizens of the Creek and Seminole Nations, if descriptions like the following are to be believed:

> This commission [Dawes] on the 3d, inst., addressed two thousand of our people at the capital of our nation, most of whom were full-blood Creeks, and when at the close of their discourse it was asked how many of the audience favored the acceptance of their propositions the entire audience voted in the negative (Perryman 1894:6-7).

Despite such meetings and votes, the United States' government forced the allotment and tribal dissolution processes to proceed.

The Creeks and Seminoles also were coming under increased pressure to adopt Christianity. While Hawkins had advocated such a religious change many years earlier, and some missionaries had worked among the Creeks and Seminoles in the Southeast, they had had very little success. After removal, however, missionary activity escalated (Hitchcock 1996). When religious and political leaders converted, a number of their followers also

converted, allowing many churches to maintain the social structure of the *tvlwv* even though the central religious doctrine had changed (Schultz 1995). Christianity was adapted by both the Creeks and Seminoles to correspond to many of their own cutural and social practices and beliefs and, as shown by Schultz (1995), has provided yet another arena in which tradition continues.

Formal education, which was stressed by many missionaries, was to become more commonplace and was to have a lasting effect on the peoples of Indian Territory. Several schools were erected in Indian Territory, with thirty-six built within Creek Nation (O'Brien 1986:125). While in school, children were taught to speak English, receiving harsh punishment if they used their own language(s) (Meriam 1928; Oklahoma Historical Society; fieldnotes). Children were also expected to profess Christian beliefs as opposed to traditional Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi beliefs (fieldnotes).

Five boarding schools also were established in the Creek and Seminole Indian Territories (Morris, Goins and McReynolds 1986:44; O'Brien 1989:125). Children from a number of tribes were brought to these schools, which separated them from their families and compelled them to create relationships with children from other tribes. In these schools, there was a strong emphasis on Anglicizing

the students: All children were to use English, boys learned trades (farming and blacksmithing) and girls were taught domestic skills (cleaning, cooking, etc.) (Lomawaima 1995?). This was designed to foster the adoption of Anglo culture, which it did, but it also fostered a sense of pan-Indianism. Today, people tell stories they heard from their parents about the connections made with members from other tribes in mission and government boarding schools. Not all Creeks and Seminoles entrusted their children to the mission teachers, however, and many remained with their families in the country.

The wish to keep children with the family probably was augmented by allotment, which split the *tvlwvlke* as individuals claimed discrete, often geographically separate lots. Allotment was completed by 1902, with the Creeks allotted 2,997,114 acres of land out of the original 3,079,095 acres given for relocation (Debo 1940:51). The Seminoles' land holdings also were decreased, losing 6,277 acres of the acreage they had purchased from the Creeks in 1866 (Debo 1940:51). After Oklahoma was granted statehood in 1907, the Seminoles found their "nation" comprised one county, Seminole, while the Creeks' "nation" was broken into eight counties, Hughes, Okfuskee, Creek, Tulsa, Okmulgee, McIntosh, Muskogee, and Wagoner.

Between the Curtis Act of 1898 and the Indian

Reorganization Act of 1934, tribal executives were appointed by the president of the United States. The 1936 Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act was a revision of the earlier Reorganization Act to address the special circumstances of Oklahoma Indians. With this act, the Creek and Seminole people again were given the right to organize and govern themselves. This state of affairs lasted until 1955. At this time, political in-fighting in both the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nation governments and the general push to terminate relations with Indian tribes paved the way for BIA appointment of tribal officeholders. This policy was continued until 1970, when Congress passed a law allowing the Five Civilized Tribes to elect their own principal officers. Shortly after this, Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination Act, which gave all other federally recognized tribes the same privilege and restored the tribes' abilities to govern themselves.

The Present Period

Currently, the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations are run according to constitutions passed by their populations in 1979 and 1973, respectively. Each nation has a government made up of executive, legislative, and judicial branches. Officeholders are elected by popular vote. Officeholders and appointed officials are

responsible for administering services, the majority of which are financed by the federal government.

The Seminoles are divided into fourteen bands, each of which elects two representatives to the General Council. People are members of their mother's band (or their father's if their mother is not Seminole) (Article XII of Seminole Constitution). Bands occasionally meet with their representatives, at which times individuals may challenge or question representatives about their voting records. The council enacts laws and resolutions for the tribe. These are executed by a chief and assistant chief, who are elected by the general Seminole populace.

Representatives to the Muskogee (Creek) National Council, the legislative body, are elected from eight districts. Each district is entitled to one representative plus one additional representative for each thousand inhabitants (O'Brien 1986:133-134). The laws then are executed by the Principle and Second Chiefs, who also are elected by popular vote. This form of government mirrors that found earlier in Creek Nation before the Curtis Act. The primary difference lies in the establishment of voting districts from which representatives are chosen, in contrast to *tvlwvlke*, which were disbanded after allotment.

Like the political functions of *tvlwvlke*, their social functions have been taken over by new entities: churches

and stompgrounds. The connections are explicit in that some churches and grounds have names of historical *tvlwvlke*, and leadership roles are organized as they were in *tvlwvlke*. Similarities also are found in that grounds and churches act as social gathering places, people feel connections to other members of the same grounds and churches, and family relations are traced to particular grounds and churches. No ground or church has political power or is a political entity separate from the Muskogee (Creek) or Seminole Nations.

The Yuchi are voting members of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Yuchi people may hold elective office. The majority of Yuchi people live within Tulsa and Creek counties, both of which are located within Muskogee (Creek) Nation. Currently, three Yuchi grounds and two Methodist churches are active, each of these organizations serves the same functions for the Yuchis as do the grounds and churches mentioned above.

In the period before an election, people are generally very forthcoming about the differences within the Creek and Seminole communities. Members of these communities are able to identify several segments/groups to which people may belong, some of which appear to be mutually exclusive. These segments may be differentiated along several lines: kinship; religious affiliation; tribal affiliation;

linguistic ability in either Muskogee/Seminole, Yuchi, or English; incorporation into the Anglo community, which is often reflected in employment or economic status; educational background; political activity; and geographical location. People are able to, and often do, distinguish which group they and others belong.

It is possible to demonstrate some of the economic, educational, employment, age, and self-reported linguistic differences among those individuals who identified themselves as American Indians on the 1990 census and who are living in the areas encompassed by Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nation (see Appendix 1 for raw data). These data were obtained from the individual census tract or block numbering area (BNA) data available for the counties within Muskogee (Creek) Nation's Tribal Jurisdiction Statistical Area (TJSA): Creek, Hughes, McIntosh, Muskogee, Okfuskee, Okmulgee, Tulsa, and Wagoner; and for the only county within Seminole Nation's TJSA: Seminole county (see Map 2 for the tracts/BNAs within the two TJSAs).[8] Data from

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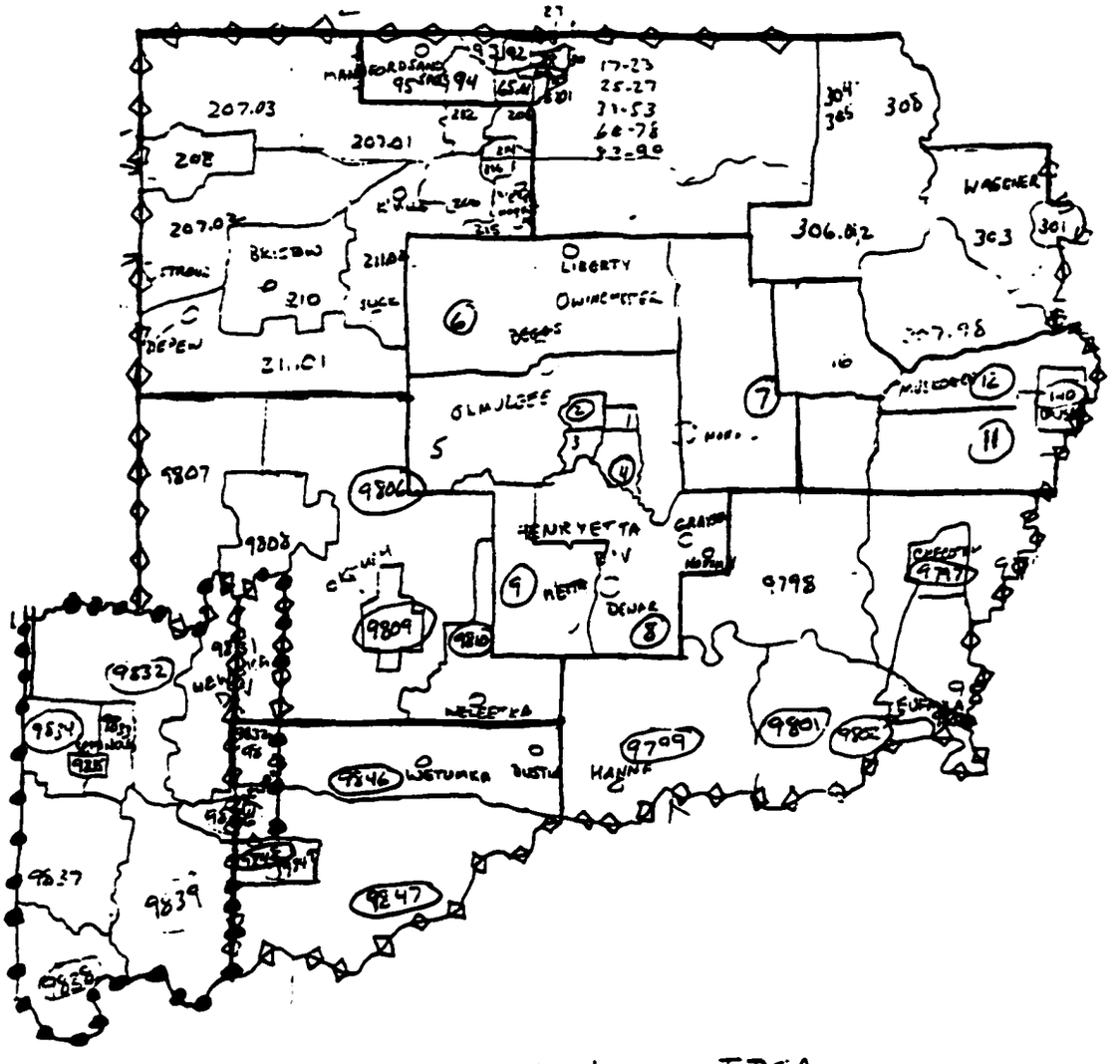
[8]Tribal Jurisdiction Statistical Areas (TJSAs) are areas "delineated by federally-recognized tribes in Oklahoma without a reservation, for which the Census Bureau tabulates data" (1990 Census: A-3). These areas ostensibly contain the Native American population over which a given tribe has jurisdiction and such areas were drawn up in a collaborative effort between the Census Bureau and individual tribal bodies (R. Rundstrom, personal communication). In the case of the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations, the areas covered by their TJSAs encompass the area historically covered by the two



Map 2. Census Tracts and BNAs Within the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations
From: United States Department of Commerce (1990)

"Nations" dating from their origin after Removal.

only a portion of the individual tracts and BNAs in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations were analyzed here because disaggregate data are only available for those tracts and BNAs in which at least four hundred individuals identified themselves as Native Americans. Despite that condition, it was possible to find disaggregate data for at least two tracts or BNAs in each county in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations.

The individual tracts/BNAs with their respective data were sorted into three categories (rural, town, and urban) according to the size of the largest settlement area (see Tables 2 and 3 for settlement area size). Tracts 7, 8, 11, 12, and 207.01 and BNAs 9799, 9806, 9810, 9832, 9838, 9839, 9846, and 9847, which did not have any single, large settlement area (population > 2,000), and for which the total population within the settlement areas listed on the 1990 Census maps was less than 2,000, were classified as "rural" areas. Tracts 9, 301, and 306.02 and BNAs 9797, 9802, 9809, 9834, 9836, and 9848, which had settlement areas with population sizes between 2,000 and 10,000 were classified as "town" areas. Tracts 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 48, 77.02, 94, 201, and 206, which have settlement areas with populations ≥ 10,000 were classified as "urban" areas. Because these data are presented only to illustrate variation in the Native American population residing in the

Table 2
Settlement Size in "Town" Tracts and BNAs

County	BNA or Tract #	Town Name	Population
Hughes	9848	Holdenville	4,792
McIntosh	9797	Checotah	3,290
	9802	Eufaula	2,652
Okfuskee	9809	Okemah	3,085
Okmulgee	9	Henryetta	5,872
Seminole	9834	Seminole	7,071
	9836	Wewoka	4,050
Wagoner	301	Wagoner	6,894
	306.02	Coweta	6,159

From: Virginia Cosby. 1993. Population Predictions for Oklahoma, 1990-2020. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Commerce. pp. 39-49.

Table 3
Settlement Size in "Urban" Tracts and BNAs

County	BNA or Tract #	Urban Area Name	Population
Creek	201, 206	Sapulpa	18,074
Muskogee	1, 7, 8, 9, 10	Muskogee	37,708
Okmulgee	2, 4	Okmulgee	13,441
Tulsa	48, 77.02, 94	Tulsa	361,628

From: Virginia Cosby. 1993. Population Predictions for Oklahoma, 1990-2020. Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Department of Commerce. pp. 39-49.

Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations, no attempt has been made to determine whether differences between the rural, town, and urban areas are statistically significant.

The economic differences among the Native American population living in rural, town, and urban areas are rather interesting (see Table 4). Households in rural and town areas are fairly similar in the distribution of income with respectively 68.52 percent and 70.31 percent of households in these areas making under $25,000 per year. In the urban areas, however, the percentage of households making less than $25,000 is more than 7 percent lower, at only 61.16 percent. While none of the areas has a high percentage of households earning over $100,000 annually, the urban area shows far higher rates for households earning between $35,000 and $99,999 annually than either the rural or town areas.

Some differences between areas are evident in educational levels (see Table 5). A higher percentage of people in the rural areas have not graduated from high school as compared with people from town or urban areas (41.12 percent, 36.26 percent, and 28.13 percent, respectively). A higher percentage of people in the urban areas have completed high school, 35.60 percent, than in either rural (30.78 percent) or town (30.16 percent) areas. The percentages of people with at least some college

Table 4
Household Income Levels

	Rural areas		Town areas		Urban areas	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Total number of households	1,941		2,001		2,313	
Income less than $5,000	234	12.05	231	11.54	243	10.51
$5,000 - $9,999	423	21.79	334	16.69	277	11.96
$10,000 - $14,999	306	15.77	379	18.94	486	21.01
$15,000 - $24,999	367	18.91	463	23.14	409	17.68
$25,000 - $34,999	249	12.83	276	13.79	301	13.01
$35,000 - $49,999	214	11.02	186	9.30	328	14.18
$50,000 - $74,999	124	6.39	108	5.40	218	9.42
$75,000 - $99,999	13	0.66	14	0.70	42	1.82
$100,000 and above	11	0.57	10	0.50	9	0.39

From: 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Oklahoma (Outside Metropolitan Areas and Tulsa, OK, MSA.) U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Table 5
Education Levels

	Rural areas		Town areas		Urban areas	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Persons ≥25 years	3,405		3,478		4,090	
Less than 9th grade	557	16.36	497	14.29	361	8.83
9-12 grade, no diploma	843	24.76	764	21.97	788	19.30
High school graduate	1,048	30.78	1,049	30.16	1,415	35.60
Some college, no degree	479	14.07	737	21.19	833	20.37
Associate degree	214	6.28	186	5.35	291	7.11
Bachelor degree	164	4.82	161	4.63	296	7.24
Graduate or professional degree	100	2.94	84	2.42	146	3.57

From: 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Oklahoma (Outside Metropolitan Areas and Tulsa, OK, MSA.) U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

education also increase as one moves from rural (28.11 percent) to town (33.59 percent) and then to urban (38.29 percent) areas.

Employment figures also change according to residential area (see Table 6). The numbers of people in the labor force and the percentage of those employed increase steadily as one moves from the rural to urban areas. Of the rural areas, only 55.34 percent of the population older than 16 years were in the labor force, and of those, only 82.30 percent were employed at the time of the census. In the town areas, 58.05 percent of the population over age 16 was in the labor force with 86.04 percent of those employed. The largest percentage of population in the labor force and employed is found in the urban areas. Here, 59.82 percent of the population older than 16 years was in the labor force with an employment rate of 91.35 percent.

The data for age groupings within the rural, town, and urban areas also show some variation (see Table 7). A majority (51.37 percent and 50.02 percent, respectively) of American Indian people living in town and rural areas are 24 or younger. Towns also have the highest percentage of people over the age of 55 (15.74 percent), though this percentage is just slightly higher than the percentage of people over the age of 55 in urban areas (15.71 percent).

Table 6
Employment

	Rural areas		Town areas		Urban areas	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Persons ≥ 16 years	4,409		4,369		5,007	
In labor force	2,440	55.34	2,536	58.05	2,995	59.82
Employed	2,008	82.30	2,182	86.04	2,736	91.35
Unemployed	429	17.58	354	13.96	263	8.78

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Oklahoma (Outside Metropolitan Areas and Tulsa, OK, MSA.) U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

Table 7
Age

	Rural areas		Town areas		Urban areas	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
All persons	6,456		6,689		7,617	
< 5 - 24 years	3,229	50.02	3,436	51.37	3,615	47.46
25 - 54 years	2,262	35.04	2,202	32.92	2,806	36.84
> 54 years	965	14.95	1,053	15.74	1,196	15.71

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Oklahoma (Outside Metropolitan Areas and Tulsa, OK, MSA.) U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

The highest percentage of people between the ages of 25 and 54 years is found in urban areas, with a total of 36.84 percent and the lowest percentage of people in this same age range occurs in the town areas, where only 32.92 percent of the population falls within this range. In all the areas, however, the vast majority of the population is younger than 54 years.

Table 8 shows self-reported linguistic abilities, including the ability to speak a language other than English and feeling that the respondent is unable to speak English "very well." There is a clear shift toward English monolingualism as one moves from the rural to urban areas, with 20.44 percent of the rural population speaking a language other than English, but only 5.02 percent of urban dwellers doing so. The population in town areas has an intermediate percentage (16.06 percent) of people who speak a language other than English. Unfortunately, these data are not disaggregated so that one can determine whether people are speaking the language of their own tribe, the language of another tribe, or a language not indigenous to North America. It seems safe to say, however, that children and adults are probably exposed to more linguistic diversity in the rural and town areas than in the urban areas.

Proficiency in English also apparently increases as

Table 8
Self-Reported Linguistic Abilities

	Rural areas		Town areas		Urban areas	
	Total	%	Total	%	Total	%
Persons ≥ 5 years	6,184		6,281		6,838	
Speak a language other than English	1,264	20.44	1,009	16.06	343	5.02
Do not speak English "very well"	421	6.81	264	4.20	122	1.80
In linguistically isolated households	146	2.36	37	0.59	20	0.30

Source: 1990 Census of Population and Housing. Population and Housing Characteristics for Census Tracts and Block Numbering Areas. Oklahoma (Outside Metropolitan Areas and Tulsa, OK, MSA.) U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, Bureau of the Census.

one moves from the rural to urban areas. A much lower percentage ofpeople in the urban areas (1.80 percent) reported that they do not speak English "very well" as compared with the percentage of people in rural areas (6.81percent). The percentage of people reporting an inability to speak English well in town areas (4.20 percent) falls between the rural and urban percentages, though slightly closer to the rural rate, suggesting that there is a continuum as one moves toward urbanized areas.

Each of these data sets shows that the American Indian population living within the borders of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation TJSA and the Seminole Nation TJSA displays quite a bit of variation. These census data show that economic, educational, employment, and linguistic ability differ as one moves from rural to urban areas within these two TJSA's. Individuals within Creek Nation and Seminole Nation talk about religious, tribal, clan, and kinship differences as well. This study will investigate whether these latter differences, which are evident in the population which takes part in the stompdance religion, are so significant that members of Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation who form the stompdance social community cannot be considered members of one speech community or whether the differences are not so great as to allow for one speech community.

Literature Review

As mentioned above, factors acting to separate and unite portions of the Creek and Seminole communities have been active in the past and are still active in the present. Unfortunately, the majority of early histories and ethnographies concerning the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people have not dealt with these factors. Recently, despite a continuing focus on external causes for cultural, economic, and political change among these communities, a new interest has developed in the internal dynamics. As more histories are written with a focus on internal change, cohesion, and division, it may be possible to make inferences about speech community size and composition in these communities in earlier years. It also may become possible to discern those elements that cause changes in speech communities.

The bulk of historical and ethnographic work concerns the Mvskoke (Creek) Indians. Most begin with some consideration of the founding of the Creek Confederacy and end at some point after removal to Oklahoma (e.g., Debo 1940, 1941; Green 1982; Moore 1988; Swanton 1922, 1928; Wright 1986). Others, such as Braund (1993) and Usner (1992), write about a particular period in Muskogee (Creek) history and do not attempt to relate the situations at that period to present circumstances. Braund (1993), Hassig

(1974), Usner (1992), and Wright (1986) do focus on internal conflicts, alliances, and adaptations, and emphasize their importance in shaping the history of the Muskogee (Creek) people through time. Of these three, only Wright is concerned with how these internal struggles and changes worked to influence the ethnic development of the Mvskoke (Creek) people; the others relate the internal relations and changes to events of a particular period in time and to economic and political events.

According to Wright (1986), one of the dominant factors to shape the history and identity of those people who came to be known as Muskogee (Creek) was a distinction between those peoples who were truly Mvskoke versus those who were not. Wright (1986) posits that this Mvskoke/non-Mvskoke "moiety" division was responsible for influencing particular leaders' actions and decisions throughout history. However, it seems that while such differentiation would be influential in some instances, the fluidity of alliances and cooperation between leaders and their followers seems to suggest that there are many other elements at work. While the primary conclusion of his work does not appear to hold in all situations, it is one of the first works to propose historical, internal reasons for the vexing problem of explaining the variety of responses presented by the Mvskoke (Creeks) to the diverse situations

in which they found themselves.

While differing in focus from the histories of the Mvskoke (Creeks), most of the ethnographies of these people are similar to the early histories in that they have not dealt with many of the factors allowing for social differentiation in Mvskoke (Creek) life. Swanton (1922; 1928; 1946), for instance, is concerned with the identification of differences among the people who came to be known as the Mvskoke (Creeks), but these differences primarily are noted in the preremoval histories provided in his ethnographies. After providing an overview of the many segments of Mvskoke (Creek) society in the preremoval period, Swanton then gives descriptions of beliefs and practices of the Mvskoke (Creeks) in the mid-1920s, but does not concern himself with showing how the segments cause division or cohesion in the community. One is left with the idea that almost all members of Muskogee (Creek) Nation share similar backgrounds and outlooks.

Mary Haas (1940) and Morris Opler (1952) also have written ethnographic works concerning the Mvskoke (Creek) *tvlwv* and political system. Each of these studies concerns itself with preremoval and postremoval patterns of interaction and social relations. Haas details the relationships between Mvskoke (Creek) *tvlwvlke* from informants' memories, historical documents, and personal

observation. Her interest primarily is in tracing the red and white identities of particular *tvlwvlke* and clearing up some problems Swanton encountered in his research into these relations. Opler details the Mvskoke (Creek) political system, tracing its changes from the early period of the Creek Confederacy to the system in place during the 1950s. In each study, historical differences within the Creek Confederacy are noted and explored, but these differences are considered to be sufficiently reduced so as to be less problematic than the conditions in which all Mvskoke (Creek) people found themselves at the time of each study.

There have been few sociolinguistic investigations of the Muskogee (Creeks). Almost all linguistic work has been descriptive, comparative, or historical. Current descriptive works, such as Martin's (n.d.), note that semantic and pronunciation differences exist within the Mvskoke-speaking community, but do not explore these differences. Innes (1992) has described code-switching in formal Mvskoke discourse, but that study is solely concerned with the import of code-switching in one committee's political meetings and does not generalize about a wider speech community.

The emphases found within the historical, ethnographic, and linguistic literature concerning the

Seminoles of Oklahoma are similar to those for the Mvskoke (Creek). Many histories have been written about the Seminole tribe. The majority are concerned with the Seminoles' struggles to mediate between the principle powers in the Southeast prior to Removal: England, Spain, France, and the emerging United States (Braund 1993; Debo 1941; Sturtevant 1971; Wright 1986). Others, such as Lancaster (1994), Littlefield (1977), and Trees (1973), deal with the conditions faced by those who have become known as Oklahoma Seminoles, as opposed to those who remained in Florida, between removal to Indian Territory in 1836 and the Civil War.

While few in number, the ethnographies of the Oklahoma Seminoles that have been written, have tended to show how the particular aspects of the Oklahoma Seminoles' culture have worked to maintain a distinct identity while allowing for adaptation to internal and external forces. Alexander Spoehr (1941; 1942), found the Seminole had altered their settlement patterns and kinship systems. His research outlined the reasons for this change and also found that these adaptations were not leading to the disintegration or collapse of the Seminole people, but were allowing them to continue as a distinct people.

Sattler's (1987) dissertation is an ethnohistoric study of Seminole government from the preremoval period to

the period just before the dissolution of tribal government under the Curtis Act. As in Spoehr's studies, the Seminoles' reactions to external and internal forces are displayed and well discussed. Sattler is primarily interested in portraying the adaptational potentials within the Seminoles' political/governmental structure. Sattler does relate the effects of the changes in the political system to changes and stresses in other parts of Seminole society. He also puts quite a bit of effort into relating how the Creeks and Seminoles interacted and/or remained separate in earlier years.

The most recent ethnography of the Seminole, Schultz's (1995) work, is concerned with the role of a Baptist church in maintaining community. The necessity of maintaining face (as proposed by Erving Goffman) on both the institutional and individual level is shown to be a significant influence on church members' actions in and perceptions of wider Seminole society. This influence also colors their perceptions of people and institutions outside of the Seminole community. Each of these works illustrates that the community is not homogeneous, nor do the divisions within the community remain constant.

Little of the linguistic work dealing with the Seminole is concerned with community variation. Most linguistic studies concerning the Seminole language deal

with the Florida Seminole community (e.g., Nathan 1977), though some studies, such as those presented in Munro (1987), have investigated the language spoken by Oklahoma Seminoles. This work is descriptive, as are most studies of the Seminole language. The Seminole language is considered in comparative and historical works, but these do not deal with variability in the speech community at any great length. There have been no sociolinguistic investigations of the Oklahoma Seminole community.

The Yuchi differ from both the Mvskoke (Creeks) and Oklahoma Seminoles in that they are not a federally recognized tribe. The Yuchi have been recognized as a separate people by early travelers (Adair 1930; Bartram 1928; Stiggins 1989), ethnographers (Innes 1995; Jackson 1995; Speck 1909; Swanton 1922:286-312; Wallace 1995) and historians, but they have never been recognized as a people separate from the Mvskoke (Creeks) by a federal or state agency. Their history is closely bound to the Mvskoke (Creeks), preremoval Seminoles, and Shawnee, which may explain why so few histories deal explicitly with the Yuchi. Ethnographers have dealt with the Yuchi, however, and works concerning their cultural and social differentiation from the Mvskoke-Creek and Oklahoma Seminole communities have been produced (Innes 1995a, 1995b, 1995c; Jackson 1995a, 1995b; Wallace 1993, 1995a,

1995b, n.d.). These works build on earlier ethnographies. Shortly before Swanton wrote his ethnographies of the Creek, Frank Speck wrote an ethnography of the Yuchi (1909). This work is very much like Swanton's works, with an emphasis on description of traditional practices and beliefs and little consideration of past or present change or the social forces that spur such change. Speck does show that the Yuchi are different from the Creek, noting these differences existed both in preremoval and postremoval times.

The Yuchi language has received some attention, almost all of it descriptive (e.g., Ballard 1975; Crawford 1973; Wagner 1934). Some of this descriptive interest undoubtedly stems from the fact that the Yuchi language is one of few Southeastern language isolates still spoken. Abla (1994) has produced the only sociolinguistic study of the Yuchi community to date. Her work is primarily an attempt to reconstruct the dialectal variation within the historical community. The paucity of sociolinguistic work concerning this community will change soon, however, as linguist Mary Linn is working on a dialectal survey with the fluent speakers in the community.

The historical background of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole people provides for an interesting, variegated community that may challenge the traditional

conception of the speech community. The increasing emphasis on the multi-faceted nature of these communities in history and anthropology promotes the utility of studying these communities to learn about factors influencing social cohesion and creation of common identity (or lack thereof). Sociolinguistic work in these communities also can be used to depict these points, as this study will illustrate.

Chapter 2: Theory and Methodology

> Thus, it proved difficult in this, as in many other instances, to get the Creeks together even on county lines, to say nothing of organizing the entire Creek Nation.
>
> Morris Opler (1952:165-166)

As shown in the previous chapter, the histories and ethnographies written about the Muskogee often focus on the relations between segments of Muskogee society.[1] The ways in which these relations are dealt with by community members and their effects on interaction are intriguing to those interested in relating social and cultural aspects to other parts of peoples' lives. Because of the community's heterogeneity, a sociolinguistic study of the Muskogee community should be illuminating, as sociolinguists seek to understand the interplay between social categories, social interaction, and another facet of social life, language.

Sociolinguistics, broadly defined, is the study of language use in social context. Sociolinguists primarily are interested in discovering the rules for appropriate social interaction shared by members of a particular

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[1]Muskogee, as distinct from Muskogee (Creek), is used to denote a community that encompasses all people enrolled in either Muskogee (Creek) Nation or Seminole Nation. Where the nature of the community is specified, as in "Muskogee stompdance community," the designated community should be considered to contain members from both Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation. Muskogee (Creek) community will be used when members are drawn only from Muskogee (Creek) Nation.

community and the ways in which individuals creatively use those rules when communicating and interacting with other members of the community. As stated by Gumperz and Hymes (1972:vii),

> ...students of communicative competence [sociolinguists] deal with speakers as members of communities, as incumbents of social roles, and seek to explain their use of language to achieve self-identification and to conduct their activities.

To reach these explanations, sociolinguists have formulated the concept of the speech community, which provides them with a unit of study.

A speech community is defined according to both social and linguistic phenomena (Gumperz and Hymes 1972:16; Hymes 1964:385-387; 1974:47-51). Shared linguistic forms must be present with shared rules for appropriate behavior; the linguistic forms and shared rules allow for and are reinforced by appropriate conduct. The community's rules then are evidenced not only through correctly formulated linguistic utterances, but also through appropriate social conduct. One's inclusion in a particular speech community then must be demonstrable through an ability to interact successfully socially as well as linguistically as these are two analytic aspects of the same behavioral phenomenon.

The concept of the speech community has been important in linguistic work for several centuries, though its form and defining characteristics have not always been those

chosen by Gumperz and Hymes. Evolutionary theory informed early linguistic works, such as those of Herder (1803) and Grimm (1819-40), who maintained that language complexity reflected social complexity. As a corollary to this schema, language change, especially when change was fostered by contact with a different culture, found the more advanced language superceding the less advanced language (just as more advanced cultures superceded the less advanced). According to this linguistic theory, languages and cultures were coterminus. One could discern where one language community ended and another began by noting technological, social, or cultural differences between the two communities. These differences were assumed to coincide with linguistic differences.

With the work of Saussure (1959), European linguists began to consider that linguistic differentiation need not correlate with technological, cultural, or social differences in any neat way. Saussure was one of the first to suggest a difference between language (*langue*) as a system and speech (*parole*) as the way in which the system is manifested. Although he separated language from speech, Saussure did not go so far as to remove language from the social world, as the following statement shows:

> ...[L]anguage is not complete in any speaker, it exists perfectly only within a collectivity.... [Language] is the social side of speech, outside of the individual who can never create nor modify

> it by himself, it exists only by virtue of a sort of contract signed by the members of a community. (1959:14)

Statements of this sort reveal that Saussure was very aware that language (*langue*) exists solely as an entity used rather uniformly by the members of a particular community. Under Saussure's conceptualization, then, one can discern language communities by noting differences in language. Differences in social aspects between one community and another, according to Saussure, are not a focus of great concern to linguists and do not inform studies of language communities.

In the United States, a different conceptualization of the relationship between language, culture, and society was emerging. (Saussure's writings were not translated into English until 1959 and were not influential here until after that date.) Sapir, Whorf, and Bloomfield are perhaps the best known of the linguists working at this time. Sapir and Whorf are reknowned for their hypothesis relating language, specifically its grammatical categories, and worldview (Whorf (1956:57-64) provides an example of how the hypothesis is applied).

For both Sapir and Whorf discernment of linguistic differences would be expected to coincide with cultural and social differences between groups and vice versa. In this schema, groups that exhibit social and cultural differences

of almost any order also should exhibit linguistic differences. According to this perception, speech communities were defined primarily by social or cultural differences as these were supposed to be reflected in the linguistic behaviors of the contrasting groups. Thus, if the linguist could establish that social or cultural differences existed between groups, he or she should be able to discover that their languages differ.

Bloomfield (1933) was one of the first linguists to discuss explicitly the concept of speech community, despite its common usage in previous linguistic work. His definition (1933:29) is concerned solely with linguistic aspects of the community as evident in his own words: "[a speech community is] a group of people who use the same system of speech signals." His definition, which admits variation can exist within a single speech community, also incorporates the idea that the quantity of "sub-group" social interaction is a means of explaining how variation is maintained (Bloomfield 1933:47). With this, Bloomfield offers the first formulation of a speech community close to that commonly used by sociolinguists today.

Linguists abandoned interest in defining speech communities and studying socially situated language use in response to Chomsky's approach (1957, 1965). At Chomsky's urging, linguists began to focus on the internalized rules

governing languages. Socially situated language is not used as raw data in such studies because the researcher is striving to discover the rules that apply solely to language. Chomskian researchers do not want to concern themselves with situational features that may influence the linguistic data. In essence, Chomskian linguists try to divorce language from culture and society as much as possible.

In reaction to this, Dell Hymes, John Gumperz, and others, developed the field of sociolinguistics. As mentioned above, sociolinguists are interested in language use in social context. Because of this focus, the concept of speech community is central to the field. Despite its centrality, the concept has not been clearly defined. Hymes came to define a speech community as "a community sharing knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (1974:51). He then proceeds to expand his definition:

> ...sharing comprises knowledge of at least one form of speech, and knowledge also of its patterns of use. Both conditions are necessary. Since both kinds of knowledge may be shared apart from common membership in a community, an adequate theory of language requires additional notions, such as *language field*, *speech field*, and *speech network*, and requires the contribution of social science in characterising the notions of community, and of membership in community. (1974:51; italics in original)

It is necessary for Hymes to introduce the notions of

language field, speech field, and speech network, to deal with the range of linguistic topics that may be investigated within any speech community. Language field, speech field, and speech network serve to differentiate people according to linguistic criteria, as the following passage shows:

> ...a personal language field will be delimited by a repertoire of forms of speech; a personal speech field will be delimited by a repertoire of patterns of speaking; and a personal speech network will be the effective union of these two. (1974:50)

When these concepts are taken beyond the personal level, they lead to dividing people according to 1) an ability to understand one or more languages (language field), 2) an ability to communicate appropriately in one or more languages (speech field), and 3) their participation in a group of people who communicate with one another. These, then, are linguistic criteria, albeit vague criteria, for inclusion in a speech community.

While Hymes' concepts of language field, speech field, and speech network provide some linguistic criteria for inclusion in a speech community, he is unwilling or unable to provide us with criteria to determine what a community is. Hymes leaves the definition of the social unit to social scientists. Unfortunately, sociolinguists, and social scientists, have not come to any agreement about an exact definition of community. As the discussion below

will show, ambiguity surrounding the idea of the social and linguistic criteria to be used in formulating a speech community affect sociolinguistic research.

The problems caused by the ambiguous nature of the speech community differ in the approaches developed by sociolinguists to investigate how social and/or cultural factors influence language use. These approaches include discourse analysis, conversation analysis (which some, such as Schiffrin (1994), consider an approach within discourse analysis), network analysis, code-switching analysis, and more sociological approaches as evident in the work of Erving Goffman (1963, 1967, 1971) and Joshua Fishman (1971, 1972, 1985). The concept of the speech community is necessary to each of these approaches, as they are based on the supposition that analysis is able to explain some facets of language use for members of a particular community. As more discrete analyses are completed, it is hoped that some general rules or patterns of human language use will become evident.

Discourse analysis enables one to study the connection between culture (which most analysts define as symbolic behavior), society (an interconnected group of people), and language (both symbolic and expressive of group relations) (Sherzer 1987; Schiffrin 1994:42). Discourse (contextually grounded use of language) is a good place to begin the

study of interaction among language, culture, and society. Discourse analysis also offers a chance to trace changes in the influences of language, culture, or society on the others as one may work from written as well as oral material.

Two of the primary areas of interest among discourse analysts show the connections between this form of analysis and linguistics and anthropology. Some discourse analysts, following structural linguists and anthropologists of the 1960s and 70s, are interested in exploring the grammatical categories that speakers utilize in discourse and the items that are specifically mobilized in those categories. This interest speaks to sociolinguistics' focus on language choice and manipulation (e.g., Collett (1983) on semantic choice in Mossi salutations; Gumperz (1964) on the meaning conveyed by the use of particular lexemes).

A second interest of discourse analysts, that seems to follow from the above, is in trying to discern cultural logic as shown in discourse form. This is useful in psycholinguistics, sociolinguistics, and cultural anthropology. The premise is that narrative flow, temporal/tense markers, shifts in pronouns, use of silence, and other structural and organizational items, can be used to show not only important categories within a language, but also may be used to discover important categories

within a culture. The way those categories are arranged or connected by members of a particular culture also may be explored using discourse analysis (e.g., Basso (1972) on the use of silence in Western Apache culture; Downing (1980) on lexical choice in English and Japanese narrative).

Conversation analysis is very similar to discourse analysis, but the unit of study is spoken language produced by more than one person (discourse analysis may analyze monologues or written works) (Goodwin 1981:6-9; Sacks 1972; Schiffrin 1988). It is actual talk, not previously written texts and, as such, must have been collected from situated conversations in order to allow one to come to conclusions about how real talk is organized, structured, and presented. A number of conversations must be recorded in order to comprehend the functions of particular conversational devices and to show that a number of speakers and hearers treat the device in patterned ways.

The goals of understanding how joint meanings are (or are not) constructed, what is necessary for meaningful communication, and the order and organization of contextual cues are tied to both anthropological and linguistic concerns. Deborah Tannen (1991) has used conversation analysis to investigate gender relations and communication via perceptions of joint meaning in cross-gender

conversations, after interest in feminist issues had been established in academics. The interest in joint meaning also is helpful in interethnic studies, noting how boundaries and stereotypes are maintained through miscommunication (as in Gumperz' (1982:172-189) work on East Indian-British interaction). Linguists interested in semiotics are beginning to push for consideration of situated meaning in their analyses, which has been an important aspect in conversation analysis (Fries and Gregory 1995; Stewart 1995).

Differing from the approaches just discussed, code-switching analysis relies heavily on participant-observation. The goal is to understand why people switch between codes (distinct languages, language varieties, and dialects) while speaking. The emphasis in studies of this behavior is on social factors that influence language use. Much of the analysis has relied on discovering how socioeconomic differences between participants influence their code choice, akin to Labov's (1966) study of "r-less" speech among New Yorkers. This analysis has drawn heavily on world systems theory, with most analysts postulating that speakers make some of their decisions according to their group's position in the economy versus those of their listeners (Gal 1989; Woolard 1985).

Network analysis, the last approach to be discussed,

is based primarily on anthropological and sociological work and differs slightly from the other approaches in that its practitioners tend to place more emphasis on social group interaction than in language structures to explain their data (Milroy 1982; Milroy and Milroy 1992; Trudgill 1979). In network analysis, the analyst seeks to trace individuals' social networks, taking into account as many linkages as possible. These linkages, when traced as fully as possible, then may be used to explain the occurrence of particular linguistic variables in the speech of a social group, including styles and registers of speech. The thought is that speakers within a tight-knit community with many interconnecting ties will have very similar speech patterns and will not be amenable to change, especially if that change comes from outside the community (Milroy 1982:17-19, 60-61, 177-178). Individuals who are not tightly bound in a community should be more amenable to linguistic change and have speech patterns that differ from others around them (Milroy 1982:162-163, 181).

Network analysis, as a method, has long been used in sociology and anthropology to explicate several sorts of behavior (e.g., Boissevain 1974). Network analysis, as a tool of linguists, is very similar to the version used in other anthropological areas. As a methodology, network analysis is useful in studies of political power, risk

management, boundary maintenance and ethnicity, as well as sociolinguistics.

The concept of speech community, despite its usage in the various sociolinguistic approaches discussed above, and its centrality to sociolinguistics in general, has not been critiqued or discussed much (Dua 1981; Dorian 1982; Williams 1992). While the concept is useful in that it allows the researcher to define the community, there also are several problems with the concept, probably the greatest of which is its ambiguity; it is possible to define a speech community according to many different criteria. In studies such as Tannen's (1991), Sherzer's (1983, 1990), Bauman's (1986) and others, the social aspect defined by cultural (ideological) characteristics appears to be central. For network analysts, such as Milroy (1982), interactional patterns are pivotal. Socioeconomic and ethnic factors are the defining characteristics for some codeswitching analysts (Gal 1989), while combinations of interactional patterns and socioeconomic factors play a role in defining the speech community in some network analysis (Milroy and Milroy 1992). No matter which social criteria are used to define the community, the analysts then assert that those people who conform to the social unit as defined by the analyst all share a set of linguistic codes and rules governing their use and

interpretation.

Each of the social attributes that are used to distinguish a speech community is problematic. Boundaries defined according to interactional patterns, socioeconomic status, and ethnic factors allow the speech community to have permeable boundaries. It is possible for people to leave and enter speech communities whose boundaries are defined by the above criteria as a result of changing conditions such as geographic movement, employment, education, socioeconomic advance or decline, and ethnic identification (Dua 1981:89-90). Each of these may have a diachronic impact on the group(s) of people identified through interactional patterns, socioeconomic status, and ethnic factors.

An example of such change in speech community membership occurs in Creek and Seminole history. Beginning in the late 1700s, Americans and Europeans considered the peoples residing in Florida to be distinct from those residing in Georgia and Alabama, calling the respective groups Seminoles and Creeks. Were it possible to go back in time to perform a sociolinguistic study of tribally-defined Seminole and Creek speech communities, one would find their size and social constitution changed over time. *Tvlwvlke* moved into and out of Florida thoughout much of the period prior to removal, causing a fluctuation in the

populations of both of the postulated speech communities, for as *tvlwvlke* entered Florida they became Seminole and as they left Florida they became Creek. How the people within the *tvlwvlke* identified themselves is, however, unknown.

The movement of *tvlwvlke* during this period of Creek and Seminole history present difficulties for analysts interested in clearly defined, clearly bounded speech communities. However, if the focus were placed on the changes in language use and interactional patterns over time, this period in Creek and Seminole history would be very exciting. One could chart how *tvlwv* movement altered the interactional patterns and the norms of language use within the speech communities, if these communities can be shown to exist, and/or how groups of individuals (*tvlwvlke*) altered their own language use and interactional patterns somewhat to make successful moves between these two proposed speech communities. In essence, changes in community size and character are not so perplexing if interest shifts from describing language use within predefined communities to describing how communities are created and identified through language use. Permeability, then, should not be viewed so much as a problem, but as a call for diachronic studies so that we may be able to chart change as well as stasis.

In contrast to speech communities defined by ethnic or

socioeconomic factors, that may be rather large, most communities defined by interactional patterns are relatively small. Because of the intensive and time-consuming nature of fieldwork, researchers do not usually feel it is possible to investigate large networks and to map all interaction. This has not been viewed as problematic in most network analysis, as much of the analysis has centered on mapping the occurrence of particular linguistic variables in small populations. Once the investigator is consistently able to trace a network to people who do not exhibit that variable, the extent of the analytical network is assumed to have been discovered. The speech of those people who fall within the network domain then is analyzed. In these cases, the speech community is defined according to social interaction and use of a linguistic variable. These speech communities thus are very restricted and members' linguistic behaviors are not generalizable to a larger community.

In contrast, where the social aspect is determined according to broader cultural features or dimensions, one often encounters a sense of homogeneity that is assumed for all people who are members of that particular culture. This very matter was discussed and cautioned against by Hymes (1972:42) early on:

> Even the ethnographies that we have, though almost never focused on speaking, show us that

> communities differ significantly in ways of speaking, in patterns of repertoire and switching, in the roles and meanings of speech. They indicate differences with regard to beliefs, values, reference groups, norms, and the like, as these enter into the ongoing system of language use and its acquisition by children.

John Gumperz (1972a:215) also cautions against assuming that communities are homogeneous and static:

> To say that selection of topic communicates information about social relationships is to imply that these relationships, or for that matter, social structures in general, cannot simply be regarded as fixed, jural rules having an existence of their own apart from human action. They must themselves be a part of the communicative process, and thus presumably subject to change or reinforcement as the cumulative result of everyday communicative acts.

These warnings are important because studies that take culture as the defining social characteristic of the speech community but do not explore variation within that community must make very broad generalizations, which do not always appear to be well-founded. They also cannot cope well with examples of heterogeneity, except by explaining them as deviations from the cultural norm (e.g., Tannen (1991) concluding that males who deviate from the norm of male speech pattern and content are primarily homosexuals).

The problems I have identified above would arise if one were to analyze linguistic behavior in the early historical Creek speech community, grossly defined according to tribal identity and use of the Mvskoke

language. As noted in chapter one, many Anglo-European traders married into the families of *tvwlv mekkake*. Many male children from such unions rose to positions of leadership within their *tvlwvlke* and/or the larger Creek confederacy. Some of these, such as Alexander McGillivray, were recognized as members of the Creek community, but also were recognized as being fluent in English but not in Mvskoke, with McGillivray often relying on a translator when in Creek council meetings (Milfort 1959). This kind of behavior would lead one to suggest that McGillivray's (and others') language use patterns and means of operating within the Creek speech community were aberrations from the cultural norm. Acceptance of such behavior was, however, common in the confederacy, which had been able successfully to absorb peoples from different linguistic and tribal backgrounds. Thus, if we accept heterogeneity within the speech community and attempt not to over-generalize, those who were fluent in languages other than Mvskoke, including English, emerge as cultural conformists rather than cultural deviants.

Another problem with relying on broad cultural features as a marker of speech community membership is that change in language use can be driven only by those factors that produce cultural change. This conclusion arises from the view that language and rules for language use are

pieces of the cultural whole rather than lying outside, but overlapping, culture.[2] According to those who take the stance that language is encapsulated within culture, observing language use in social context can allow the analyst to discover the cultural rules governing language appropriateness and any changes in those rules must be driven by cultural changes. The means of culture change, however, are never well clarified. There also is a sense that, because speakers are working with culturally determined rules, communication between members of different cultures will be very difficult as each has to work to understand and utilize the other's cultural rules.

There is also the problem of the "fit" between the social aspects and linguistic aspects of a speech community. If the speech community is based on very broad social characteristics, it is possible that different linguistic codes and the ways in which they are interpreted will vary throughout that community. It is possible that people who share the same cultural or ethnic identity may not comprise one speech community. As pointed out by John Gumperz, the existence of a speech community defined by

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[2]Linguists have debated the positions of language and culture in relation to each other for several decades, without reaching consensus. For discussion of the positions taken in this debate, see Fairclough (1989:23); Hymes (1969:xxv-xxviii), Boas (in Hymes 1969:17-22), Whorf (1941:75-93).

such criteria should be verified by the sociolinguist before attempting to discern the rules for language use and social interaction:

> It is not always possible to assume that a functioning [speech] community exists merely from information about ethnic identity, territorial boundaries, or genetic relationship about language varieties. The existence of shared values and of regular communication patterns requires empirical investigation.
>
> (1972b:16)

The speech community should be defined narrowly enough and should be explored well enough that differences in linguistic repertoires, language use and language attitudes can be explored and correlated with social variables, as in Gal's (1987, 1989) studies of codeswitching among Hungarians living in Austria.

Overall, most problems with the concept of speech community seem to stem from imprecise or widely differing ways of determining the boundaries and characteristics of speech communities. Where the social criteria are based on cultural, socioeconomic, or ethnic factors, the primary concerns guiding language use already are given--they stem from the culture, the class, or the ethnicity of the speakers and those with whom they are interacting. Also, these speech communities are generally large and the apparent "rules" for language use are assumed to apply equally to a large number of people, when in fact there may be quite a bit of variety and difference within the speech

community. When the social criterion is determined by an interactional network, it is generally the position of that network *vis-a-vis* external social conditions that guides language use for members within the network. These networks often are not large, generally a neighborhood or two, and the "rules" for language use are not generalized to any larger community.

There is a common factor underlying all social criteria: an emphasis on frequency of interaction as the means of establishing and maintaining the shared ideas of appropriate communicative behavior (Gumperz 1972b:16). It is my contention, however, that frequency of interaction, while important for relatively small, network-based speech communities (as determined by network analysis) situated within larger speech communities, is not the most important factor that defines the larger speech community (itself defined by cultural, ethnic, or socioeconomic factors and shared norms of communicative behavior). At the level of the larger, socioculturally based speech community, it is the ways in which communication and interaction are effected between members of the smaller speech communities that allow for the linguistic commonalities, including the use of particular dialects, registers, codes, and/or language ideology, that define the larger speech community.

To determine the existence of a larger speech

community, language use must be investigated from the ground up, by first determining whether smaller, constituent speech communities exist, noting how interaction is patterned within constituent speech communities, and investigating how people negotiate communication and interaction between these constituent speech communities. This will provide sociolinguists with a middle ground--a way of combining the criteria for membership or creating new criteria for membership that allow for heterogeneity within the larger speech community but that also can be used to determine those rules commonly held by its members.

To accomplish this, sociolinguists must be explicit about the rank-order of speech community they are investigating, as well as the ways they are defining who is a member of the speech community. A speech community's rank-order refers to the degree to which it is a component of yet another speech community. The first-order speech community is the most inclusive speech community. Membership in this community is based on any given sociocultural criterion relevant to the population being studied and some shared linguistic behaviors. Members of this highest-order speech community must, at the least, hold the single sociocultural criterion in common and must exhibit some common linguistic behaviors and/or ideology.

This highest-order speech community is a divisible entity. To understand the variation within the first-order speech community, sociolinguists should try to discern all the ways this first-order speech community can be subdivided, paying close attention to those divisions identified by the members of the first-order speech community.

Every first-order speech community may contain several other, lower-order speech communities, each of which will encompass still other speech communities until the lowest order is reached. The lowest-order speech communities will be the smallest components of the first-order speech community. These lowest-order speech communities are network-based and are found by following individuals who are members of the first-order speech community as they interact with other community members. Ultimately, the lowest-order speech community could be a dyad, two individuals who share a common communicative code and rules for its use as exemplified by "twin languages" (Savic 1980). Taking the analysis to this level does not appear to be fruitful, however, as most individuals are not members of dyadic speech communities, nor do these dyads appear to have much relevance to the larger speech communities of which they are a part.

In this investigation of the Muskogee stompdance community--the hypothetical first-order community--it would

seem, from the ways in which members divide their community, that second-order communities would be defined along national lines: Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation stompdancers. A set of third-order speech communities could then be divided from the national communities according to tribal identities: Yuchi, Mvskoke (Creek), and Seminole stompdancers. Within each of these third-order communities the constituent units are the individual grounds, each of which is comprised of its own network-based community. The Muskogee stompdance speech community consists of four orders of speech communities: the Muskogee stompdance speech community (first-order); the Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation stompdance speech communities (second-order); the Yuchi, Mvskoke (Creek), and Seminole stompdance speech communities (third-order); and the individual grounds within each of the tribally designated communities (fourth-order). It would be possible for a given speech community to have an even larger number of rank-ordered constituent speech communities than have been listed for the Muskogee stompdance community.

First-Order Speech Communities

First-order speech communities are the type that sociolinguists tend to deal with in their analyses. This

highest-order of speech community is defined according to one of several sociocultural criteria and shared linguistic behaviors; anyone who displays these social and linguistic features is presumed to be a member of this speech community. Where a speech community is assumed to exist because a group of people is seen to share a common ethnicity, culture, socioeconomic class, or some other single marker of group identity as well as some linguistic trait, one has a speech community of the first order.

A first-order community will not be discerned by frequent or significant interaction among individual members, for at this level such interaction is not feasible. Rather, very general rules for appropriate interaction and a sense of having a particular social identity (such as "American," "Canadian," "Oklahoman," or "Muskogee") are necessary for inclusion in this community. The boundaries of such a community often are politically or economically determined, with the constituent intermediate-order speech communities interacting primarily in these two arenas. It is at this highest-order of speech community that large-scale interaction between intermediate-order speech communities is realized and may be analyzed.

In discerning the first-order community, the investigator generally defines a group for study based on a shared sociocultural trait. While people with this trait

may share similar beliefs about symbols or markers, there may be significant differences concerning interaction and language use. It is for this reason the investigator must divide the first-order community into as many constituent parts as possible to record and describe adequately similarities and differences in rules for language use and appropriate communicative behavior. This analysis should show whether the differences are minimal enough to enable one to discuss a single speech community at the largest, first-order level. Simply glossing all people who exhibit particular sociocultural traits, that were chosen by the researcher, as members of a first-order speech community begs the question whether such a speech community actually exists. It is up to the researcher to show, from the ground up, that significant interaction and commonalities of linguistic behavior define this first-order speech community. One should refrain from expecting that the communicative behavior and language use of the constituent units will or will not vary with social differences.

It is possible to map such interaction as one looks at still smaller speech communities within the first-order speech community. If intermediate-order speech communities interact frequently and have similar interactional styles and attitudes toward language use, one may assert the existence of the large, first-order speech community. If

there are tremendous differences in attitudes toward language use, rules for language use, or patterns of interaction among the intermediate-order speech communities, however, this would tend to show that the first-order speech community hypothesized by the sociolinguist does not exist. The first-order speech community is a starting point, giving the sociolinguist a group of people to focus on, though it may turn out that these people are not, in the end, actually a speech community.

In this work, we will consider Muskogee stompdancers the first-order speech community, remembering that the existence of this level of speech community has not yet been proven. Stompdancers are a distinct population within the larger Muskogee population, and this distinctiveness allows one to consider that this Muskogee stompdance (social) community also may comprise a distinct speech community, provided that this population also exhibits some common language ideology or linguistic trait. One also could hypothesize that first-order Muskogee Baptist or Muskogee Methodist speech communities may exist. Ultimately, it would be possible to consider the larger Muskogee population to be the first-order speech community. Investigation of that particular speech community is outside of the scope of this work, however, for it would be

necessary to analyze both the Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist speech communities as well as the Muskogee stompdance community to prove the larger, Muskogee speech community exists.

The constitution of the Muskogee speech community containing the peoples to be considered here, the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi, changed over time. Prehistorically, the first-order speech community would have consisted of those peoples who participated in the Mississippian Complex. Although the interpretation and use of the symbols varied by region, the types of symbols do not vary a great deal across the geographic expanse. From such evidence, it is possible to consider that those peoples were part of a single community defined by the use of similar symbols and, possibly, a similar religious system. The prehistoric first-order community would then be much larger than the first-order community at the present.

In the period from early contact until removal, the first-order community was constricted and, later, divided. Initially, the Creek Confederacy, a social unit with similar economic, political, and social concerns can be reasonably considered a first-order community. In the colonial period this first-order speech community split into those *tvlwvlke* that remained part of the Creek

Confederacy and those that became the Seminole community. Shortly after these divisions were constructed by Anglo-Europeans, the economic and political concerns and the interactional patterns of those peoples within each politically and geographically defined community differ.

Over the period since removal, the first-order speech community appears to have broadened again. While the Seminole and Muskogee (Creek) tribal identities were well-established after removal, the economic and political concerns of those peoples became very similar. There also was increased interaction between Seminole and Muskogee (Creek) people. A similar situation continues to this day. The relatively slight separation between these two politically defined social units causes one to speculate that the first-order speech community contains both the Seminole and Muskogee (Creek) peoples.

Social differentiation as discussed in the proposed first-order Muskogee stompdance community was evident in the earlier first-order speech communities. This is to be expected and can be dealt with when one realizes that the first-order speech community is made up of a number of intermediate-order speech communities. As with the first-order speech communities, the intermediate-order speech communities also changed through time.

Intermediate-Order Speech Communities

Intermediate-order speech communities are contained within the first-order speech community. These intermediate-order communities lie between the first-order speech community and the lowest-order, network-based speech communities. Intermediate-order speech communities may first be hypothesized based on salient divisions in the social community. Where divisions are noted, one may suggest that linguistic and interactional differences will appear, with each intermediate-order speech community having its own constellation of interactional, linguistic, and sociocultural attributes.

Intermediate-order speech communities, just like first-order speech communities, should be divided into smaller constituent units, and each of these should then be investigated. Investigating a number of intermediate-order speech communities will allow the researcher to determine where language use variation arises, why it arises, and what it means within the larger, higher-order speech community. In those cases where a first-order speech community is shown to exist, this kind of componential analysis will make it possible to analyze how variation is dealt with as one moves from lower- to higher-order speech communities.

It seems that of the constituent units, penultimate-

order speech communities will be the most important for understanding variation in language use patterns and attitudes within the higher-order speech communities. Penultimate-order speech communities have been reached when regularities of interaction can be shown to exist between members of a number of lowest-order, network-based speech communities. This interaction generally will not be as frequent or as significant as the interaction patterns within the lowest-order communities, but it is frequent enough and significant enough that commonalities of rules for language use and social interaction exist. These commonalities must be shown through shared understanding and recognition of rules for language use and rules of appropriate social behavior.

Data from the penultimate-order speech communities may illuminate the reasons why variation exists in the higher-order speech community. This order allows one to investigate how the lowest-order speech communities are woven into the higher-order speech communities. The ways in which the penultimate-order speech communities are patterned may then turn out to be somewhat different than what the researcher had hypothesized prior to the investigation; penultimate speech communities may be separable along lines that the researcher had not previously considered. In the case of the first-order

Muskogee stompdance community, one would hypothesize that it will break into intermediate- (second) order communities along national lines (Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation). These second-order communities may then break into penultimate, third-order communities along tribal lines (Yuchi, Mvskoke (Creek), and Seminole).

From the Mississippian period to the present, the first-order speech communities proposed earlier for the peoples currently identified as Muskogee (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi also would have been divisible. The numbers of ordered speech communities and the means of discerning them appear to have changed over time as the constitution of the first-order speech community changed. This is to be expected as the forces causing the first-order speech communities to change also would have affected their lower-order, constituent speech communities.

During the prehistoric period, the first-order speech community (those peoples in the Southeast using Mississippian symbolism) can be separated into at least four intermediate-order speech communities. One set of communities would have been organized around trading partnerships. It is possible to determine where Mississippian goods were produced, and the distribution of goods throughout the Southeast has long been a concern for archaeologists. From such data, trading alliances may be

postulated. Logically, heavy trade between Mississippian settlement centers also involved meaningful interaction among some segments of each center's population. For such interaction to have been successful, shared meanings and interpretation must have existed, enabling the centers to be defined as parts of a larger speech community.

A slightly smaller order of speech community also is apparent along watersheds throughout the Southeast. From analyses of a number of sites, archaeologists have found that settlements along the same watershed appear to have been in close contact with one another (Blitz 1993; Welch 1991). Archaeologists also have found that populations were more likely to move to new areas within the same watershed when such movement was necessary than they were to move out of the watershed. These factors suggest that groups of people living along the same river drainage were likely to interact fairly frequently, promoting and strengthening shared norms of communication. It is possible, then, to view the inhabitants of a river drainage system as members of a lower-order speech community contained within the first-order speech community of those who used Mississippian symbolism.

Yet another order of speech community may be thought to have been co-terminus with the Mississippian chiefdoms. While the exact geographic scope and political magnitude of

these chiefdoms have yet to be determined, their existence is no longer in doubt. According to the accounts of de Soto, Southeastern chiefs exacted tribute, conducted warfare, and oversaw trade throughout very sizeable chiefdoms (Bourne 1922: I:32, 47, 51, 53, 68, 70; II:5, 11, 16, 18-19, 25, 73). From archaeological data, we know that the largest settlements in these chiefdoms were able to exert quite a bit of control over smaller settlements nearby. Exactly how much control chiefs could exert over more distant settlements is debated (e.g., Blitz 1993; Hudson et al. 1985; Steponaitis 1978; Welch 1991). No matter how much control was wielded within the same chiefdom, some interaction was going on between settlements, with some common means of communicating.

In some ways, the speech communities identified according to chiefdom boundaries are very similar to those identified by watershed habitation because most chiefdoms were located along major river drainages. A difference appears, however, when one realizes that some river drainages were homes of more than one chiefdom. While the people living along the drainage may have held some communicative strategies in common, it is more likely that members of the same chiefdom had greater contact with one another and shared a larger number of communicative strategies than those of different chiefdoms.

The penultimate-order speech community during the prehistoric period was made up of mound centers and their outlying hamlets. The mound centers acted as the religious, economic, and political foci for those living in the hamlets. Because there could be more than one mound center within a chiefdom (e.g., the chiefdom centered at Moundville, Alabama had mound sites at Moundville, Lubbub Creek, Coleman, and Lyon's Bluff (Blitz 1993:45-49)), the mound center-hamlet speech community may be considered to be smaller than most speech communities co-terminus with chiefdoms. Before the rise of chiefdoms in some areas--and in those areas where chiefdoms never appear to have arisen--the mound center-hamlet speech community probably would have existed even though the chiefdom speech community did not.

The intermediate-order speech communities changed in scope and means of demarcation after contact, as did the first-order speech community. Very early in the contact period, documentary evidence suggests that chiefdom-sized speech communities and speech communities involving the interaction of members from smaller social units at a larger center apparently still existed (Bourne 1922). However, as the contact period wore on and the first-order speech community shrank to encompass only those involved in the Creek Confederacy, documentary evidence suggests that

the quantity of intermediate-order speech communities changed as did their identifying characteristics and membership. This change continued into the colonial period.

As Europeans began to distinguish the members of the Creek Confederacy from other Southeastern peoples, they also began to assign various tribal identities: Alabama, Natchez, Yuchi, Muskogee, etc. While it is not possible to determine whether Southeastern peoples used such constructs to distinguish among themselves before or shortly after contact (tribal identities were useful for Euro-Americans and were used early on), this form of social differentiation was acknowledged by Southeastern peoples by the colonial period. Among the traits used to distinguish one tribal group from another were cultural, social, and linguistic differences. Historically, *tvlwvlke* of the same tribal background lived fairly close together, tended to act in concert, and had similar economic and political concerns. For these reasons, it is reasonable to suggest that tribally identifiable speech communities, such as the Yuchi, were an intermediate-order within the larger, Creek Confederacy speech community.

After Euro-Americans began to distinguish between the Seminoles and the Creeks in the late 1700s, the Seminoles began to emerge as their own first-order speech community.

Despite Euro-Americans' wishes to view the Seminole community as homogeneous, the Seminole *tvlwvlke* continued to locate themselves and to interact in accordance with the tribal identities apparent in the Creek speech community. Thus, it is possible to speak of intermediate-order speech communities containing those with a Yuchi, Hitchiti, Mikasuki, Muskogee, or other tribal identity among the Seminoles of the late 1700s and early 1800s.

Another set of intermediate-order speech communities began to appear in the 1700s, with Euro-Americans' recognition of a division between Upper and Lower Creeks. While this appears to initially have been a foreign means of separating portions of the Creek Confederacy, the Upper Creek/Lower Creek distinction was recognized by members of the Creek Confederacy at several points in their history. As noted in chapter one, the economic, political, and social concerns of the Upper Creeks often differed from those of the Lower Creeks. These different concerns led to some differences in interactional patterns. Leaders of *tvlwvlke*, who usually traveled with large contingents, met more frequently with the leaders of *tvlwvlke* located in their own division--Upper Creeks meeting with other Upper Creeks and Lower Creeks meeting with other Lower Creeks. Individuals from a number of *tvlwvlke* within the same division often acted together to fight an encroaching

enemy, as when Upper Creeks from many *tvlwvlke* were involved in skirmishes against American settlers.

This type of frequent interaction and the social cohesion within each division permits one to consider each division as a speech community. While there was movement of *tvlwvlke* from one division to another, this does not appear to have been so frequent or disruptive as to cause a breakdown in the general social and communicative cohesion within either division. Differences in opinion on issues strategie also were evident among the *tvlwvlke* within each division. This was to be expected, however, because these speech communities were relatively large and heterogeneous.

Another pair of intermediate-order speech communities arose from the Red and White moieties. These speech communities probably developed during the prehistoric period. Recent conjectures about the organization of Mississippian societies suggest that the red and white social divisions were more important to religious and social leaders than to the general populace. It can be surmised that speech communities patterned after the red/white division only were applicable for those in leadership positions.

After contact and up to removal, however, the red/white divisions grew in importance as they began to influence one's *tvlwv* and clan identity. As mentioned in

chapter one, *tvlwvlke* and clans were separated according to their inclusion in the red or white moiety and played differing roles in community life. Red clans and *tvlwvlke* were deeply involved in decisions on warfare and military action. Men from the red clans would gather whenever such issues were affecting their *tvlwv*, and men from red *tvlwvlke* would give counsel whenever military issues arose concerning their *tvlwvlke* and/or the Creek Confederacy. In contrast, the white clans and *tvlwvlke* were deeply involved in decisions concerning diplomacy and peace. Men from white clans would assemble when decisions on these issues needed to be made for their *tvlwv*, and men from white *tvlwvlke* met when peaceful decisions were necessary for the good of a number of *tvlwvlke* or the Creek Confederacy. It is the frequency of such meetings, their order, and the general sense of unity within the members of the division calling the meeting that strongly suggest the red and white moieties also were intermediate-order speech communities.

It would be possible to argue that neither moiety constituted a single speech community. First, the meetings discussed above were not exclusively the purview of one of the two moieties. Representatives from the other moiety could, and often did, attend, lending their moiety's voice to the discussion. Secondly, it is possible that *tvlwvlke* identity changed occasionally, as suggested by Haas (1940),

though there are almost no references to this happening in the pre-removal period. Appropriate, though not always successful, interaction across moiety boundaries, and an ability to change moiety identity, however, are not sufficient to deny the existence of two speech communities, identifiable by moiety affiliation and interaction with other moiety members. Instead, such factors suggest that if these moiety-identified speech communities exist, they must be considered part of a larger speech community, which already has been postulated as one involving all those peoples in the Creek Confederacy.

Among the Seminole of the colonial period, slightly different speech communities are evident. Alongside the tribally identifiable speech communities, geographically identifiable speech communities are also suggested. Seminoles in northern Florida were closely allied with the Creeks, while those in south-central Florida remained aloof from Creek concerns. Also, prior to the first Seminole War, the Seminole settlements in northern Florida and south-central Florida are arranged in distinct groups, fairly separate from one another. After the first Seminole War, these two communities seem to have disappeared as some Seminoles moved north to live with the Creeks, and the rest moved to share the small reserve in central Florida.

Upon removal to Oklahoma, the intermediate-order

speech communities of both the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole people were altered once more. At this point, many of the tribally defined speech communities were disappearing, though the Yuchi retained a distinctive identity. Upper/Lower Creek distinctions were becoming blurred, perhaps owing to the similar conditions faced by members of these divisions after removal. The red and white moieties also were decreasing in importance, and it is logical to assume that the speech communities identified by moiety affiliation were fading. A new set of speech communities arose in their place, stemming from new social divisions within the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole communities.

Missionaries representing several religious faiths had worked in the Muskogee (Creek) community before removal, but the numbers of converts had been relatively low. After removal, however, the number of converts to the Baptist and Methodist doctrines rose significantly. This rise in conversion from the traditional stompdance religion produced three religiously defined social and speech communities. The churches and grounds were, in essence, competing for members. Membership in each institution was, and still is, shown by adhering to certain rules of conduct, maintaining ties with other congregation or ground members, and attending the rites or activities at the

church or ground to which one belongs. There also were/are meetings that attract members from several churches of the same denomination (revivals, church camps, fourth Sunday observances) and others that attract members of several grounds (summer dances, winter fund-raisers), providing members of each religious belief occasions to interact with others who share their faith but are not part of their congregation or ground. The frequent contact among same-denomination church members and ground members and the shared rules of conduct allow these social divisions to be considered separate speech communities as well.

Education gave rise to new speech communities after removal. A number of children were sent to the schools around the allotments. School children were expected to learn and use English, and they were punished for speaking any language but English (Oklahoma Historical Society; fieldnotes). Those who were thoroughly indoctrinated began to view languages other than English as inferior, a view which several middle-aged and older people say led their parents or members of their parents' generation to stop teaching their children Mvskoke or Yuchi. Those who remained in school came to consider fluency in English a sign of superior status and fluency in Mvskoke and Yuchi as unneccessary and/or a symbol of inferior status. This differed greatly from the contact and colonial periods when

abilities in more than one language were considered beneficial and few value judgments about languages were made.

These new forms of intermediate-order speech communities linger today. Many of the intermediate-order speech communities outlined above were fairly large, heterogeneous groups. Thus, we must allow for intra-community differences in interactional styles and patterns, norms of interpretation, and reactions to historical situations. Each intermediate-order speech community is made up of smaller, more (but not entirely) homogeneous, lowest-order speech communities, to be discussed below.

Lowest-Order Speech Communities

Lowest-order, network-based speech communities are the basic components of all higher-order speech communities. This order of speech community must be discerned by tracing networks of interaction. This group corresponds to Gumperz' (1964:137) interactionally defined speech community:

> We therefore choose as our universe of analysis a speech community: any human aggregate characterized by regular and frequent interaction over a significant span of time and set off from other such aggregates by differences in the frequency of interaction.

This level of speech community must be discerned by fieldwork.

While important, interactional frequency is not the sole characteristic defining the network-based speech community. Some linguistic behavior or attitudes about linguistic behavior must be shared by those within the network and must differentiate each network from all others. Charting variation in the use of discrete linguistic variables or language ideology is necessary at this level to establish that the social and linguistic communities are coterminous--that a network-based speech community exists. The linguistic variables that differentiate the network-based speech communities, as well as those variables that are common to the network-based speech communities, then will be important markers when determining whether a next-higher, penultimate-order speech community exists. If interaction is across network-based speech community boundaries occurs regularly, language use behaviors and attitudes are held in common, and differences in language use behaviors and attitudes do not appear to disrupt communication, then the existence of a penultimate-order speech community has been proven. If interaction is infrequent, and/or language use behaviors and attitudes differ and these differences are problematic, then a penultimate speech community cannot be said to exist. The existence of each higher-order speech community must be based upon the analysis of the interactional patterns and

language use behaviors of the rank-order speech community immediately below it.

Methods developed by network analysts and those who practice ethnography of communication may be used to determine important social categories and how the categories affect language use within the lowest-order speech community. Once peoples' interactive and linguistic patterns have been discerned and social and linguistic network structures have been derived from the data, the lowest-order speech community can be analyzed. From the data, analysts may discern how the lowest-order community is organized, where significant interaction takes place, and how that interaction is structured. Such analysis may point out details about variation in language use, variation in social roles available to participants, and variation in interactional patterns which otherwise would be missed as most sociolinguists tend to focus on higher-order speech communities defined by sociocultural criteria. Beginning with the lowest-order speech community will allow sociolinguists to account for and describe heterogeneity rather than overlooking or discounting it.

Among the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people, the composition of these lowest-order speech communities has changed through time, as have their first- and intermediate-order speech communities. Prehistorically,

the lowest-order speech community was probably comprised of the hamlet. It was in these small communities that most people spent their time, interacting and sharing with their neighbors. We are uncertain about how hamlets were formed, whether they were made up primarily of related individuals or groups of unrelated families. For this reason, it is best to present the hamlet as the lowest-order speech community, because we are uncertain about the role of kinship in determining the prehistoric social order.

After the Creek Confederacy was recognized and up until removal, the lowest-order speech community was the *tvlwv*, the arena of everyday life. People in the same *tvlwv* interacted frequently, their behavior was watched and judged, and communicative styles were maintained. The *tvlwv* differs somewhat from the hamlet in both size and, apparently, social complexity. Hamlets were not always able to maintain themselves, seeming to merge with others when necessary, as in times of food shortages or warfare. *Tvlwvlke*, on the other hand, were self-sustaining units.

Tvlwvlke maintained their importance as lowest-order speech communities until removal when the *tvlwvlke* were essentially disbanded. While people who formerly had inhabited the same *tvlwv* tended to settle close to one another in Indian Territory, the cohesive character of the *tvlwv* was broken. At this point, people began to rally to

their church or ground, looking to them for a sense of community. These lowest-order speech communities continue to this day and some of these, the grounds, will be investigated in this work.

In the Muskogee stompdance community, it is reasonable to assume that the lowest-order communities would be those organized around the individual grounds. While one may hypothesize that the members of each individual ground are brought together for frequent, meaningful, and appropriate interaction, one must chart such interaction to establish that each ground is its own speech community. While most sociolinguistic studies based on network-analysis do not explicitly state that the network under analysis comprises a speech community, it is certainly an implicit assumption. For this level of community to be meaningful in larger studies, however, one must investigate a number of such communities to determine the amount of variation that must be dealt with at the larger levels and to investigate the attitudes, social roles, and social identities available to individuals.

The Muskogee stompdance community is appropriate for this kind of analysis because it is a heterogeneous social community distinct from other segments of the general Muskogee population according to one sociocultural criterion, religious identity. Members of the Muskogee

stompdance community are cognizant of a number of ways in which their social community may be divided, yet these divisions sometimes are disregarded by the members. Muskogee stompdancers also appear to share some general rules for using and interpreting language in a number of situations. Rather than taking the Muskogee stompdance speech community as a given, however, which most sociolinguists would be wont to do because it is easily differentiated from the general Muskogee community, the existence of the speech community will be proven or disproven and variation will be explored.

Methodology

As has been noted above, the Muskogee community is varied and not all people within the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations are forthcoming about their religious or other social connections. It is for the latter reason that the bulk of the data analyzed in this dissertation comes from participant-observation. I have formed friendships with several Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole stompdancers through seven years of interaction with members of these communities. My first acquaintance with a stompdancer came in 1989, when I was asked to develop a Creek/Seminole language course with a Seminole speaker. Over the years, our initially language-focused relationship has become a

strong friendship, and it is primarily through her guidance and fellowship that I have made the acquaintance of and become friends with many people in the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi stompdance communities.

Because of these friendships, I was welcomed as a member of camps at several grounds and was allowed to attend meetings not open to the general public. I took part in dances and activities associated with them, though I never took medicine. My method of taking notes during these occasions involved retiring by myself to write down or to make tapes of my observations in the evenings. In order not to betray the confidences of the people who welcomed me into their activities, pseudonyms will be used throughout this study and grounds will only be identified according to tribal (Yuchi, Muskoke (Creek), and Seminole) affiliation.

Informal interviews also were used to discuss finer points of interaction, peoples' views about language use in various social situations, and to fill other gaps in the data gathered through participant-observation. In most cases, these informal interviews were conducted primarily as "social visits" held at the interviewee's house, with discussion being led primarily by the interviewee after I had introduced particular topics using open-ended questions. I interviewed almost all of my Creek, Seminole,

and Yuchi friends and acquaintances in this manner. Other people whom I approached for informal interviews were suggested by my Creek, Seminole, and Yuchi friends as being more knowledgeable about some of the topics in which I was interested.

After many of these interviews, I would recall and recap the information into a hand-held tape recorder, transcribing my notes when I returned home. Some interviews were more formal in that a tape recorder was present and/or I took notes during the interview. This occurred when, at my questioning about this point, the interviewee consented to taping or notetaking in his/her presence. There were one or two times when the interviewee asked specifically where my notes and/or tape recorder were. When such was the case, I took them out and recorded the interview as it happened.

The times when tape recorders or notes were not in evidence seemed much more productive than a more direct interview as it allowed people to give background information about topics and/or situations. I inquired about peoples' participation in the various social units within Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation. I asked whether people had attended stompdances, Baptist church services, and Methodist services, as people who take part in the practices of each of these religions are

considered to be members of a distinct community identified by their religious affiliation. I also asked about participation in governmental, tribal, and family activities, and other social gatherings and activities. Often people would tell me about times that they had attended religious services or ceremonies that differed from the type they currently attend, and these stories often were introduced with some explanation for the change.

Most of the interviews were conducted in English. At times, however, some of the older interviewees would speak Muskogee/Oklahoma Seminole.[3] This generally seemed to occur when the interviewee wished to jog his/her memory or was having trouble finding a suitable English translation for some concept. I have some proficiency in Muskogee, having spent five years trying to learn the language. Although I do not claim to be fluent, I do understand Muskogee fairly well. Thus, after listening to the talk in Muskogee, I would try to paraphrase what I had understood to check my translation with the speaker. While this caused confusion in some cases, and downright disbelief that I could understand the language in others, most

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[3]While Muskogee and Seminole are considered to be two distinct languages, Muskogee and Oklahoma Seminole are very similar and are mutually intelligible. Oklahoma Seminole does differ from Florida Seminole, with Florida Seminole having appeared to retain older vocabulary and inflections (Jack Martin and Margaret Mauldin, personal communication).

speakers were willing to listen to my paraphrasing, filling in areas that I had missed, correcting, or agreeing with my version. It was at these times that I especially wished I were recording the interview.

All in all, I interviewed approximately one hundred people whom I met at stompdances or through friends I had made at the grounds. These stompdance participants live throughout the areas encompassed by Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation, are from many different socioeconomic levels, are of many ages, and have educational backgrounds spanning the spectrum from two years of formal schooling to advanced degrees. This sample size and variety, while not controlled, should offer a fair example of the interactive histories of most stompdance participants in Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations.

I attended stompdances from 1993 to 1996, going to many more in the latter years. I attended dances at two of three Yuchi grounds, eight of thirteen Creek grounds, and the one active Seminole ground. These stompdances were conducted not only during the ceremonial year (April through September), but also were held at indoor facilities as social/fund-raising dances during the winter. In some cases, it appeared that participation and crowds were heavier during the winter, as grounds spaced out their dances, with generally only one or two per weekend as

opposed to three or four per weekend during the shorter ceremonial season. There is much less ritual connected with the indoor dances, and they are viewed primarily as social gatherings rather than religious ones.

For most dances, which are held on weekends, the people who are members of the ground arrive at their camps Friday afternoon or night. Beginning Friday evening and lasting through much of Saturday, the men take part in setting up the camps, preparing the stompground for the upcoming dance, dealing with the medicine, and undergoing the preparatory rituals. The women also are busy, preparing their camps to receive the visitors, cooking copious amounts of food, preparing the clothing and shells that they and family members will wear, and undergoing the religious rituals appropriate for women. By Saturday evening, all has been prepared, and people are generally in jovial, social moods. Visitors have been arriving since midafternoon so most camps are full of people visiting and catching up on recent developments. Dancing usually begins after dark and lasts until early Sunday morning.

I generally tried to be at the ground early Saturday morning to visit with people and to observe what was happening. I often would have friends at one or more camps and felt comfortable taking time to talk with them. Many times, the women at most camps were in expansive moods and

had no problem finding time to talk and visit. I often helped out with cooking or other activities that were going on and managed to learn much about appropriate behavior both inside and outside the stompgrounds from gossip or stories told to me while working. These stories also gave me insight about schisms and strong friendships within the community, information I found helpful when trying to follow networks.

During or just after the dance, I would ask several people which other grounds had attended. Knowing these ground identities provided me with a glimpse at the next order social community, as each ground would decide where most, but not necessarily all, members would visit next. The connection between grounds also provided information about historical and current cooperative arrangements. As noted in Swanton (1928), there are historical connections between some grounds, which seem to have begun as alliances between towns before removal. These alliances were referred to by the use of kinship terms for the towns and grounds involved; mother towns/grounds gave birth to daughter towns/ground by the migration of town members with the resulting creation of a new town. Sibling towns and grounds used to refer to each other as sister towns/grounds, but I have never heard of such references in common usage.

Presently, there are no extant residential towns, but some of the terminology noted by Swanton (1928) is used among related grounds (which are continuations of the town organization, although the towns themselves have been dispersed). Related grounds are said to share the same fire, which carries with it the implication that they will help each other and cooperate with one another. Part of the notion of helping other grounds involves attending others' dances. These agreements to attend one another's dances may be broken if ill-will arises between grounds, just as they may be forged when relations between grounds are friendly. These relations between grounds are measured by individual members' feelings about the people of another ground; when the majority of those feelings are good, the grounds will be friendly to one another, when the majority are bad, the grounds will not attend the other's dances. The ground relationships, then, mirror the members' feelings toward the other ground's members--they illustrate whether aggregate social ties are strong or weak.

I investigated the strength of these social ties and attempted to map the interactional patterns of a number of grounds as they helped others. My investigation of these patterns and the similarities or differences in language use patterns and attitudes found at the interacting grounds were necessary to discover whether one or more speech

communities existed at an order above the networks. Questioning people about the language use patterns exhibited by members of the other grounds also was necessary to investigate how people managed the variation at this level. I then compared the responses with questions about other grounds' members' language use with my own observations so as to see whether the differences mentioned by the informants presented problems for interaction and communication and how these problems were overcome.

In striving to determine what might constitute a stompdance identity at a more general level and to determine how this identity is signaled to a more general audience, including people who are not stompdance ground members, I attended meetings at Creek Nation and at the Okemah Tribal Towns Center. These meetings also were attended by some stompdance participants who were interested in the items on the agenda. I was interested to see how these people presented themselves as stompdance ground members and how their presentations were accepted or denied by others present. This gave me some idea about the linguistic expectations and behaviors shared by members of the stompdance social community as they explicitly portrayed themselves as part of that community to those who did not belong to that community.

This kind of information allowed me to see how these more general behaviors were patterned in the larger community. I compared these with the behaviors I had observed and been told about for the community above the network level. In this way I was able to come to my conclusion about the existence of a general stompdance speech community that encompasses all stompdance members and which is noted by people who are not themselves stompdance members.

I hypothesize that, because Methodist and Baptist churches provide their members with patterns of social interaction (similar to those of the grounds) with others in the Methodist and Baptist social communities, Muskogee Methodist and Muskogee Baptist speech communities also exist. Members may gather at the church throughout the week and on weekends for services, church meetings, hymn sings, and other such events, creating a close-knit social unit. A number of Muskogee Methodist and Baptist churches also are engaged in "fourth-Sunday" arrangements, in which Sunday services are rotated among a group of four churches so each hosts the others' congregations every fourth Sunday. These arrangements generally are based on historical ties and strong social bonds between congregations, much like the dance arrangements among stompgrounds. It would thus be reasonable to investigate

the existence of a Muskogee Methodist or a Muskogee Baptist speech community, just as will be done for the Muskogee stompdance community. If one were to postulate that a single Muskogee speech community exists, one would have to investigate the three religiously differentiated speech communities as these would be intermediate-order communities contained within the first-order Muskogee community. Such a study lies outside the scope of this dissertation, however.

Applicability for Other Sociolinguistic Work

The research and analysis presented in this dissertation will, in the end, inform four concerns of general interest to sociolinguists. First, this dissertation will suggest a means of proving whether a socioculturally defined speech community exists. This will be accomplished by first dividing the socioculturally defined Muskogee stompdance community into its rank-ordered constituent units. Beginning with the units of the lowest order in chapter three, each order will then be investigated to determine whether they truly exhibit the traits necessary to be considered speech communities: frequent interaction and shared conceptions of proper language use behaviors. If these units are found to constitute ever larger speech communities that culminate in

the hypothesized Muskogee stompdance (first-order) speech community, then it will have been proven that this speech community does exist. If the units are not found to constitute ever larger speech communities, culminating in the Muskogee stompdance speech community, then it will have been proven that this speech community does not exist. It should then be possible to perform this type of analysis to determine whether other socioculturally defined communities also comprise speech communities.

The second major point of this work lies in the fact that the methodology of dismantling large, hypothetical speech communities allows sociolinguists to deal with heterogeneity as it provides context and clues about language use variation within the larger community. In this work, variation and similarity in language use among the constituent lower-order communities within each higher-order community will be investigated. Thus, the language use behaviors and expectations found at each ground (chapter three) will be compared and contrasted as I investigate whether a higher-order speech community made up of multiple grounds exists (in chapters four and five). Using this method, I will be able to analyze how the language use behaviors and attitudes of each constituent ground shape the language use behaviors of the higher-order community or act to keep a higher-order community from

existing. This process will be repeated as the existence of each succeeding order of speech community is investigated.

An important construct arises from the dismantling process: penultimate-order speech communities. This order of speech community provides the bridge between traditional network analyses and analyses of higher-order speech communities, a division that had not been spanned previously. This order of speech community presumably will appear as I work upward from the individual ground networks to higher-order speech communities, assuming that the individual ground networks actually are speech communities. As I investigate this order of speech community in chapter five, the frequency and success of interaction and the language use behaviors exhibited within the interaction across network lines will be analyzed. In pursuing this order of speech community, a way of moving from individual networks to larger speech communities will be presented.

As a final point, the methodology of de- and reconstructing higher orders of speech communities by analyzing interactional and language use patterns common across their lower-order constituent speech communities may show researchers that factors they previously had not considered play a large role in influencing language use behaviors and speech community constitution. Previously, I

postulated how the Muskogee stompdance speech community may be divided into three lower-order speech communities (national, tribal, and ground communities). The criterion used to differentiate each of the constituent units within these lower-order communities (e.g., different national identification, tribal identification, or ground identification) would traditionally be considered a factor that strongly influences the language use behaviors of the members of each of the constituent units. By first analyzing the patterning of language use behaviors of the constituent units and noting how these units actually come together to form higher-order speech communities, the strength of each factor will be tested. In some cases, factors not previously considered by the sociolinguist to be of great importance in shaping language use behavior and speech community formation (e.g., geographic location, historical ties between grounds, kinship, etc.) may, in fact, be shown to wield a very strong influence and may ultimately lead to the consideration of speech communities defined by new criteria.

Chapter 3: Individual Grounds as Speech Communities

> When we come together, talk together and dance together, that makes us all feel good. We have to do this because our Creator told us to. That's what makes us part of Osten ground.
> A.G. (a member of Osten)

Investigating language use and attitudes toward language among a number of social networks will allow us to begin to understand how language use and attitudes toward language vary or are consistent for members of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole stompgrounds. This investigation of networks will allow an exploration of the extent of interaction and similarities and dissimilarities regarding language use among a number of individuals and, should they exist, lowest-order speech communities. Watching people interact with others, which is necessary when examining social networks, also provides specific examples of language use in social situations both common and uncommon to the individuals. Such situations allow the investigator to note ways in which language use is negotiated between individuals, and what resources individuals call upon when working through problems in common situations.

These topics first will be investigated among networks of people involved in individual stompgrounds. Stompgrounds are similar to the neighborhoods studied by Trudgill (1974) and the Milroys (L. Milroy 1976; Milroy and Milroy 1977) in that the populations are relatively small,

members are able to identify boundaries between grounds, and there is some sense of shared identity among members. As we shall see, however, the stompgrounds differ from neighborhood communities in that the members do not necessarily live near one another and may come to the ground from distant, dispersed areas.

The small size of these individual ground networks, relative to the number of Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole people involved in the stompdance religion, allows us to explore the existence of the lowest-order speech communities. Drawing from Hymes (1974:47-51), if the individual grounds constitute lowest-order speech communities, they should be recognizable as such by:

1. A membership which the group itself notes is limited.
2. Evidence of frequent and meaningful contact among the recognized members.
3. Evidence of linguistic behaviors or ideology distinct from those found among other grounds.

It should be recognized that even smaller aggregates than individual stompgrounds (e.g., families, those living in the same geographic location, age cohorts within the ground) could conceivably constitute even lower-order speech communities. In order to examine the existence of these lower-order speech communities, the influence of factors such as familial connection, geographic location, etc., will be investigated and discussed as we explore the

interactional frequency, language use behaviors, and language ideologies of members from individual grounds. Where these factors appear to play a significant role in peoples' interactional behaviors, the possibility of a speech community more restricted than the stompground will be examined.

The first criterion of speech community existence, a limited membership, is satisfied by asking ground members to list others they believe also are members of their ground. Individuals are explicit about those whom they believe are members versus those whom they do not consider to be members. The criteria used by ground members to distinguish members from non-members, ranked in apparent order of importance, are:

1. Holding a ceremonial position.
2. Frequent participation in ground activities--meeting with other members to plan, prepare for, and carry out activities.
3. Economic involvement--donations given to the ground for the benefit of all, not necessarily for the benefit of individuals or single families.
4. Establishment and maintenance of a camp at the ground.
5. Matrilineal connection to the ground.

Except for the fifth criterion, each of these refers to the amount of time and energy an individual expends for the welfare of the ground.

There is a strong association between an individual's behaviors satisfying a greater or lesser number of the

criteria and his/her closeness to or distance from the core membership of the ground. Within each ground, a core group of people are recognized by a vast majority of members as those who are most involved in ground affairs and whose membership is seen as central to the ground's structure. These individuals are almost always involved in the planning and completion of ground activities, give much time and energy to the ground, and play a central role in ground affairs. As one moves away from this core, one finds that individuals are still identified as members but their behaviors satisfy a smaller number of the criteria. These individuals are not counted on to do as much for the ground or to regularly attend activities. However, when they do attend, they are considered to be members of the ground and are expected to behave in accordance with the expectations of other ground members.

Criterion no. 5, matrilineal connection to a ground, which is necessary to establish an individual's ancestral linkage to a ground, does not, in and of itself, cause him/her to be considered a core member of the ground. This is an historical criterion for social community membership (Stiggins 1989:28), yet it appears to be the least important for discerning the strength of one's membership in a ground and is not even necessary for inclusion as a ground member. Rather, matrilineal connection to a ground

appears to be of most importance for people when determining whether an individual who does not often take part in ground activities is actually a member. When an ancestral linkage to a ground can be identified, an individual who sporadically attends ground events will be considered a member, but those who do not have such linkages and attend only sporadically are generally not considered members. However, as the following evidence shows, many individuals are considered members despite the fact that they have no matrilineal connection to the ground. Many of these same individuals, because they fulfill criteria one through four, are considered members, even though they lack a matrilineal connection.

As a general rule, Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole individuals only are able to satisfy these criteria for membership at one ground at any particular time. An individual whose spouse belongs to another ground may take part in many of their spouse's ground's activities and may help their spouse with his/her duties to the ground. These individuals are recognized as contributors to their spouse's ground, but are not considered to be members of that ground. Spouses are expected to help at one another's grounds but this does not imply membership unless the spouse also has a matrilineal tie to the ground or does not recognize a tie to any other ground. If a man or woman

regularly takes part in the activities of or maintains a camp at a ground different from his/her spouse's, then that person is considered to be a member of the ground at which his/her camp is located. This arrangement is fairly common among ground members, though the majority of married couples maintain a camp at only one spouse's ground.

An individual's ground membership does not extend to more than one ground and the criteria listed above are used by Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole people to identify the single ground to which an individual belongs. The extent of differentiation, based on social criteria, shows that the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole people recognize each ground as a distinct, separate entity within those organizations identified with the stompdance religion. It is reasonable, then, to explore whether each of these socially distinctive communities also is a speech community in and of itself. If this is so, it will then be necessary to explore whether these separate speech communities come together in a larger, more inclusive speech community. If the stompgrounds do not appear to be separate speech communities, then an explanation of the negligible role of social differentiation on the linguistic behavior of stompground members will need to be presented.

Membership in a particular ground is not so clearcut for the Yuchi people. Core members at the Yuchi grounds

satisfy many of the five criteria listed above for membership in a Mvskoke (Creek) ground: holding a ceremonial position; frequent participation in ground activities; economic investment in the ground; maintenance of a camp; and familial connection to the ground. However, membership in the three Yuchi grounds overlaps; members at one ground also may be recognized as members at a second Yuchi ground. Many Yuchi stompdancers participate in ground activities, are economically involved, and maintain camps at more than one of the Yuchi grounds. A few men even hold ceremonial positions at more than one of the Yuchi grounds. Familial connection to a ground also is important for Yuchi members, but matrilineal and patrilineal ties appear to be of equal importance and allow one to trace a lineal connection to two Yuchi grounds.

The difference between the Yuchi and the Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole conceptions of ground membership should result in interesting differences in speech community organization within these populations. The Yuchi grounds will be explored to discern whether they constitute individual speech communities. Because of the fluidity of their boundaries, it seems likely that the Yuchi grounds will not meet the criteria necessary to consider them to be distinct speech communities. It is possible, however, that the Yuchis present a case in which significant linguistic

differentiation co-occurs with negligible social differentiation. If this is found to be true, its importance for future sociolinguistic work will be examined.

Evidence concerning criterion no. 2 for existence of a speech community, frequent and meaningful contact among the recognized members, was gathered by attending several meetings of stompground members and the ceremonies that often followed such meetings. I was able to determine who attended such gatherings, either through direct observation or by interviewing those who had attended gatherings I had not attended. While attending these gatherings, I noted how interaction was conducted, the kinds of topics discussed, members' apparent comfort with each other, and the success of interaction/communication.

Information about the strength of the social ties between members of each ground and the sense of cohesion among ground members also will be analyzed and compared with the attitudes toward language and actual language use exhibited by the members of each ground. Using the data analysis technique developed by Trudgill (1979), the strength of the social ties will be investigated by charting the density of social relations between members (whether and how often members come into contact with one another throughout the year) and determining the average

multiplexity/uniplexity ratio of the social ties shared by members (multiplex ties are those in which members are connected to one another for several reasons, uniplex ties are those in which members are only connected to one another for a single reason). The average strength of the social ties at each ground will be compared with the averages of other grounds as well, in order to investigate differences in social cohesion and language use. Investigating the frequency of interaction, quality of interaction, and sense of group cohesiveness is informative as high ratings in most or all categories tend to support the identification of stompgrounds as speech communities whereas low ratings in most or all categories tend to discredit such an identification. Each of these aspects will be addressed in the later discussion of individual ground interactional patterns.

Evidence for the third criterion of speech community existence, linguistic behaviors or ideology distinct from those found among other grounds, revolves around commonalities and differences in attitudes toward language, including the native languages (Mvskoke and Yuchi) and English, and the ways in which language is used within social situations and events (e.g., as a symbol of group inclusion or exclusion) shared by those in the stompground networks. Information concerning these topics was

collected at gatherings and through interviews. People often were loquacious about their views on these topics, both in meetings with other ground members and in the interviews, and my own attendance at gatherings allowed me to watch peoples' behavior as well.

Where differences between the ideologies and/or behaviors of a single ground's members are noted, these will be explored in detail, especially if they appear to be significant enough to indicate the existence of more than one speech community within the ground. If few differences arise between the ideologies and/or behaviors of a single ground's members, that ground will be viewed as a speech community, though whether its members are part of a larger, more inclusive speech community or form their own speech community distinct from other grounds, will remain to be seen. Should the grounds appear to constitute speech communities, then information about each ground's members' attitudes toward language and actual language use will be compared with similar information about other grounds' members' attitudes and usage. Where differences between the ideologies and/or behaviors of different grounds' members are noted, these also will be examined in detail as they may indicate the existence of more than one speech community, differentiated along ground lines. If the ideologies and/or behaviors of different grounds' members

are similar, analysis will be necessary as this would suggest that the grounds may not constitute distinct speech communities.

The Nature of the Networks

The networks to be analyzed here are made up primarily of individuals who take part in religious activities, stompdances, attended by Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole people. These networks were chosen because these religious activities regularly attract a relatively large body of people (from twenty-five to one hundred people, depending upon the nature of the activity) for a focused, organized social gathering.[1] It was readily apparent that some sort of close-knit networks must be in existence in order to provide the organization and planning necessary for the successful completion of the ceremonial year. As I followed these networks, it became evident that the networks beginning within the stompgrounds extended well beyond those who attend stompgrounds.

There are several stompgrounds throughout Muskogee (Creek) Nation and Seminole Nation (see Map 3). Each of these stompgrounds is identified as either Mvskoke (Creek),

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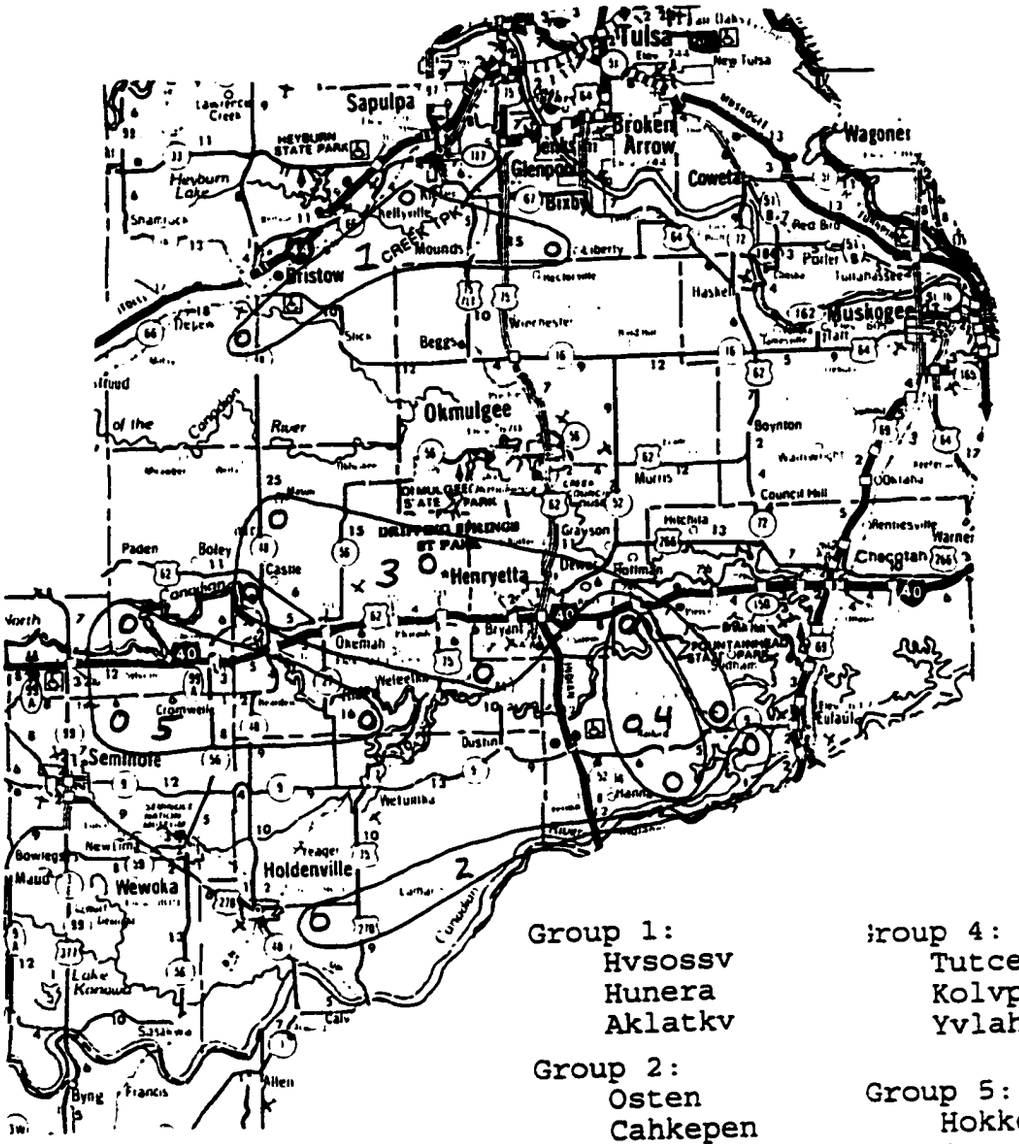
[1]Church services and other church functions also regularly bring relatively large groups of people together for social gatherings and occasionally, though not too often, attract some stompground members.



Group 1:
Hvsossv
Hunera
Aklatkv

Group 2:
Osten
Cahkepen
Cenvpaken

Group 3:
Hvmken
Lane
Cate
Epaken
Holatte

Group 4:
Tutcenen
Kolvpaken
Yvlahv

Group 5:
Hokkolen
Ostvpaken
Palen

Map 3. Locations of Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi Grounds

Yuchi, or Seminole, depending on its location, the affiliation of the majority of its members, and, for some, a nominal connection with a pre-removal *tvlwv*. Most, but not all, of the stompground activities in these locations are recognized as having religious significance, which stems not only from the type of ceremony being conducted but also from the sacred character of the site.

As mentioned in chapter two, Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole stompdancers can, and do, differentiate themselves on the basis of their participation in a stompground as opposed to a Methodist or Baptist church. Individuals who participate in one or another of these systems are able to recognize others who also are members of their congregation or ground and also are able to recognize those who belong to like organizations. Because of many peoples' willingness to discuss the distinguishing traits of the members of different grounds, it seems likely that differences in language use and attitudes should become apparent between these religiously based units. Commonalities also should be relatively easy to explore because these also are often discussed, especially when members of different grounds come together for an activity. Mvskoke (Creek) networks will be analyzed first, followed by Seminole and Yuchi networks. The Mvskoke (Creek) have the largest population of the three peoples in

this study and have the largest number of stompground networks for analysis. Unlike among the Seminoles and Yuchis, all three religious systems--stompdance, Baptist, and Methodist--are strongly represented among the Mvskoke (Creek). The Mvskoke (Creek), because of the extent of their population and the large geographic area within which their grounds are located, provide the most diverse case and may show the most differentiation in language use patterns and attitudes. With data from some Mvskoke (Creek) grounds as a baseline, differences and commonalities within the other two tribal populations will be compared.

Data from five Mvskoke (Creek) grounds will be examined to analyze variation in language use patterns and ideologies among Mvskoke (Creek) stompground networks. These five grounds, Hvmken, Hokkolen, Tutcenen, Osten, and Cahkepen, were chosen because of my long-term friendships with members from these grounds and their acceptance of my involvement in activities. While not a random sample, these grounds, which comprise nearly half of all Mvskoke (Creek) stompgrounds, should represent the variation within the Mvskoke (Creek) stompdance community. These grounds are in different areas around Creek Nation: Hvmken and Hokkolen are at the western edge, Tutcenen is in the east-central region, Osten is at the eastern edge, and Cahkepen

is in the northeastern part. Members at these grounds are from all areas of Muskogee (Creek) Nation, as well as communities outside of Muskogee (Creek) Nation's boundaries, primarily Oklahoma City and Tulsa.

Mvskoke (Creek) Stompdance Networks and Communities

Mvskoke (Creek) people have a variety of religious systems from which they may choose. The vast majority of Mvskoke (Creek) people take part in stompdance, Methodist, or Baptist activities. Still others, who live near metropolitan areas, are active in other religions, but most Mvskoke (Creek) people recognize these three systems as the ones in which the majority of religiously active Mvskoke (Creek) people are involved. Each of these systems promotes communal endeavors and a sense of shared responsibility, though each does so in a different way. For organizations affiliated with these religious systems to exist, a group of people must come together regularly for religious activities.

It is with the networks that stem from the organizations involved in one of these religions that we will begin to see how these organizations and their religious activities create and enhance social and linguistic bonds between people from throughout the tribal population. In order to determine whether individual

stompgrounds can be considered individual speech communities, patterns of language use and attitudes will be investigated as the social/interactive networks are explored. If individual stompgrounds have been shown to exhibit the necessary characteristics of speech communities, it will be possible to consider whether even larger, more inclusive speech communities exist within the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole populations and to show how stompgrounds fit into these more inclusive speech communities. Should it appear that individual stompgrounds cannot be considered speech communities, a reconsideration of the defining characteristics and applicability of the concept of a restrictive speech community will be in order.

The stompdance religion is a continuation of the religion practiced by Southeastern peoples before Removal. As it is currently practiced, people gather at stompgrounds throughout the summer for all-night dances. During the dances, individual men ("leaders") are chosen to lead single dances, which last for the duration of the individual's song. The leader will be at the front of the line of people (generally single-file, men alternating with women), closest to the central fire which lights the dance arena throughout the night. As people enter to dance, the friends and ground associates of the leader are immediately behind him and all others who wish to dance enter the line,

in no particular order, behind this group. The leader provides the text of the song, the women provide accompaniment with turtle-shell or condensed-milk can rattles on their legs, and the other men provide the refrains for the leader. Almost all songs act as prayers to *hesaketv messe*, "the giver of breath," and are considered to be religious offerings.

Originally, the stompgrounds were in the *tvlofv* corresponding to a *tvlwv*, and the ceremonial leaders were affiliated with the *tvlwv* that provided the membership. Grounds are now on lands in eastern Oklahoma (see Map 3). Most of these grounds are located in rural areas somewhat removed from surrounding communities. Many are on allotment lands or lands leased from Anglo farmers. Each ground had, and still has, a number of leadership positions and, in order to hold some of these positions, one must be able to speak Mvskoke fluently. There are currently thirteen active Mvskoke (Creek) stompgrounds (see Map 3). I have attended dances and meetings at eight of the thirteen and have interviewed people from the other five.

These grounds attract people from throughout Muskogee (Creek) Nation, though the majority of their membership tends to live in rural areas. Members' ages range from the elderly to the very young, with most members coming from the ranks of the middle-aged (30 years and older) and

elders. Young children and young men and women come to the dances and other activities but they do not make up a large number of the steady members at any particular ground. Those in leadership positions at some grounds consider the low numbers of young members to be problematic and have begun encouraging older members to bring younger family members so they can learn about the principles and rules of the grounds. This seems to have met with limited success, and most leaders are concerned that the low numbers of young members is an indication that the grounds will face uncertain futures.

Many ground members consider themselves to be a part of the only segment of Mvskoke (Creek) society that retains traditional practices. This is reflected somewhat in the numbers of people who speak Mvskoke, the amount of Mvskoke spoken at ground ceremonies and activities, and in the value ground members place on the ability to speak and understand Mvskoke. The Mvskoke language plays a large role in the proper performance of religious ceremonies. The *heles hayv* "medicine man," *emponayv* "speaker," and stickmen all use Mvskoke during dances.

The foremost leader of the ground is the *mekko* "chief" who is the authority for the ground, though his authority is as fluid as was the power of the historical *tvlwv mekkake*. The *mekko* governs the ground members by consensus

and persuasion, often needing to speak both English and Mvskoke in order to communicate effectively. When a *mekko* announces that changes or improvements need to be made to the ground, members are not obligated to help, but most do. If a *mekko* asks too much of his members, they may resist verbally or by simply not taking part in the activities the *mekko* has advocated. The *mekkake* of the thirteen Mvskoke (Creek) grounds all speak Mvskoke and English.

The *mekko* is followed in authority by the *heneha*, the "second chief" or "chief's assistant," who steps in if the *mekko* is unable to fulfill his obligations. The *heneha* may temporarily become the *mekko* when the *mekko* has to step down. This man also often serves as treasurer of the ground and also may act as a secretary when necessary. The *mekko* and *heneha* may speak to individuals themselves, but news for a larger audience of members is always broadcast by the *emponayv* "speaker."

During dances the *mekko*'s and *heneha*'s decisions and observations are presented to the general members and visitors by the *emponayv*. This man broadcasts the news, always in Mvskoke, in a highly stylized form of speech which is only used by ground speakers while at the ground. The *emponayv*'s speeches may cover almost any topic, from remonstrances to remember the old ways and reminders that proper behavior must be observed to receive the full

benefit of the dance, to observations about how the current activities are going to be performed. The *emponayv* must be fluent in Mvskoke and must have learned the stylistic nuances in order to deliver speeches correctly in this setting. Some speakers act as such for more than one ground. If a ground does not have an individual able to fill this position, they may ask that another ground's *emponayv* fill this role. The majority of grounds have their own *emponayv*, however.

Another important position within the ground hierarchy is the *heles hayv* "medicine man." The *heles hayv* is charged with making the medicine taken by members during ceremonies and also is responsible for maintaining the well-being and ceremonial strength of the ground. In order to formulate the medicine for the ceremonies, the *heles hayv* must know both the plant(s) used in the medicine and the verbal formula associated with each medicine. The verbal formula is always recited in Mvskoke, must be the appropriate formula for the particular medicine being made, and must be recited correctly for the medicine to work. Such medicines are put on the ground in order to cleanse the ground, as well as being taken orally and applied externally by the members to cleanse and protect themselves.

While it is recognized that no ground can operate

without the services of a *heles hayv*, it also is acknowledged that there are not enough *heles hayvlke* for each ground to have its own. For this reason, some *heles hayvlke* minister to more than one ground in a ceremonial season. A *heles hayv* must have memorized a number of medicinal recitations in order to fill this role at different grounds as each ground's medicinal formulae differ somewhat.

The final positions of authority in the ground requiring some use of the Mvskoke language are those of the *empohatvlke* "stickmen." Two men are selected to fill these positions for four-year terms. These men are in charge of security at the ground. They may be asked to direct parking as guests come in to a dance and are required to watch for people who are intoxicated as no drinking or drug use is allowed at dances. It is the responsibility of the *empohatvlke* to escort people off the ground during a dance if they have been causing trouble. The *empohatvlke* also are charged with the responsibility of choosing and announcing dance leaders during the night of a dance. These men, as well as those filling the role of *mekko* and *heneha*, are always members of the ground.

The *empohatvlke* use Mvskoke throughout the night when announcing that a new person is to lead the dance. One man is chosen to lead each dance (fill the role of primary

singer), and the *empohatvlke* have the responsibility of choosing the next leader. The *empohatvlke* approach a man who has not yet led or who led earlier in the ceremony and ask him if he would be willing to lead. This question often is posed in English, though some *empohatvlke* ask prospective leaders in Mvskoke. When the time comes to announce the next leader, the *empohatvlke* shine their flashlights in the direction of the new leader and announce a formulaic introduction, which varies slightly from ground to ground, but which is essentially, "hurry up, get ready, help him" *lvpecicvs*. Once the new leader has begun his song, the *empohatvlke* look for the next leader. This scene is replayed several times throughout the night, with the repetition of the same formulaic phrase.

Each of these positions is necessary for the continuation of a Mvskoke ground, the central symbol of which is the fire. The fire has been important in Mvskoke life for centuries, with early accounts relating how the *tvlwv* fire was renewed every year and was used to reignite all other fires in the *tvlwv*. This practice has continued to the current day, with each ground renewing its fire during the Green Corn ceremony and rekindling all members' cooking fires from the new flame in the center of the ground. The religious power and efficacy of each fire is traced back to pre-Removal days as stories are told about

how, during Removal, medicine men (*heles hayvlke*) from many *tvlwvlke* took embers from their *tvlwv*'s central fire and carried these to their new sites in Indian Territory. Many fires were moved in this manner, with almost no diminution of their religious power.

The social structure of the *tvlwvlke*, which were transformed after allotment, is mirrored in the social structure of modern grounds. Some people still are able to trace their membership to a particular ground matrilineally, just as membership in a particular *tvlwv* was traced in the early historical period. Currently, a more important factor for tracing one's ground membership is how often one takes part in ground activities outside of the formal religious ceremonies (e.g., performing ground maintenance, keeping up one's camping structures at the ground, being involved in planning for and participating in non-religious events). These activities show one's commitment to the ground as a social unit and reflect the communal activities of the historical *tvlwvlke* (e.g., communal planting and harvesting, political meetings, etc.). These activities are orchestrated by the ground leaders, and members feel obligated to take part, but one always has the option of choosing not to be involved.

The primary focus of these activities is to prepare for the ceremonial year. Each ground holds four dances

each year during the summer months (generally between May and September), with the central dance being the Green Corn or Busk. At each of the dances, men and women receive medicine to cleanse their bodies and ward off ill health for the coming year. The taking of medicine obligates one to remain awake all night and to fast during particular periods of the ceremony. The dances and the medicine-taking are a means of giving thanks for past prosperity and for promoting future successes.

In order for such activities to be successful, each member of the ground must behave in accordance with traditional teachings that govern such areas as food intake, sexual conduct, and cleanliness. If a member of the ground breaks one or more of these rules the benefits from the ceremony may be forfeited and the health of all ground members may be put in jeopardy. Children and younger members often are told or reminded about proper behavior when at the grounds because their behavior also may endanger others. Often these teachings are presented in English because a majority of the children and younger members at most Mvskoke (Creek) grounds are not fluent in Mvskoke.

As a means of guarding against and correcting misbehavior, members' actions often are watched closely and commented on, both inside and outside of the ground.

Members stay in touch with each other after the dances, often watching for signs, such as illness or misfortune, which may signal that the medicine's power was diminished or negated. When such signs are evident and are serious enough to warrant action from the members at large, ground members often will gather at the *heles hayv*'s house or some other area to take medicine again. At these times, the members' actions are not so closely scrutinized, and one person's actions during the medicine-taking period are not seen to be harmful for the larger group. If some misfortune occurs to a single individual and does not appear to be tied to some misbehavior at a dance, that individual will seek treatment from a *heles hayv* (not necessarily his/her ground's *heles hayv*) or a homeopathic doctor and will undergo that treatment alone.

As mentioned previously, participation in dances and activities surrounding the dance (cleaning of the ground, erecting buildings and shelters at the ground, providing food for guests and members) not only prove one's religious commitment, they also demonstrate one's commitment to the ground and to the other members. Both men and women must have attended dances somewhat regularly and be viewed as knowledgeable about appropriate behavior to be given the status of fully active members, though the amount of time one must have spent around the ground or the number of

dances one must have attended vary from ground to ground. Children generally are not considered to be active members at a ground until they reach an age, usually the early- to mid-teens, when they are allowed to take medicine and are expected to help with ground activities.

Anglo visitors also are not readily allowed to take part in all aspects of the traditional ground activities unless they have regularly attended ground ceremonies and are accepted by the members. As the *mekko* of one ground told me,

> A white person have to wait for four years. If the (white) person has been coming around and has been doing things at the ground for that long and nothing bad has happened, then we'll ask them if they want to join us, become part of the ground. If something bad happens before then, though, we'll probably not let them take part in dances and stuff.

In my own experience, which mirrors Bell's (1990) findings, Anglo women are more suspect than men as possible hazards, owing to their menstrual cycle, and they must gain the trust of the ground's members before they are allowed to enter the most sacred, central area which surrounds the fire, and which is where the dancing takes place.

It is readily apparent that the grounds provide a focus for communication both during and after the ceremonial season. Many grounds raise money during the winter to finance summer activities. The types of communication and the social activities of the winter

differ slightly from those of the summer, but each acts to keep the members meeting frequently and for meaningful reasons. The interaction patterns of individual grounds covering both the summer and winter seasons will now be explored.

Individual Ground Networks

Data concerning the extent of ground networks and the degree of closeness of personal relationships were explored using both observation and interviews. Ground networks were entered by focusing on one person's or couple's interactional patterns. These interactional patterns allowed me to trace individuals' relations with people who are and are not members of the self-identifying group of ground members. Once individual interactional patterns had been discerned, these were compared with my observations of interaction when several members were involved in events that brought both members and non-members together. This comparison allows for a means of checking whether the strength of the social relationships apparent through traditional network analysis ring true when the actors are within a larger social situation.

The ground networks found among the Mvskoke (Creek) are dense. Diagram 1, below, shows the density of the ties among the membership of Osten ground. That this network is

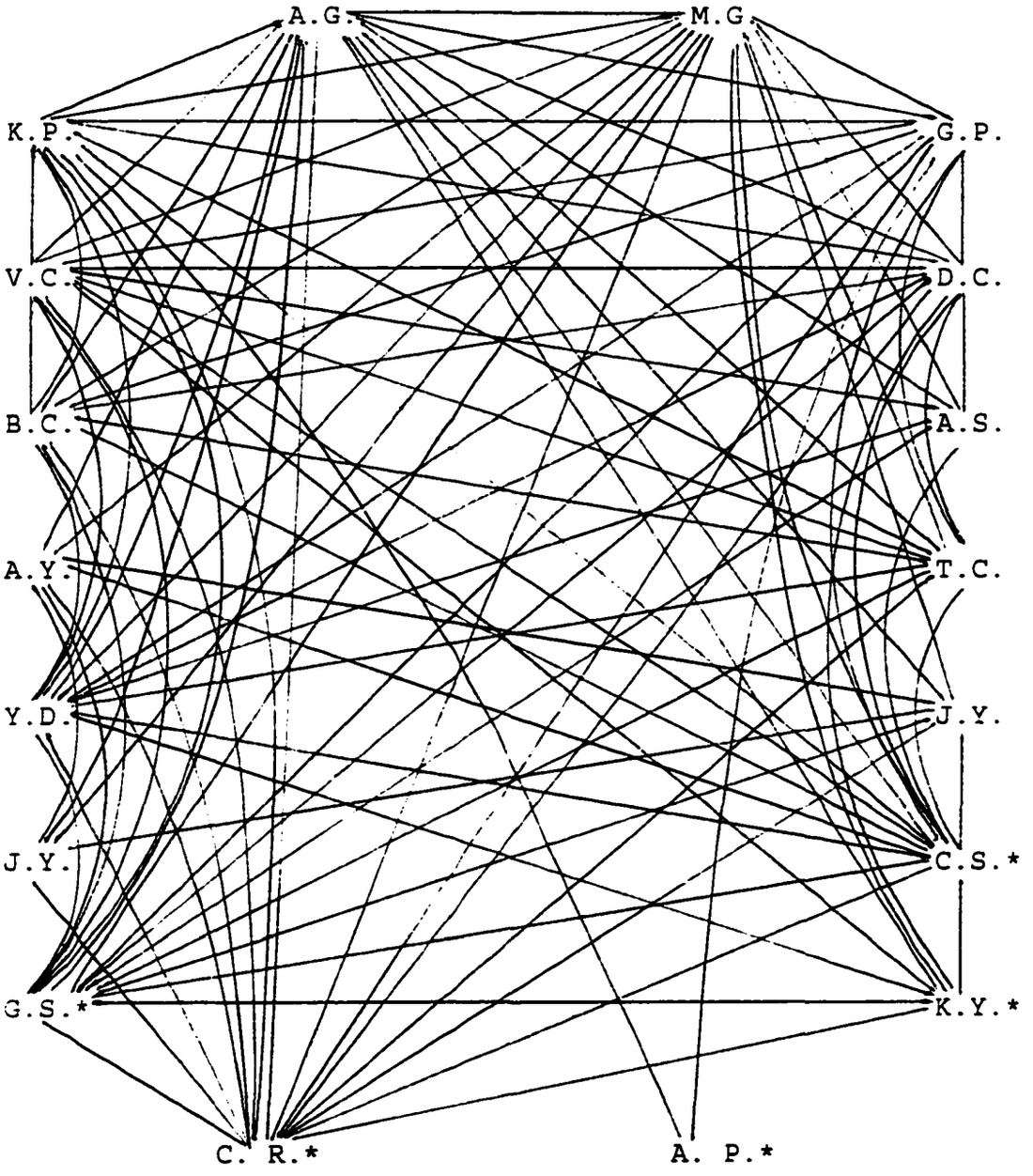


Diagram 1. Density of the Osten Ground Network
(* denotes those who are not camping at the ground)

dense is shown by the lines connecting each individual to other individuals. The solid lines connecting people indicate that each person comes into direct contact with the other(s) not only during the summer ceremonial season, but at several other times in the year. For clarity, lines have not been drawn between individuals who come into contact primarily during the ceremonial season, only occasionally contacting each other during the rest of the year. Each individual is tied to all others, however.

Because the ratio of the number of actual ties (Na) equals the number of possible ties (N) the density of this network is 100 percent (Milroy 1980:50). As has been pointed out by Boissevain (1974) and Milroy (1980), individuals within dense social networks tend to follow the norms of the group much more closely than those in less dense networks because of greater norm enforcement. It should be expected then, that individuals within this ground will have similar attitudes about language and show similar language use patterns.

What is interesting in the diagram is the inclusion of several families who are not members of the ground, when determined by matrilineal connection, but who are known to everyone who camps at the ground and who are recognized as being part of the whole. When dealing with groups of this size, it is perhaps not unusual that anyone who regularly

attends ground activities, even though he/she is not officially a member of the ground, will be known to everyone who is a member. As noted above, membership at a ground is shown not only by participation in group activities but also by establishing a permanent camp and, in most cases, having a matrilineal connection to the ground. Occasionally, as in the cases found at Osten ground, the matrilineal connection will be waived, and an individual's membership hinges only on participation and establishment of a camp. No matter how membership is determined, ground members are able to identify those who also are members at their ground and those who are not.

Similar networks, with similar densities are found when other Mvskoke (Creek) ground networks are analyzed (Diagrams 2, 3, 4, and 5). In each of these diagrams, it becomes obvious that each family or individual at a ground is aware of and interacts with other members. As at Osten, most members at each ground interact with other members of their ground throughout the year and often outside of ground events.

While the density of each ground network is important, another factor affecting individuals within the networks remains to be explored: the kinds of links between individuals. This aspect is measured by the content of a relationship. Where individuals are connected to one

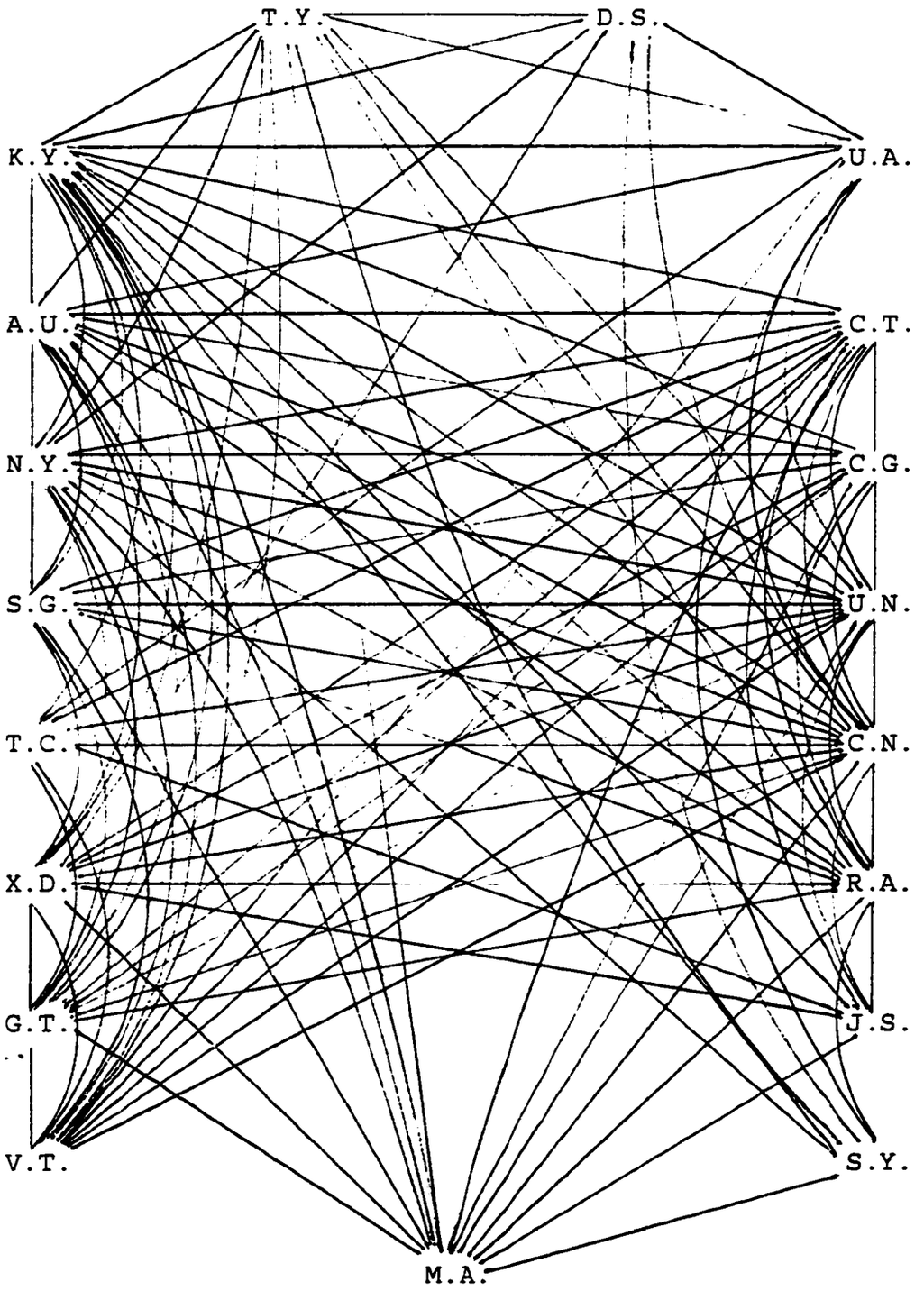


Diagram 2. Density of the Hvmken Ground Network

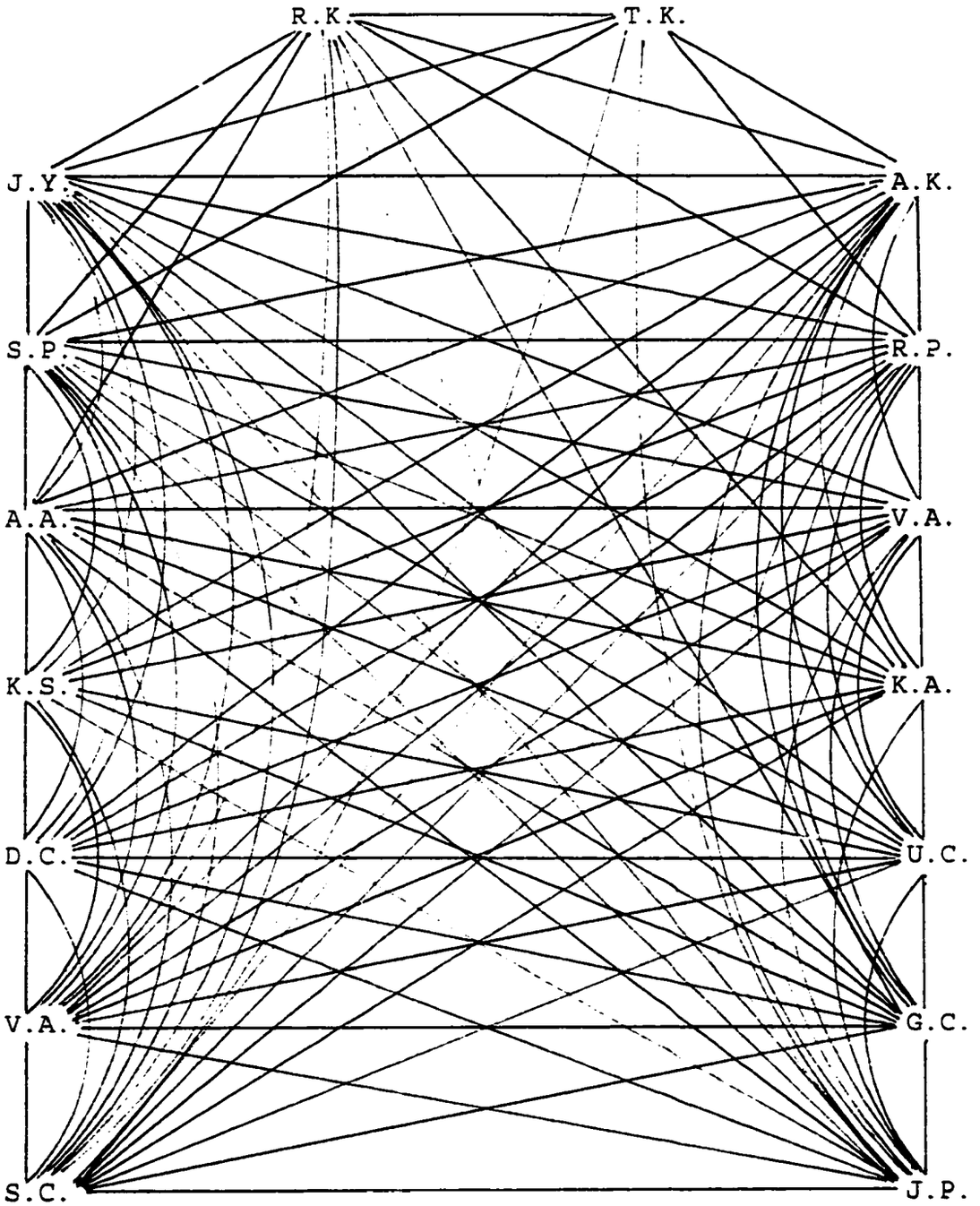


Diagram 3. Density of the Tutcenen Ground Network

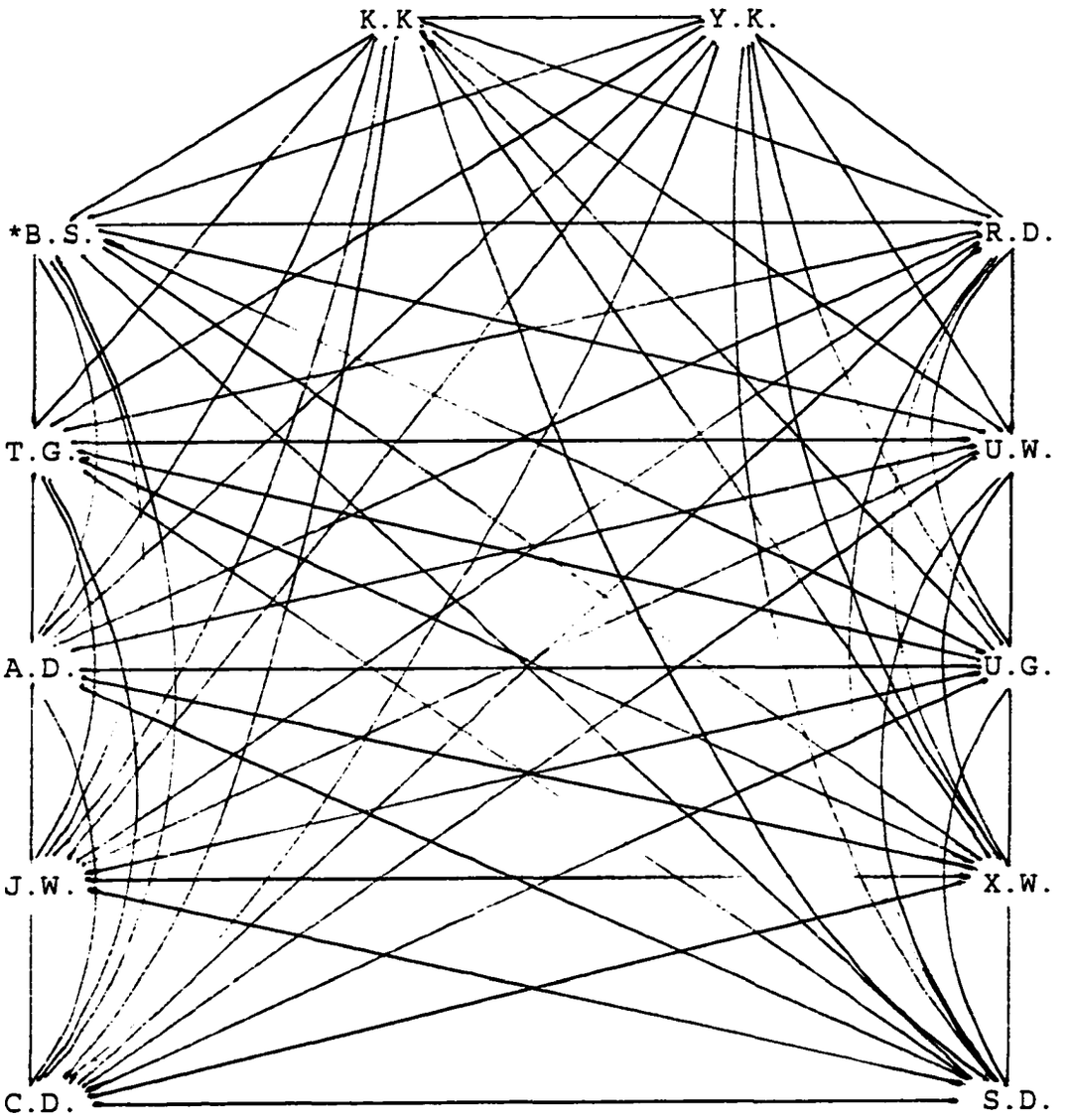


Diagram 4. Density of the Hokkolen Ground Network
(* denotes those who are not camping at the ground)

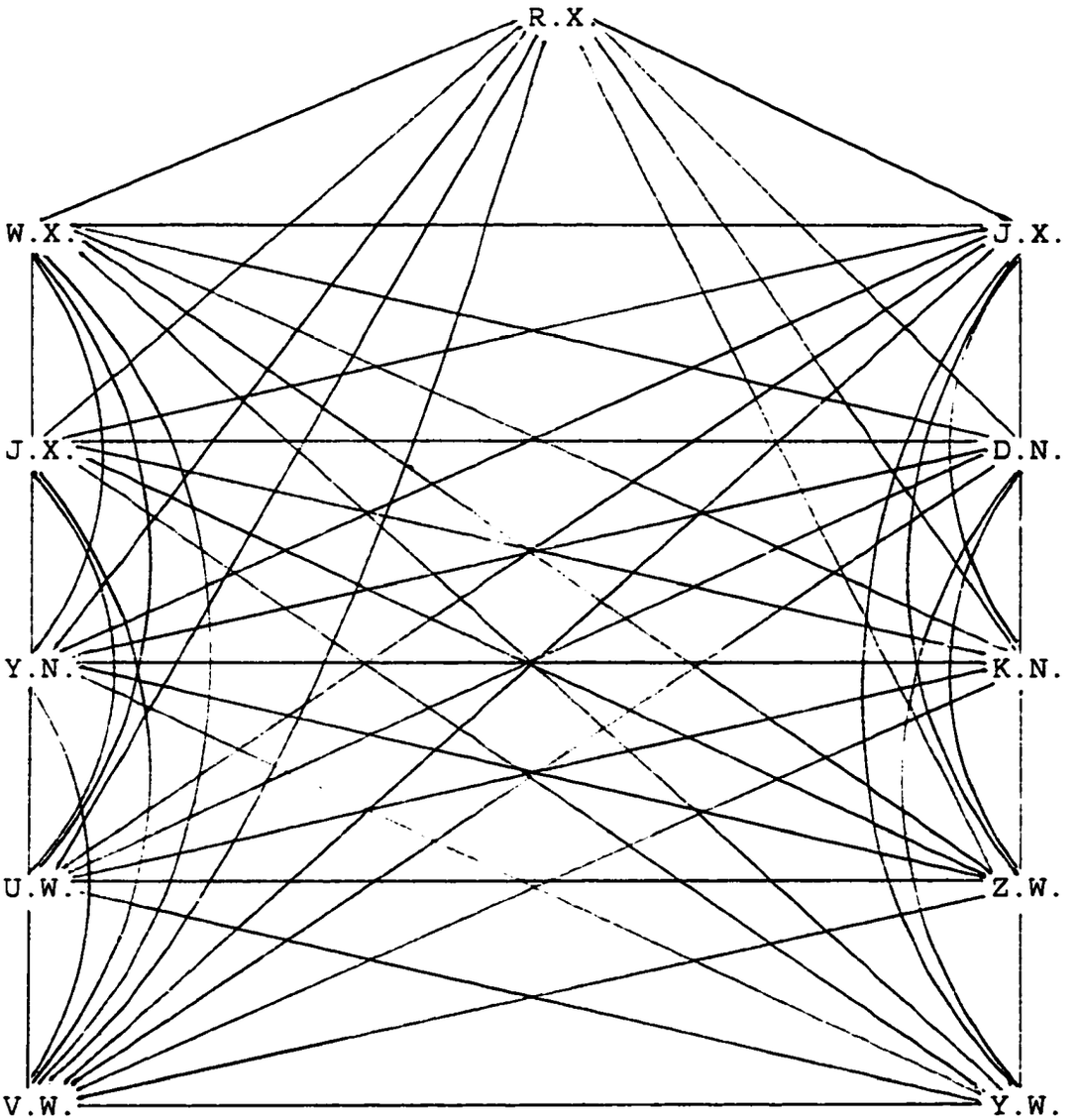


Diagram 5. Density of the Cahkepen Ground Network

another in only one capacity, their relationship is said to be uniplex. Where individuals are connected to one another in more than one capacity, their relationship is said to be multiplex. It is the correlation of multiplexity and density that provides some insight to the strength of the network and the "effectiveness of the network as a norm-enforcement mechanism" (Milroy 1980:52).

Within the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, the majority of individuals have multiplex ties with other members of their ground. This has been shown by charting the types of relationships individuals have with all other members of their ground. The types of relationships considered when computing peoples' multiplex and uniplex connections were: kinship (including clan relations), friendship (as reported by the individual), similar ground membership, and service-exchange relationships. A listing of all members' multiplexity ratings is given in Appendix II.

The multiplex and uniplex connections between members shown in Appendix II take into account only those connections between people recognized as members at each ground. There is a discrepancy between the number of people listed in the ground density diagrams and the tables in the appendix because the latter investigate only ties between members. Spouses and partners are included in the density diagrams, but these people are not always

considered to be members of their mates' grounds. Where individuals listed on the density diagrams were considered to be non-members, they were identified as such because of a correlation between self-identification as a non-member and other ground members' identification of the individual as a non-member.

To get a sense of the strength of ties among members at each ground, an average multiplexity rating for the members at each ground was computed by dividing the number of multiplex ties by the total number of ties between ground members. These ratings are presented in Table 9, below.

Osten ground:	.600	72 multiplex ties/120 total ties
Hvmken ground:	.603	82 multiplex ties/136 total ties
Tutcenen ground:	.582	53 multiplex ties/ 91 total ties
Hokkolen ground:	.691	38 multiplex ties/ 55 total ties
Cahkepen ground:	.800	44 multiplex ties/ 55 total ties

Table 9. Multiplexity Averages for Each Mvskoke (Creek) Ground

These multiplexity ratios show that individuals at each ground are likely to have multiplex relationships with slightly more than one half of the other ground members. These ratios would appear to be rather low, but it should be kept in mind that they represent not only the relationships between the core ground members but the relationships of peripheral ground members as well. Peripheral ground members, like A.P. at Osten ground, are

more likely to have multiplex relationships with a low number of people at the ground, generally through kinship or service-exchange relationships. As one looks at some of the core members of Osten ground, however, the number of multiplex relationships with other ground members increases dramatically (e.g., A.G. and C.S.).

With both the density of the intraground connections and a consideration of the average multiplexity ratio for ground members, we are able to get a sense of the number and strength of ties individual members share with others at the ground. At all five grounds at which both measures were made, there is a combination of high density and relatively high average multiplexity. This suggests that the members of each ground should share similar views toward language and similar patterns of language use. This will be tested by reviewing language use patterns and attitudes among members at each of the five grounds. Whether these patterns differ significantly from ground to ground will be examined by comparing the language use patterns and attitudes of each ground as described in the following sections.

Osten Ground Language Use Patterns and Attitudes

Much communication takes place among Osten ground members shortly before and during each ceremonial season.

The leaders of the ground and any general members who may choose to attend meet early in the spring to begin to plan the dance schedule. At this time, only very general schedules are discussed, and no dates are officially set. Problems at the grounds or involving ground property are discussed and any improvements or changes are begun.

If ground improvements or changes are necessary, ground members will meet during the spring to complete the work. If an outside company must be called to complete some aspect of the work (e.g., spreading gravel on a roadway or laying pipe for water service), one member will be chosen to handle the arrangements and payment. This member reports back to the leaders after the services have been rendered and provides a report about billing procedures and the quality of the work. If the work does not require outside help, the members will work together to complete the task, often taking picnic lunches and spending a good part of the day socializing as they work.

As the ceremonial season draws near, ground members remain in even closer contact, talking with each other at least once a week. The members prefer to speak face-to-face, although they commonly use the telephone, as well. If the ground does not begin dancing until after others have started, the members often will meet each other during the weekend at another ground's dance. When leaders and

interested members meet again at a member's home, they discuss the actual date for the first dance, which is generally one to two weeks after the meeting. Similar meetings are conducted before each dance because the date of a dance only should be decided about a week in advance, according to A.G., the *heles hayv* of Osten. Members who have not attended these meetings are contacted so that they know about the dance.

Ground members also meet during the winter months. Many grounds, including Osten, conduct fund-raising events. These events are discussed at meetings similar to those concerning the dance schedule, though at winter meetings women are allowed to give input and advice. At these meetings, both men and women are allowed to hold the floor and contribute to the discussion. Members present their views about the type of fund-raiser to be held and who will be in charge of the duties involved in holding the event. These views are discussed until consensus is reached, and all are satisfied with the outcome.

Such meetings generally are held at a ground leader's or member's home, with every leader and member having the option of bringing all or part of his family to the gathering. While the men are discussing the ground, the women prepare food and have a chance to catch up on what has been happening to other members. Children, if they are

brought along, often play outdoors or somewhere away from the men. When the deliberation about the ground has been completed, all gather for a meal and socialize.

Depending upon the abilities of those present to speak Mvskoke, much or very little of the meeting will be conducted in that language. I have never attended the planning session at one of the meetings before a summer dance, as women may not be present while serious discussion about ground matters is going on, but I have been able to ask ground leaders about them. According to Y.C. and K.P., these meetings are conducted primarily in Mvskoke. K.P. views this as a natural result of the topic and the members' fluency in Mvskoke:

> It just wouldn't be right to talk about matters like this without using our language. We're talking about our religion, our ceremonies, so we gotta use our language. Everybody who's there understands Mvskoke, and our elders always used it when they talked about the grounds, so we should too.

The importance of continuing elders' practices was echoed by several male Osten members, many of whom feel that changing traditional practices, of which the use of Mvskoke when discussing ground-related decisions is one, jeopardizes the safety and sanctity of the ground.

For their part, the women often discuss matters in both Mvskoke and English when gathered during meetings, with more or less of each language being used depending

upon each woman's proficiency. When making jokes about someone's behavior or when discussing actions that they do not want their children to understand, many women speak in Mvskoke or significantly lower their voices while speaking in English. The choice depends upon the speaker's and listeners' abilities to understand either Mvskoke or English. Early on in my acquaintance with Osten members, women would translate what was said solely for my benefit, as demonstrated by looking directly at me and beginning the translation with "so you can understand what they just said...." Now that they know I have a fair proficiency in Mvskoke, they no longer make these attempts to translate unless I specifically ask.

Unlike the adults, children talk mostly in English. Some parents and grandparents have made an effort to teach their children Mvskoke and are proud when their children use it, but most do not expect their children to speak Mvskoke when around others. The majority of parents and grandparents seem to feel that children are not learning the language and that most do not know Mvskoke. C.R., S.K., and M.G. all have commented about hearing children from the area around Hanna, Oklahoma use Mvskoke, but follow such comments with remarks about how uncommon it is to find children using the language so fluently.

When people are socializing after the men's return

from their meeting, both English and Mvskoke are used in discussion. Fluent bilingual speakers often will switch from one language to another to accommodate their listeners who may not have much proficiency in Mvskoke, though many who take part in this type of meeting would be considered passively fluent. Whenever possible, both women and men prefer to use Mvskoke in such situations because "it lets me say what I want in a way I can't do using English because my English isn't so good," according to A.G. At times, however, when one or more people are known or suspected to have little fluency in Mvskoke, listeners or speakers will translate what has been said in Mvskoke, especially if it was very serious or very funny. Such translations may be very loose, either to keep children from getting the full meaning of the Mvskoke comment or when the subtler nuances of the Mvskoke comments are unnecessary for understanding the message content.

The pattern of language use common to ground meetings also is followed when ground members are assembled for a dance. During the ceremonial season, ground members attend a number of dances at other grounds as well as their own. Most members of Osten attend dances at other grounds each weekend of the ceremonial year, with most members generally attending the same dance. Group attendance is accomplished by deciding which dance will be attended next when members

are gathered at a meeting or at a dance. Word is spread during a dance about which grounds are sponsoring dances in the coming week. As leaders and members hear about these coming dances they decide which to attend. This information is conveyed to other members either through face-to-face communication at the time that the decision is made or later, through telephone conversations.

When attending another ground's dance, members tend to arrive singly or in groups, often during mid-afternoon, well before dancing has started and before the late afternoon meal has been served. Most bring family members or friends, very few come alone. Osten members tell other members when they will be arriving at the other ground so that members meet at approximately the same time. Members set up their chairs in the same area, generally right in front of their cars, and spend time catching up on the week's activities. Members then go around the ground to greet members of other grounds and talk with friends.

The late afternoon meal is an important social event. Each camp serves food to visitors and members. Visitors are free to choose at which camp they will eat. Osten members tend to eat at the same camp. People spend thirty to forty-five minutes at the meal, spending most of the time conversing with the others at the table, though a good amount of time is also spent enjoying the food.

Codeswitching between Mvskoke and English is common at these meals, though many elders carry on conversations solely in Mvskoke. Once people have eaten and have talked with their camp hosts, many wander to another camp to converse with others.

After the meal, people spend time talking with friends and acquaintances, waiting for dusk. Dancing does not begin until dark, so people generally have three to four hours to while away. This time is spent talking with Osten members and members of other grounds who have set up their seats nearby. Jokes and laughter often are heard as members tell stories about comic events from the past. Children play around their parents' seats or at a friend's parents' camp. Adolescents wander around the ground, meeting up with others, forming groups of three to seven youngsters. The membership in these groups of adolescents is fluid.

As dusk falls, members who had gone to socialize with others return to their seats with the other Osten members. Men usually have changed into their dancing clothes (ribbon shirts, a nice pair of jeans, polished cowboy boots, and, often, a cowboy hat or baseball cap with an eagle or hawk feather or some other ornament), as have most women (loose-fitting skirts, some with patchwork, matching shirts or t-shirts, and comfortable, sturdy shoes). The members are

waiting for the series of four "calls" to begin. Each call is introduced by the *emponayv*, who announces that the dancing is going to begin fairly soon, generally within thirty to forty-five minutes, so his announcements are to alert people to get ready to dance if they have not already done so.

At this time, women will begin to get out their turtle-shell rattles and prepare to put them on. By the time the third call has been made, the women around the ground are putting on the shells. This is a rather involved process because each women has to put on padding (to keep the rattles from irritating her legs) and then must lace up the calf-high rattles (whose strings have often become tangled during storage). The rattles must be tested by stamping one's foot to check that the rattles have been securely tied to the leg and will not slip down during the dance. It is common for mothers and daughters to discuss the condition of their rattles and for the mothers to critique their daughters' abilities to tie their own rattles. These conversations are almost always conducted in English.

After the fourth call, dancing begins. As mentioned above, leaders are chosen from the men in attendance. When a leader is chosen from the Osten group all members who are going to dance, both male and female, follow him as he

enters the central area. Members of other grounds filter in behind the Osten members as the leader circles the fire four or five times before starting his song. People may join the dance throughout the song, but most join in before or just after the leader has started singing.

If someone from a ground other than Osten has been chosen to lead, Osten members can choose to dance or remain out of the dance. At the many dances I have attended with Osten members, most danced for a variety of leaders, taking part in a majority of the dances performed during the night. Women often will take more breaks than men because of the strenuous nature of shaking shells, a set of which weighs upwards of fifteen pounds. Because taking part in another's dance shows solidarity, most men and women from Osten enjoy participating in a dance led by someone from another ground and believe it strengthens the friendship between Osten and other grounds. According to A.G., such dancing is necessary:

> We have to dance all the time, even for someone who isn't one of us. It's how we show him we're friends. When you dance, you feel good and help make others feel good. Our Creator said, 'That's how you'll show everybody you love them.' So that's what we got to do.

Dancing continues through the night, with most members participating in a number of dances.

Near midnight or one o'clock in the morning, ground members set up cakes and other desserts at their camps.

Visitors are invited to take a break and get coffee and cake at whichever camp they choose. Osten members often return to the camp at which they ate dinner. Because this process does not stop the dancing, Osten members, and members of other grounds acting as a unit, often find themselves as the sole diners at the camp during this time. The women of the camp are almost always in attendance, however, waiting on their visitors, chatting with them and talking about the dance thus far. Much of the conversation at this time is conducted in Mvskoke unless the women waiting on the visitors are known to have problems understanding Mvskoke.

Unless the weather was threatening or some activity was planned by Osten members in the morning (e.g., taking medicine or meeting at the ground), Osten members remain at the dance until sunrise or later. If members leave early, the decision is made before dancing begins. When one of the ground leaders, often the *heles hayv*, has decided that it is time to leave, he tells others that he is going and exhorts them to do the same. Members go to camps or groups of other visitors to say their goodbyes and to thank their hosts for sponsoring a good dance. Once people have had a chance to do this, most Osten members leave at the same time, with each helping the others pack their cars and reminding them of the morning activity. Conversation

during this leaving ritual is carried out in English. Most members drive out of the ground in the same cars in which they arrived, though some who caught rides to the ground with other members may find themselves driven home by someone else.

When Osten members stay at a dance to its end, there is generally a little more interaction with other ground members. Most grounds invite the visitors who have danced throughout the night to eat some breakfast before they leave. Osten members often take part in this, which provides them yet another chance to have focused interaction with members from the sponsoring ground. As with the evening meal, visitors choose to eat at one camp or another and are served a full breakfast. People do not linger quite as long over breakfast as they did over dinner because all are feeling tired, and the hosts want to get their guests on the road before they become too sleepy to drive safely. While not as long as the previous day's dinner, these breakfasts provide Osten and other ground members a chance to socialize once more before they leave.

Osten ground members have a different pattern of interaction when they are the dance hosts. For dances other than the Green Corn, members arrive at the ground Friday evening so as to be at the ground early Saturday morning when medicine taking begins. For the Green Corn,

members may arrive at the ground up to one week before the dance, remaining at their camps during the week.

While camping on the night(s) before a dance, Osten members often, but not always, gather together to eat and spend much of the evening talking. Children are free to roam from camp to camp. Men and women walk from camp to camp, though most end up gathering at one camp or another. The evening is spent telling stories in both Mvskoke and English and chatting about a multitude of topics in both languages.

Early on Saturday morning, the men arise before sunrise to begin the preparation for the evening's dance. Men gather in the central area under one of the arbors erected for this purpose. Women remain in the camps where they cook and prepare their family's clothing and other items that will be used that evening. There is not much interaction between the men and women during this time; a woman may approach the central area to talk to one or more of the men for a serious purpose, but the men will not generally leave the central area, choosing instead to meet the woman at the edge of the circular area. Except for children and others not taking medicine that day, all are fasting.

Men spend most of the morning and early afternoon talking and working together. Because women are not

allowed in the central area during this time, I have not experienced this interaction myself. As explained by A.G., Osten ground's *heles hayv*, the men interact in the following way:

> We're out there talking about important things; things that we need to discuss for the ceremony that night. I can't tell you any more because it's sacred, what we're talking about. We use our language to talk about it, though. These sacred things, we've got to use Mvskoke to speak about them. Sometimes we have to talk in English for the young guys because they don't all know Mvskoke. Usually it's one of their relatives does that [translate] for them.

The observations I have made of the men's interaction are in accord with what A.G. has said. From the women's perspective, it seems that the men gather under the arbors to discuss what they must and, only occasionally, will a pair of men spend time talking together. It may be that announcements in English are more common than presented by A.G. as small groups focused on something like translation appear only infrequently during the time the men are in the arbors.

After the men have spent much of the day preparing for the dance, they leave the arbors to eat the first meal of the day. The women of each camp will have cooked copious amounts of food in order to feed their own families as well as any visitors who might come to the dance. Visitors generally have arrived by this time, so they are invited to eat with the men. Male camp members and visiting friends

are served first, with the women and children waiting until the men and visitors are finished before serving their own meals. Women do have a chance to talk with those at the first serving as they remain close to the table in order to replenish both food and drink.

Visitors often will remain in the camp area after they have finished eating so as to be able to converse with the women as the women eat. Male ground members tend to leave soon after they have finished eating in order to take care of any necessary ground preparations left unfinished and to begin to prepare themselves for the dance. Once the men have returned to their camps, they generally remain there for the rest of the afternoon. People chat with others throughout the afternoon, discussing topics such as the upcoming dance, recent dances at other grounds, and various other topics. Both Mvskoke and English are used in such discussions.

The general pattern of interaction during the dance itself does not differ much from the pattern found when Osten members attend another ground's dance, except that the men are separated from the women. The men remain seated in the arbors between dances. The women sit on lawn chairs near the arbor under which their boyfriend, husband, or close relative is seated. The men, when they are not taking part in a dance, frequently leave the central area

to speak with the women. The women also are allowed to speak to the men as they are entering or leaving the central area to dance. Thus, most of these conversations are fairly short, with those initiated by the men often lasting only the duration of one dance (through one leader's song) and those initiated by a woman being even shorter--a few sentences as she is entering or leaving the central area.

There is, however, often quite a bit of banter between the women and the men when they are in their separate seating areas. This banter is loud and, generally, humorous. Women will often make loud comments about the men's performance in the central area, either commenting about a man's strength as a leader/singer or about some other personal characteristic. The man then will counter with some comment about his abilities or will play up his lack thereof. Such banter is always light and is not considered to be an occasion for personal attacks. I have never seen anyone take comments or remarks made under such circumstances as being hostile or hurtful, nor have I noted anyone use this situation as a forum for making remarks for those purposes. The majority of these humorous remarks and retorts are made in Mvskoke and are only directed at a member of Osten.

Women and men return often to their camps throughout

the night. Women check on their children, food, and coffee supplies, especially as the time for the midnight snack nears. Men get coffee or go to chat with friends at their camp. These conversations are random, occurring as people feel the urge to return to their camps for a while or as they notice others with whom they would like to speak approaching their camp.

As daylight approaches, women and men prepare for the dance to wind down. The last dance is announced by the *emponayv*, who makes a speech thanking those who came to help with the dance (the visitors), to announce that the following dance will be the last, and to thank his own (Osten) ground members for putting on a successful dance. Most of the people who have stayed at the ground for the duration of the dance get into the central area when the last dance is taking place.

When the last dance is over, the women and any children or youth still awake fold their chairs and retire to their camps. The men remain in the arbors where they receive speeches from the *mekko* and *heles hayv*. These speeches are about the conduct of the dance, to remind the men that their participation is necessary for the continuation of the ground, and to begin talking about necessary activities to prepare for the next dance. The men listen to these speeches, which are delivered in both

Mvskoke and English, and respond to each speech with "ho!" When the speeches are completed, the men leave the arbors and return to their camps.

The women remove their rattles and ceremonial dress when they return to camp. These materials are carefully put away where they will not interfere with upcoming activities. Fresh pots of coffee and breakfast food are put on the stoves, to be served to the men and visitors who have stayed throughout the dance. If breakfast is ready before the men have left the central area, children and adolescents are fed and are then put to bed. Occasionally, the women will prepare a breakfast buffet, placing food from each camp on one or more tables at a single camp. When this is done, all members and visitors fill their plates at the single camp, but they then move back to their own camp or some area outside of the single camp in order to eat and visit.

After the meal has been eaten, most visitors leave the ground. Osten members clean themselves and their camps, taking care of dance paraphernalia and cleaning the cooking area. When these activities have been completed, most members sleep for the rest of the morning. When members awake, they pack their cars and leave. Activity in one camp often will awaken members in other camps, so members get one last chance to speak with others before the ground

is closed.

Language use at dances involves both English and Mvskoke. As in the meetings, people with different levels of fluency in both languages attend dances. As people converse with each other, they may use both languages as the audience, topic, and situation dictate. Mvskoke is the language of choice for the older participants and for some middle-aged participants. When necessary, as when speaking to others with little or no knowledge of Mvskoke, most of these participants are able to use English and often do.

When elders meet at the camps or out near the central area, they begin and generally continue conversations in Mvskoke. If younger people or those who are known to understand little Mvskoke are present and are to be included in the conversation, elders will switch to English. Interpreters, in the person of another elder or a close relative, also may be used to interpret for those with no knowledge of Mvskoke. It is not uncommon, however, for elders to continue their conversation in Mvskoke, even if others who do not understand the language are in the vicinity, especially if the outside listeners are not the focus of the speakers' attention.

Middle-aged participants try to use some Mvskoke during their time at the ground even if, as in the case of those not fluent in Mvskoke, this simply entails formulaic

statements. Middle-aged participants, especially those who do not speak Mvskoke fluently, also strive to show that they understand spoken Mvskoke, often responding appropriately in English to questions or commands. It is not uncommon to hear conversations with one person speaking Mvskoke and another responding in English. In conversations of this sort, the person responding in English often tries to respond appropriately in Mvskoke as often as possible.

Adolescents and younger children use English predominantly. Parents and grandparents often ask children if they have understood what was said to them in Mvskoke, and are pleased if the child responds appropriately. It is not uncommon, however, for the child to have little or no understanding of the Mvskoke comment. Conversations between adolescents or younger children are conducted almost entirely in English. When Mvskoke is used, it is generally in the form of formulaic phrases or single nouns.

The men's language use while they are in the center area differs slightly from the patterns discussed above. The men strive to use as much Mvskoke as possible while conducting their business under the arbors. In this context, use of the Mvskoke language symbolizes a connection to traditional practices. This suggests that a greater use of English, which is apparent outside of the

arbor area and which is feared by older Osten members, will indeed diminish the power of Osten ground in the minds of its members. Such diminution is already a concern to some older members, as is evident in the comments of C.R.:

> I don't know what they'll [Osten] do when they lose their medicine man. There aren't that many young men learning about medicine anymore. Lots of them can't even speak their language and that'll make it real hard for them to learn the songs and things. If you can't sing them right, you're only going to hurt yourself and the ground. And if you can't speak the language then how can you sing it?

The Mvskoke language emerges as a necessary part of the ceremonial strength of the ground, though this necessity is only evident when asking about language use patterns for the men while in the central ceremonial area and for the men holding ceremonial positions.

Conversations between the men and women, especially the humorous comments made between the two sexes, are a second type of speech event which generally is conducted in Mvskoke. The reason for this is not readily apparent as these are not "traditional" comments or a serious part of the dance. Instead, the reason for the use of Mvskoke for such comments seems to arise from the speakers who are making the comments and their recipients. The majority of these comments are made by elders or older middle-aged people and are directed at other people from those age groups. It is extremely uncommon for younger middle-aged

people, adolescents, or young children to make such remarks or be the recipients of such remarks. Translations are only offered when a listener does not seem to have understood the comment(s). In most cases, the translation is received with just as much laughter as the original comment(s).

At Osten and all other grounds there is a prohibition against defamatory or harsh language during a dance. As C.R., an elderly woman, with a long history of ground membership, told me,

> It's like my daddy said, you gotta have love in your heart when you're at the ground. He said, "if you don't have love in your heart, if you can't keep your anger out, you don't belong at the ground." We're supposed to keep it that way, not say angry words or try to get people mad--you gotta let that go.

Cursing, in either Mvskoke or English, is considered to be part of the semantic category of "angry words" and is to be avoided at the ground.

This pattern of language use is followed rather closely at indoor dances and bingos held during the winter. Dances and bingos take place at armories or other large buildings in Muskogee (Creek) Nation, that are rented by the ground hosting the event. The hope is that enough money will be raised by selling food and chances on raffles and cakewalks to realize some profit, which is then put into the ground's treasury and is used to finance

improvements or to help campers pay for materials during the next ceremonial season.

Preparations for these fund-raising events begin well before the activity is held. Ground members gather at meetings to discuss who will be in charge of the various chores such an activity entails, including renting the building. Once someone has arranged a building, another meeting is held to plan who will be the emcee, what foods will be served and who will prepare them, and what goods will be collected for raffles or bingo prizes. Once the date has been set and the arrangements made, fliers are distributed during other indoor dances and bingos. Verbal announcements also may be made during these events to advertize the coming fund-raiser. Osten conducts at least one fund-raising dance per year.

On the night of the fund-raiser, Osten members gather at the building to prepare. Female members may already have baked cakes and pies, or may cook hamburgers at the site (most of these are equipped with kitchens). Men arrange the tables and chairs and prepare any other materials necessary to hold the event. Children may be asked to hand out tickets for door-prize drawings or to run small errands as necessary. By the time the first visitors arrive, food and coffee are ready, and the facility is arranged as the members feel is necessary.

As visitors arrive, they are greeted, which often includes being given tickets for door prizes by children or an adult ground member. The visitors set up their folding chairs or choose their seats from those made available. Osten members often will greet the guests after they have had some time to set up their seats. As a crowd begins to fill the facility, ground members begin to circle the interior, selling chances on a variety of objects. Visitors may buy chances or not as they please. Almost everyone buys at least one chance on each object, however.

As ground members are selling raffle tickets or food, an emcee, who is generally a member at Osten, announces the activities (cakewalks, new bingo games, dancing) that will take place throughout the evening. The emcee makes comments about the people involved in the activities and about how the money raised during the evening will be used. The emcee also commonly comments on the place of the grounds and ground-related activities in Mvskoke (Creek) life. It is not uncommon for the emcee to hand over his microphone to someone from the crowd who has an announcement of his/her own. Generally these announcements have to do with activities sponsored by other grounds or for a non-ground-related cause (to cover medical bills, provide assistance for poor or elderly ground members, etc.).

These announcements usually are presented by middle-aged or older men who use both Mvskoke and English, though when younger people give the announcements, they use much more English than Mvskoke. The use of both languages also is apparent when the emcee is making the announcements. Most announcements are made in English, with an occasional Mvskoke translation. Mvskoke translations or comments tend to be given when making announcements of upcoming events or when discussing how the money made at the current event will be used. The emcee also may make occasional light-hearted comments, similar to those between the men and women at an outdoor dance, which are always presented in Mvskoke.

There are, however, occasions when the announcements are made solely in Mvskoke. An example of this occurred at a benefit dance on December 16, 1995, which was being held for a member of a ground other than Osten. At this dance, all of the announcements were being presented in English, with the majority of these concerning the dates and locations of four upcoming dances, which were announced by the emcee. Toward the end of the dance, the emcee turned the microphone over to a member of the audience. This person, an elderly gentleman, gave a speech in Mvskoke, asking for donations to help a young family pay the burial expenses for their newborn baby who had just died. This

speech lasted for five minutes, with the speaker presenting the family's predicament and their financial situation. The speaker asked that people give whatever they could and expressed the family's thanks for whatever help the crowd might offer.

This speech was presented in Mvskoke, with no English translation. When the speech ended, men and women lined up to approach the podium, putting their money into a can brought out for this purpose. As the audience members passed by the speaker, he shook hands with each one, thanking them again for their help. The duration of Mvskoke speech and the audience's reaction are somewhat atypical when Mvskoke is used to make announcements, but serious topics like the one in this example generally are presented in Mvskoke.

Fund-raisers continue until midnight or one o'clock, depending on the time the building owners have asked that the events finish. People from a number of grounds remain at the building until the last event, which is generally a raffle, though people are free to come and go throughout the evening. At the conclusion of the event, most guests leave the building, taking whatever items they brought with them. Osten members then clean up the building and check to see that all is returned to the condition in which it was found. This activity may be necessary, depending on

the rental agreement, to ensure that the building owner will return some portion of the rental charge to the ground.

Ground members also take part in activities to maintain or enhance the well-being of each ground member, and these activities also serve to maintain the integrity of the intra-ground social bonds. The primary activity in which Osten members engage for these reasons is medicine-taking. This activity allows individuals to reaffirm their connections to other people while also attending to their own physical, emotional, and spiritual health.

Medicine-taking is an activity that can occur at any point in the year. This activity may be performed on an individual or group basis, depending on the situation. Individuals tend to approach a *heles hayv* for treatment after suffering some misfortune or ill health that they believe may be alleviated by traditional medicine. Individuals may approach a *heles hayv* at any time for such treatment. When medicine is made for an individual, that person takes the medicine by himself/herself and no others, except the *heles hayv*, need to be involved in the healing process.

When medicine-taking involves more than one person it is slightly different from the treatment given to an individual. Ground members may meet to take medicine to

either ward off dangers, as when a dance does not seem to have been performed correctly, or as a means of maintaining the well-being of ground members. The first reason for taking medicine primarily operates during the ceremonial season as people are involved in the beneficial, yet risky, activity of dancing. During a dance, the generally beneficial spiritual/physical power of the medicine may be transformed to a harmful power if improper behavior occurs. In order to restore a balance, ground members meet at a member's home and take medicine made for this purpose by the *heles hayv*. Such meetings should not occur too often as they are the result of a breakdown in the ceremonial process, and I have not heard of many such meetings in my years of fieldwork.

A more common type of medicine-taking occurs at any time of the year: taking medicine to retain members' health and well-being. Such meetings are commonly held at a member's house, to which all other ground members are invited. Ground members gather in the morning, having had nothing to eat or drink through the night, and take medicine throughout the morning. The fast is continued until the medicine-taking procedure is completed, at which point all members take part in a large meal. These meetings are considered to be important, but not quite as pressing as those that are called to overcome some dance-

related impropriety. Members feel that their own and other members' health and well-being are reinforced by this type of medicine-taking.

Members of Osten regard the use of Mvskoke as an important facet of the activities in which they participate. For many, the Mvskoke language is an ethnic marker, that signals one's membership in the Mvskoke tribe. On a deeper level, many view fluency in Mvskoke as a sign of one's participation in the "traditional" community. K.P., speaking at a conference at Wagoner, Oklahoma concerning Native American placenames, put it this way:

> When you go to Okmulgee and go south, that is where all the tradition and culture is. The only way that you can really learn to speak is to grow up in the [traditional] environment. When you take the [language] classes, you learn words. But the thing is to put them together and use them. And to do that, you have to go south.

Among Osten members, the traditional community is considered to be a distinct subset of the larger Mvskoke community. Fluency in the Mvskoke language is a strong marker of inclusion in the traditional community, but one's fluency must be combined with membership in a stompground in order to claim a traditional identity.

At Osten itself, the Mvskoke language is a salient marker for ceremonial speech. The men are supposed to use Mvskoke exclusively to discuss topics concerning the ground and its operation. According to most male ground members,

they do use Mvskoke to a great extent when speaking about such topics. Mvskoke also is important for those holding ceremonial positions within the ground and most feel that one has to be fluent in Mvskoke to hold such a position. While the importance of Mvskoke is evident in such situations, it should be remembered that these are restricted situations that do not always involve a great many people. Because these situations are only open for male participation at least half of the ground population is left without these reasons for developing or retaining some fluency in Mvskoke.

Hvmken Ground Language Use Patterns and Attitudes

Until recently, the pattern of language use found at Hvmken closely resembled that found at Osten. Members used to take part in similar activities with similar regularity. Hvmken has undergone changes in its interaction patterns during the last year, however, because of the illness of K.Y., who held the positions of *mekko* and *heles hayv* at the ground. K.Y.'s absence from these two pivotal positions has brought to light an organizational difference between Hvmken and Osten which has had a great impact on Hvmken's members' interactional patterns.

At Osten, A.G. is an important initiator of meetings but other members, such as K.P., Y.C., and C.S., also are

able to propose and open meetings. At Hvmken, however, K.Y. appears to have been the only one willing or able to fill the role of initiating meetings. When he suffered a debilitating stroke before the ceremonial season of 1995, no one at the ground was prepared to take over his duties. Eventually, A.U., a middle-aged member of the ground assumed the responsibility of bringing members together to discuss preparing for a dance and for securing the assistance of A.G., a *heles hayv* from Florida, to prepare the medicine for the dance. Because of the time between K.Y.'s stroke and A.U.'s assumption of the role of organizer, Hvmken held only one dance in that year, the Green Corn, and was not viewed as a ceremonially secure ground.

K.Y.'s illness also has seemed to cause Hvmken members to shift away from a common interactional strategy found at other grounds--a number of individuals sharing information throughout the network for the common good. Whenever a meeting is proposed for Osten, various members will get in contact with others until eventually everyone knows about the coming meeting. In this manner, one individual may play an important role in making a decision that will affect the group but information about the decision is disseminated through the work of a number of members. This used to be the case at Hvmken, but since taking over for

K.Y., A.U. has had to approach almost all Hvmken members himself in order to organize and promote the meetings. Only recently have members of the ground taken to calling each other again about meetings and activities.

This change in interactional strategy suggests that density and multiplexity ratios do not necessarily speak to the strength of the community. In this case, a network that exhibits high density (everyone knows/interacts with everyone else) and a relatively high multiplexity ratio (.603, meaning that the average person is tied to more than half the others for more than one reason), appeared to lose some cohesion because of the removal of one individual who held key positions. The people within the network still recognized each other and some still interacted with other members for different reasons, but the "community" focused around the stompground appeared to be receding. It may be that dense networks not confined to a specific geographic area and that are organized around a specific activity may be prone to disintegrate when there is great doubt that the activity will be pursued or will be efficacious.

Ceremonies at Hvmken proceed much like those at Osten. Since Hvmken's network has been reestablished and is running as it did before K.Y.'s stroke, the ground has conducted the appropriate number of ceremonial dances (four) during the past year and is preparing to do so

again. Men's and women's roles and activities during Hvmken's dances mirror those of Osten's men and women.

These two grounds are not completely alike, however, for there is one dramatic difference in communicative behavior exhibited by the members at these two grounds. There is a great deal of communication among Osten's members when they are camped at the ground. Adults and children commonly move between the camps before, during, and after the dance. At Osten, women will visit at others' camps to borrow cooking utensils or ingredients, men often can be seen walking to others' camps to talk with or to borrow cigarettes from the men camping there, and children wander from camp to camp looking for playmates.

In contrast, people seldom wander from their own camp to someone else's at Hvmken. Children wander out from their family's camp, but play generally takes place in an open space between the camps and the central ceremonial area and children enter this space after they have seen that other children are there. C.G., a woman who has camped at Hvmken for years, explained that this behavior occurs because the members have been in close contact up to the time of the dance. According to her and other Hvmken members, behavior like that found at Osten proves the members were not in close communication before the dance or that they are more interested in having fun rather than

focusing on the religious activity. Members of Hvmken believe it is appropriate for visitors to move from camp to camp, but do not believe it is appropriate for ground members to do so.

Stickball games pitting men against women are one type of activity that brings Hvmken members together when they are camped before a dance. This type of stickball game is played for enjoyment and is unlike the ceremonially important game described in chapter one. In the social game, men and women play against each other. The men must use their ballsticks, but women may use their hands to catch and throw the ball. The object of the game is to throw the ball against a target on a ball-pole, generally about twenty feet tall, situated in a cleared area at the stompground. A cow skull, which is what tops the pole at Tutcenen, or a wooden effigy of a fish or some other animal form, which is what tops the pole at Hvmken, is placed at the top of the pole and acts as the target. Often a three to four foot section of the pole directly below the target is painted, and points are scored if the ball hits this area. A team gets more points if the target is hit than if the painted area of the pole is hit. This game is played until one of the teams reaches a predetermined number of points. It has been my experience that, no matter which team wins the game, players on both teams make humorous

comments about the other team's play and about the abilities of their opponents.

Hvmken members generally play this game two or three times during the week before the Green Corn. The men usually initiate this activity by discussing the possibility of playing while in the arbors or while engaged in some other ground-related activity. Once the decision to play has been made by the men, the decision is circulated to the women, who almost always agree to play. Shortly after notice about the game has circulated throughout the camps, the men and women who wish to play gather near the pole. Those who are not going to play remain in their camps but often position themselves so they can watch the game.

While the game is in progress, the men and women joke with each other and players on the same team encourage each other. The majority of the joking and encouraging is conducted in English because the players come from the ranks of the younger ground members, most of whom are not fluent in Mvskoke. Comments coming from those in the camps, who are primarily elders, are generally directed toward the middle-aged players and are made in Mvskoke. These games can last for one or two hours, with the joking and commentary continuing throughout this period. Ground members say that the banter during these games promotes

camaraderie and good feelings.

Some of the men, while viewing these games as entertaining social activities, also consider them to be practice sessions for the coming ceremonial stickball game. The ceremonial game is played on the morning marking the last dance of the season. This game involves two teams of men consisting of members from Hvmken, Tutcenen, Epaken, and Kolvpaken. The men from these grounds are split into two teams according to their clan's red/white moiety affiliation.

The game is played on a field approximately the size of a football field with goals at both ends. The object of the game is to score a pre-determined number of points by throwing the ball through the goals. Men may use only their ballsticks to pass the ball to their team members or run with it as they move up the field. To stop ball movement upfield, defenders may swing their ballsticks at those of the ball carrier or pass receiver or they may body-check an opponent. Occasionally, these defensive moves precipitate arguments on the field, at which point the ground's *heles hayv* and some assistants will enter the field and separate the parties. When this occurs, the *heles hayv* usually makes a speech exhorting the players to refrain from losing their tempers and asking them to carry on with a peaceful game. This sort of speech is relatively

common at these games, but it generally only needs to be made once per game.

In preparation for the game, the men line up in two parallel rows at the end of the dance, as the women are returning to their camps. The *heles hayv* walks down these rows, ascertaining that there will be an equal number of players on each team. The teams of men then leave the ground area, retiring to two different places close to the field. While in these places, they change from their dance clothes to the outfits they will wear during the game (usually a pair of shorts, tennis shoes, a t-shirt and, for some, a loose red or white cloth collar). The men then listen to their team leader who talks to them about the rules of the game and leads them in chants and shouts.

As game time nears, the teams leave their respective places and approach the field. Upon reaching the field, each team begins to circle around its leader, chanting, shouting, and whooping. The leader then takes the team to its goal and they then circle it while chanting and shouting. This continues for a short while and then the *heles hayv* enters the field and the two teams file out to the center, facing each other in parallel rows. Each man lays his ballsticks in front of himself so that there are two pairs of ballsticks lying between each pair of men. The *heles hayv* walks up and down this row of ballsticks,

counting the numbers of players on each team, again determining that the teams have an equal number of players. As he does this, he talks to the players in Mvskoke about the rules of the game, about his expectations for fair play, and about the ceremonial character of the game. The teams then position themselves on the field, the *heles hayv* throws the ball in the air and the game begins.

The edge of the field is roughly determined by the positions of those who have come to watch the game. Many people come to watch these games, with the majority of these being members of the players' grounds. Visitors drive their cars to the edge of the field shortly after the dance and set up their chairs in a manner similar to that followed when they first get to a dance. Members of the host ground arrive at the field's edge after they have changed out of their dance clothes and have taken care of responsibilities at their camps. Generally, people from the same ground or those rooting for the same players sit close to one another. Those who will watch the game take this time to socialize and speculate on the outcome of the game.

Once the game begins, people on the sideline focus on the game. The crowd cheers good play and encourages each team to victory. The players usually do not respond to comments and cheers emanating from the crowd because they

are focused on the game. This does not discourage those on the sidelines, many of whom are very vocal in their enjoyment of the game.

Once the game is over, the players on each team shake hands with each other. The players then leave the field to collect their clothing, each going to the place his team occupied before the game. Women of the host ground return to their camps when the game's outcome is fairly evident, using this time to finish breakfast preparations. Visitors and players filter into the camps after the game. At this point, breakfast is served to those who wish to eat and the activity resembles that described for the end of a ceremonial dance.

With A.U.'s efforts, the Hvmken network has remained intact and members do still come together for various activities like those described above. When the members congregate, their language use patterns are similar to those described for Osten. Mvskoke is the dominant language for the elders, whether at the ground or at indoor dances. The majority of middle-aged people have at least limited fluency in Mvskoke, with most able to understand and many able to speak fluently. It is not unusual to hear middle-aged people using Mvskoke to converse with elders or to talk about traditional or ground-related topics. Younger people, however, have greater fluency in English

and use that language much more often than Mvskoke.

Hvmken differs rather significantly from Osten concerning one category of speech: angry words. At Osten, the semantic category of angry words includes all potentially character-harming discussions (i.e., gossip), as well as outright arguments and disagreements. To speak about any of these things while at the ground is a potentially dangerous activity that can jeopardize all ground members taking part in the ceremony going on at the time of the discussion. For Hvmken members, however, the semantic category of angry words appears to encompass only open arguments and disagreements, not defamatory speech. I have heard some Hvmken ground members discussing others' activities and motivations in ways that imply the others were behaving with great impropriety.

When I asked these people about their behavior, they often responded by first agreeing with the idea that open arguments are inappropriate at the ground but that speaking about another member's activities is not inappropriate. One woman put it in this way, "talking about other people is only bad if it makes them angry. As long as nobody gets angry at the ground it's all right." This implies that only the listeners' reactions determine whether angry words are being spoken at Hvmken while both the speaker's intentions and the listeners' responses are the determining

factors at Osten.

Hvmken members' attitudes concerning the use of the Mvskoke and English languages are similar to those expressed by Osten members. Elders and middle-aged people are concerned their children are not learning the language because older people fear they are losing an ethnic symbol. Several other ground leaders relate a story concerning the central role of Mvskoke as a cultural/ethnic marker and warning against its death. In the story, which is based on teachings from "the elders," a man is going to come from Washington, D.C. to check on the viability of Native American tribes. He will ask each phenotypically Native American person to speak to him in their native language. Only those who are able to speak will continue to be known as Indians. All who are not fluent in their native language, even if they carry a CDIB (certified degree of Indian blood) card and are enrolled in a federally-recognized tribe, will no longer be recognized as Indians and will lose all privileges which they now enjoy because of their Native American identity. Ultimately, the prediction is that the man from Washington will find no one who is fluent in Mvskoke when he appears. With that, neither the Muskogee (Creek) or Seminole tribe will be recognized to exist. The story about the man from Washington is thus a warning that if the native language

dies, so does the tribe. For these ground members, the Mvskoke language is a symbol of their distinct tribal identity, which is shared by all who are fluent in the language regardless of participation in a stompground community.

Hvmken members also are somewhat concerned about the loss of the Mvskoke language because it will affect the operation of the stompground. As at Osten, when Hvmken men are discussing matters concerning the organization or functioning of the ground and/or when they are in the central ceremonial area, they use Mvskoke to a great extent. While some younger members are not fluent and must listen to translations, the majority of members understand discussions carried on in Mvskoke. These men feel that the loss of Mvskoke will affect the sacred character of the ground and the power of the religious ceremonies conducted at the ground.

Tutcenen Ground Language Use Patterns and Attitudes

Tutcenen members exhibit different patterns from the members of the two grounds discussed above. Tutcenen members do not take part in indoor dances during the winter. They feel that such dances are inappropriate and mock the ceremonial character of the outdoor, religious dances. Instead, Tutcenen members take part in bingos, an

activity that does not have any religious overtones even though many bingos are conducted to benefit stompgrounds.

The linguistic and social behaviors found at meetings to plan bingos are much like those found at meetings to plan indoor dances, but the linguistic and social behaviors displayed at bingos differ somewhat from those found at indoor dances. Many bingos take place in activity halls, just as the dances do, but tables are set up in parallel rows inside these buildings. As individuals or families come in to the building, they choose seats at a table, and this divides them from other people at the bingo. At a dance, people sit with others, in compact groups. Individuals may converse with those sitting at their own or other tables, but conversations between people sitting two or three tables apart are rare--primarily because of the levels to which they would have to raise their voices.

People buy bingo packets or cards from a member of the ground sponsoring the bingo. When buying these cards, individuals may talk with the sellers about the prizes, recent events in the social community, or other topics. Many Tutcenen members are fluent in Mvskoke, and conversations of this sort are often conducted in that language. Generally, the member chosen to sell cards is fluent in both English and Mvskoke so as to be able to converse with people in either language. Individuals

attending bingos may have varied fluency in either language, so the seller's ability to speak both is an asset for the ground as more cards are sold to people happy with the activity. When individuals at bingos, and other activities, find that they are unable to converse with someone they often leave the situation and pursue conversations elsewhere. Many who find themselves in this situation may grumble later about the rudeness or linguistic inadequacy of the person with whom they were trying to speak.

People are able to move into and out of this activity without any restrictions. There may be quite a bit of interaction between people at the event, though this is dependent on the spatial arrangement of individuals around the hall and people's interest in pursuing a conversation versus attending to the bingo game. When an individual approaches another person in a group, both people may excuse themselves and walk outside "for a smoke." This activity involves both smoking and having a conversation, and may last far longer than the actual time necessary to smoke a cigarette, as described by R.K. in the following passage:

> Sometimes, when you want to talk to somebody, you just have to go for a smoke. You probably share a cigarette and talk about anything. Sometimes it's because you couldn't talk inside without disturbing people, so you have to leave. Sometimes it's because you want to talk about

something that you don't want the others to hear. Individuals also may have conversations inside when they are able to sit near each other in the bingo hall and will not disturb the people around them. Conversations inside or outside the bingo hall may be carried out in English or Mvskoke, depending on the abilities of those involved.

"Going for a smoke" is an option available to people from other grounds, but they manage it differently than do members of Tutcenen. At other grounds, generally three or more people will go outside together, rather than a pair of individuals. In most cases, people do not linger outside much longer than it takes to actually smoke a cigarette and come in talking about the same subject they were discussing outside. When a fairly large number of people have left the building for a smoke, they may congregate as a very large group and hold an impersonal discussion. Tutcenen members tend to remain in small groups that do not often come together to form larger groups. Instead, they tend to disperse, which allows them to hold more personal conversations even as a growing number of people leave the building and locate themselves in its vicinity.

Tutcenen members structure their ceremonial events in ways similar to that described for Hvmken, including the ceremonial stickball game after the final dance of the season. At Tutcenen, however, communication between

members of different camps is not thought to be inappropriate. The behaviors exhibited by Tutcenen members while they are camped at the ground resemble those of Osten's members more than those of Hvmken's members. A spirit of cooperation and open communication are believed to be necessary properties at a ground, according to Tutcenen members. They say that these properties should be evident at the ground and that movement of people from camp to camp proves these qualities exist at their ground.

Tutcenen members also feel that playing the social stickball game frequently is further evidence of their ground's cohesion. Tutcenen members gather on many Sunday mornings throughout the summer to pursue this activity. This game is the same as that described in the section about Hvmken. As mentioned previously, this game provides members with reasons to make humorous remarks about other members and is an activity within which such remarks may be voiced.

People arrive for the game in mid-morning, depending upon the weather--if the temperature is cold, players will meet later in the morning, if the temperature is to be hot, they will meet earlier. Members greet and speak with each other as they arrive. The game commences after enough people have arrived to field teams of seven or eight people and is played until the previously agreed-upon number of

points is reached by one of the teams. At this point, members bring out food and share a meal. Conversation is usually light-hearted and joking can be heard around the ground. People leave this gathering as they wish; those with young children to attend to or errands to run may leave early, others who wish to stay and converse may remain until early evening.

Predominantly, the jokes and comments are spoken in English. One of the primary factors influencing the choice of this language over Mvskoke seems to be that the majority of those playing in these social games are the younger members of the ground. Middle-aged men and women also take part, but they often allow the younger members to have the more active roles in the game. In giving them these roles, the older players tend to spend time watching the play of those around them and try to egg on their younger teammates. The younger, more active players, also are those who generally have the least fluency in Mvskoke and are most likely to understand only English. Thus, in order to provoke a member of the opposite team or to provide a teammate with strategic advice, the older players may have to resort to English in order to be understood.

Once the game is over, and people return to their camps for food and conversation, Mvskoke becomes more prominent, though not as common as during a dance. Elders

come to the social games and may spend time visiting, but these games tend to attract larger numbers of younger members. Mvskoke may be used during the meals and for after-meal conversations, but English still is heard more often. Adolescents, who often make up the majority at these events, feel most comfortable with English and tend to use it rather than Mvskoke, especially when conversing with others in their age group.

While the activities in which Tutcenen members commonly engage throughout the year differ from those in which Osten and Hvmken members take part, the attitudes toward Mvskoke and English expressed by members of Tutcenen are similar to those expressed by the other grounds' members. J.G., a middle-aged woman, fluent in both English and Mvskoke, puts it thus:

> For me, Mvskoke is the language of my people. We use English a lot because it's the language most everybody understands, but there are a lot of us who talk Mvskoke too. I think that makes us special, keeps us together as one people. English is good because we can almost all use it, but Mvskoke is **our** language and lets us talk about things important to us, things we can't really talk about in English.

For most members of Tutcenen, Mvskoke keeps them tied to the traditions of their ancestors and helps them retain a sense of being part of a special group. Unlike Hvmken members, Tutcenen members do not talk about the death of the grounds in general or the dissolution of the tribe if

their language dies, but they do feel that they will have lost one aspect of their identity. Whenever I asked Tutcenen members, even adolescents, they responded that the language is theirs and makes them separate from other Native Americans.

Hokkolen Ground Language Use Patterns and Attitudes

Hokkolen members take part in the activities common to Osten and Hvmken: indoor dances throughout the winter and outdoor dances throughout the summer. Dances conducted by Hokkolen members are carried out like those conducted by the two other grounds. Hokkolen's interactional pattern differs radically from Osten's in one respect: Hokkolen members come together prior to dances in order to teach their younger members to use Mvskoke both in conversation and in singing. Hokkolen members' activities also differ from Tutcenen members' as people from Hokkolen do not play ball during the summer, nor do they conduct bingos in the winter.

Hokkolen's *mekko*, B.S., feels that conducting Mvskoke classes is an essential activity. He describes it "as a way to keep our ground alive--to help keep our Mvskoke people alive." According to B.S., the ground members decided to engage in such activity because they were concerned about the younger generation's ability to

continue the religion after the elder generation passed, mirroring the recognition of other grounds' members that Mvskoke is an important facet of a ground's ritual operation. Ground members decided to focus on language after consideration of other topics:

> We knew we had to teach them our language, Mvskoke, because it's really important. We thought about teaching them other things [making ballsticks, shell rattles, patchwork] but we all thought, 'You can't really teach them about that stuff without telling them in Mvskoke.' Some of them things has a history or a story behind them, just like the ground teachings, and you can't tell that in English. It sounds OK but it doesn't tell all the story. (B.S., Aug. 18, 1995)

Ground members have been meeting with their younger members at various times throughout the summers since 1994. They are proud of the younger generation's progress, but still they wish the youth could learn the language in an easier, faster manner.

Songs are being taught to the boys and young men as part of the language-learning routine. This manner of teaching young men to sing songs differs from the usual way in which songs are taught. At all other grounds, men or boys will approach another singer whose song(s) they would like to learn and ask whether he would be willing to teach them. This is accomplished on an individual basis with one student learning from one teacher. It is possible for one student to approach several singers in this manner, but the

student generally does not learn from a number of different singers at the same time. Teachers in this system may have more than one student at a time, but they generally are not taught in groups. In the Hokkolen system, however, groups of young men are taught songs by one or more singers.

Another way in which Hokkolen differs slightly from the other grounds concerns what members feel the learning of Mvskoke conveys. There is a sense that learning the Mvskoke language shows one's willingness to understand Mvskoke culture, which may stem from the participation of two Anglo men at the ground. These men initially became involved at the ground after making contact with the *heles hayv*. Hokkolen members consider these men to be participants, but not members, at the ground. The willingness of these men to take part in ground activities when they are in attendance, to abide by the expectations regarding ceremonial behavior, and their attempt to learn the Mvskoke language, have made them accepted participants. Fluent Mvskoke speakers sometimes will laugh at the mistakes these men make, but they also speak highly of their attempts to speak the language. They believe that such attempts by these men and by young members at the ground show that the individuals are sincere in their commitment to the ground.

Hokkolen shares an accepting attitude toward English

with the other grounds. Hokkolen members are aware that English is the language in which their younger members are more fluent and which is spoken by almost all members. Some members, such as K.K., believe their command of English is less complete than their command of Mvskoke, but his speech and that of others is comprehensible and clear. Some elders recount how English was forced on them in elementary school, but such stories are related without disdain for English. Rather, there is a feeling of resentment against the punishment they received for using their native language and sadness for the effect such treatment had in lessening the numbers of Mvskoke speakers.

Hokkolen differs greatly from all other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds in that many speakers at Hokkolen use the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke. This dialect differs lexically, not phonologically or morphemically, from Mvskoke proper (e.g., *cofvnwv* "fork" in Oklahoma Seminole, "needle" in Mvskoke). While individuals at some of the other Mvskoke grounds use Oklahoma Seminole vocabulary, at Hokkolen, the practice is widespread. I estimate that approximately two-thirds of the membership at Hokkolen use the Oklahoma Seminole dialect. Despite the widespread use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect, Hokkolen is still regarded as a Mvskoke (Creek) ground. In the next chapter, some reasons for Hokkolen members' use of the Oklahoma

Seminole dialect will be offered. An explanation of why this linguistic difference does not affect Hokkolen ground's tribal classification also will be provided.

Cahkepen Ground Language Use Patterns and Attitudes

Cahkepen was revived rather recently. The ground had been dormant for about nine years, having gone down because of concerns about the *heles hayv*'s medicine-making abilities. The ground has been revived primarily through the actions of a small group of men who are matrilineally-based members of the ground. These men and their families have the highest multiplexity ratio of all the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds analyzed. This is probably a result of their working together over a fairly long period of time (more than two years) to get the ground running. Almost all members at the ground describe themselves as friends of the other members or are related to the other members in some way.

The language use patterns and ceremonial practices at Cahkepen do not differ greatly from those at Osten ground. Mvskoke is expected to be spoken by the men while participating in the ceremonies. What differs in Cahkepen's case is that the amount of translation is much lower than the amount at other grounds. This may stem from the fact that almost all ground members, including the

younger members (those less than thirty years old), are at least passively fluent in Mvskoke (seven of the members are fluent, four are passively fluent).

Cahkepen also differs from the other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds discussed above in that it has the highest ratio of multiplex to uniplex ties. Interestingly, this ground's members also use the Mvskoke language more consistently and more often when they talk among themselves than do other grounds' members. This correlation may be a result of the recent revival of Cahkepen as reviving a ground involves the close cooperation of a number of men knowledgeable about traditional ceremonial practices and, by extension, their families. At Cahkepen, all members come from the families of the three men who have been most involved in the ground's revival. Each of these men, their wives, and their children are fluent in Mvskoke. Their in-laws and one man's adolescent grandchild comprise the four members who are not fluent in Mvskoke.

This set of circumstances appears to play an important role in determining the amount of Mvskoke spoken at Cahkepen. It seems that, because most members can understand spoken Mvskoke, there is very little need for translation, even during the public speeches given by the *emponayv*. The widespread ability to understand Mvskoke also appears to influence language use in the camps.

Elders and those middle-aged members who can speak Mvskoke often do, unless a visitor who is suspected to have problems understanding Mvskoke and who is to be included in the conversation is present.

English is used occasionally. Especially when visitors with limited proficiency in Mvskoke are present, conversations are conducted in English. English also may be used to clarify misunderstandings arising in conversations carried out in Mvskoke. This generally only happens after an explanation has been offered in Mvskoke but has not resolved the situation. This strategy generally is necessary when elders are speaking to the younger members about old practices and behavioral expectations or teachings. Younger members and others not fully fluent in Mvskoke will respond in English to comments and questions posed in Mvskoke, but the dialogue they receive in response is more likely to be in Mvskoke than one finds common at the other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds discussed above.

This behavior is carried over into the winter events and visits to other grounds' dances during the summer. When Cahkepen members travel to another ground's dance, either during the winter or summer, they often spend much of their time speaking in Mvskoke. Much more Mvskoke is used in general conversation than in most other groups'

behavior. Serious topics are discussed and jokes and stories are told in Mvskoke by the members of Cahkepen.

Cahkepen members' thoughts about Mvskoke language use differ somewhat from those expressed by members of other grounds. According to W.X., one of the more active men involved in the revival of the ground, use of Mvskoke is an important symbol of a ground's strength. According to him,

> If you can't use Mvskoke, then there might be something wrong with your ground. See, you need to have a good medicine man and such, and he's got to use Mvskoke to do that right. But, see, some people think that a new ground like this, it's maybe bad, things will go wrong. Now, if we use Mvskoke, maybe they'll see that we know our language and they can tell that our medicine man, he knows our language too. Besides, if we keep using our language, teach our kids, maybe they'll be the only ones left who can learn about medicine and all that 'cause they're the only ones who know the language.

The thought that the frequent, public use of Mvskoke by the members in general will signal something about the abilities of the ground's *heles hayv* was echoed by both men and women at the ground. This is of some importance, especially for a newly revived ground because there is quite a bit of suspicion raised about the power of the ground's medicine and whether it has been rekindled in a way that is safe.

Analysis of the Mvskoke (Creek) Grounds as Distinct Speech Communities

Many of the language use patterns and attitudes

concerning language use appear to be similar across all five Mvskoke (Creek) grounds discussed above. At each ground, Mvskoke is the language of ritual speech both within the central ceremonial area and without, as when men are discussing ground-related matters. According to all men at each of the grounds, the loss of the Mvskoke language would have a detrimental effect on the ceremonial continuation of each ground. Among ground members in general, the loss of the Mvskoke language also would herald a loss of a significant ethnic and/or tribal marker. Each of these concerns is found across the five grounds and is a concern shared by all members of each ground, though the men seem to fear the loss of Mvskoke for its ceremonial significance much more than the women do.

Ground communities also exhibit similarities in their frequency of interaction and in their density and multiplexity values. Members at each of the grounds often come together throughout the year to engage in activities relating to the ground. Many of these events are more social than religious, and interaction at such events is fairly relaxed. Interaction at meetings to discuss ground-related events or concerns is, for the most part, casual and relaxed. At such times, conversations may be pursued in either Mvskoke or English, depending on the participants' abilities in either language. Members at

each ground are aware of others' capabilities, probably because of the high frequency of interaction among each ground's members.

Ground networks, as mentioned above, are both dense and multiplex, suggesting that the members are closely bound to each other for a number of reasons, not just ground membership. Connections of this sort have been found to promote normative behaviors (see Milroy 1980; Trudgill 1979) and this appears to be the case when language use patterns and attitudes are described. The attitudes expressed by various ground members also are reinforced through frequent interaction at the variety of ground events put on throughout the year. At ground events peoples' behaviors are watched and evaluated, which occasionally gives rise to open discussions about language use patterns and attitudes.

Some striking differences in language use and attitudes exist between the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. In regard to the semantic category of "angry words," members of Osten and Hvmken define this category differently. Members at both grounds believe that this category should be avoided while at the ground, but exactly what must be avoided and what effect this has on interpreting some utterances differs from ground to ground. For Osten members, abstaining from angry words involves not speaking

in loud, angry tones, not becoming involved in arguments, and refraining from making derogatory or pejorative remarks about other members. Hvmken members share a fairly similar view of angry words, but they do not consider derogatory or pejorative remarks about other members to be something that must be avoided. Instead, at this ground, comments about other members may be made, provided that the listener does not react angrily. This suggests that, as long as a listener is aware of this definition of angry words, he or she may be less likely to consider the comments abusive or derogatory because the speaker apparently does not think of the comments in that way.

Osten members' conceptualization of a "traditional" community and the role that fluency in the Mvskoke language plays in being recognized as a member of that community is not explicitly stated by other grounds' members. Fluency in the Mvskoke language is a prerequisite for inclusion in Osten members' traditional community, but this must be combined with membership in a stompground. This is the only ground to consider one's facility in the Mvskoke language as a marker of inclusion in a distinct subset of the wider Mvskoke stompground community.

Cahkepen members' belief about Mvskoke language use as evidence of their *heles hayv*'s abilities and their ground's safety suggest that they share Osten members' views.

Cahkepen members, however, note that their fluency in Mvskoke only lends credibility because the ground's founders already have a reputation for holding ceremonial knowledge. Some Cahkepen members think that a similar situation would hold in the creation of a Mvskoke church congregation. They believe that members of the congregation would feel compelled to use Mvskoke as often as possible to show their church's relevance to Mvskoke peoples' way of life but the strength of the church would rest on the founders' faith and adherence to Biblical teachings. It appears, then, that Cahkepen members, like the majority of members in all other grounds, believe the Mvskoke language is a marker of inclusion in a distinct Mvskoke community, but that community encompasses members of both grounds and churches.

Tutcenen ground also differs from the others in its definition of the speech event genre "going for a smoke." For Tutcenen members, going for a smoke is an activity that allows individuals to remove themselves from a group activity and lets them carry on a private, personal discussion away from others. While going for a smoke does not always entail an intimate conversation, it does permit people to pursue one during an otherwise public event. At other grounds, going for a smoke also allows individuals to remove themselves from the larger, public event, but

individuals commonly leave the event in groups of three or more, and these smaller groups may coalesce to form slightly larger groups.

Hokkolen members differ from other ground members on three points. The first of these concerns the use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect by most Hokkolen members. Speakers who use the Oklahoma Seminole dialect can be found at other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. What differentiates Hokkolen from other grounds is the use of this dialect by a majority of the members.

Hokkolen also differs significantly from other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds by actively teaching Mvskoke to adolescents. Hokkolen members bring younger people in during the summer to learn songs, stories, and crafts using the Mvskoke language. No other ground uses this strategy to teach its younger members.

The third difference between Hokkolen and other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds concerns how Hokkolen members perceive a person's attempt to learn Mvskoke. Hokkolen members believe that those who attempt to learn the Mvskoke language are sincere in their wish to learn about Mvskoke (Creek) traditions and way of life. While some of this perception may be owed to the attempts of two Anglo men to learn the language at the same time that they also were allowed to participate in ground activities, Hokkolen

members also see this as indicative of their own younger members' commitment to the ground. Many point out that understanding where Mvskoke (Creek) traditions come from and how these traditions are supposed to be carried out hinges on learning about the traditions through the original stories and/or teachings, that are presented in Mvskoke.

The frequency with which Cahkepen members speak in Mvskoke and their reasons for using the language distinguish Cahkepen from other grounds. The frequent use of Mvskoke appears to result from the high number of individuals who are fully fluent (seven) or are passively fluent (four) in Mvskoke. Interestingly, the reason given for the frequent use of Mvskoke does not touch on the numbers of fluent/ passively fluent members. Instead, Mvskoke language use is considered to be a symbol of the *heles hayv'*s ability to produce medicine that is not harmful to the general public.

As the discussion above shows, significant differences in language use patterns and attitudes become apparent when language use is compared across the grounds. The variation is maintained by the density of the grounds' networks and the relatively high numbers of multiplex ties between individuals within the ground networks. These qualities suggest that each of the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds may be

considered a speech community distinct from the others. This conclusion is not meant to imply that the grounds are completely different in language use, however. Instead, as the following discussion will show, similarities found in this lowest-order analysis provide starting points for the analysis of higher-order speech communities.

At three of the five grounds, the younger members are not expected to use Mvskoke and the majority do not, except for the young men when they are participating in the ceremonial center. Even at these times, the older men generally permit some translation to occur for the benefit of those who do not understand Mvskoke. The majority of young women and boys not active in the ceremonial center tend to speak only in English at almost all grounds, though they will use some common Mvskoke words (e.g., *mvto* "thank you" or *hompvksci* "eat!") when speaking with elders. The use of English by this age group does not differ significantly from ground to ground, nor does the younger members' ideology regarding use of English versus Mvskoke differ radically from that of their elder ground members. That this age group's language use pattern differs rather significantly from their elders' suggests, however, that the possibility of two intermediate-order speech communities defined by age groups should be investigated.

Some similarities in language use patterns and

attitudes are found among the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The existence of some similarities is not sufficient reason to deny that the grounds are distinct speech communities. Instead, similarities suggest the existence of larger, more inclusive speech communities, like those defined by age or gender. Higher order speech communities of this type will be discussed in the next chapter. In order to discuss higher-order speech communities it is necessary to discover whether the Seminole and Yuchi grounds also are distinctive speech communities.

The Seminole Ground: Ostvpaken

Ostvpaken, the sole Seminole stompground, exists in a social environment different from the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The majority of Seminole people active in a traditional religion are members of Baptist churches and do not take part in stompdance activities. For an argument for the traditional nature of Baptism among Seminoles see Schultz (1995). There formerly were five active Seminole grounds but only Ostvpaken remains active today. As the other grounds "went down" in the last forty years, members joined churches or Ostvpaken. For this reason, many current members at Ostvpaken can speak of a former membership at another, currently inactive, Seminole ground.

Ostvpaken brings together people from the surrounding

area in Seminole County. Some individuals come from as far away as Tulsa, but most live closer to the ground. The majority of ground members are middle-aged or older, though a fair number of younger people regularly attend dances and other activities. The majority of the members appear to be from the lower socioeconomic levels.

The network density and average multiplexity rating of Ostvpaken members is shown in Diagram 6. The network is very dense, with each member aware of every other member. There are no non-members included in the diagram as members do not recognize those who are not regular attendees as being members. The *heles hayv*, R.R., despite not having an established camp at the ground, is identified as a member. He attends almost every meeting and is present at each dance and other group activities. R.R. is thus another example of someone who does not exhibit all of the usual characteristics of a full member, according to anthropological literature, but who considers himself, and is considered by others, to be a member.

The network is also full of multiplex relationships as shown in the average multiplexity score of .705 (148 multiplex ties divided by 210 total ties). The multiplexity ratio was computed using the same social relations as for the Mvskoke (Creek) ratios. Many of the individuals who are members at Ostvpaken are friends and/or

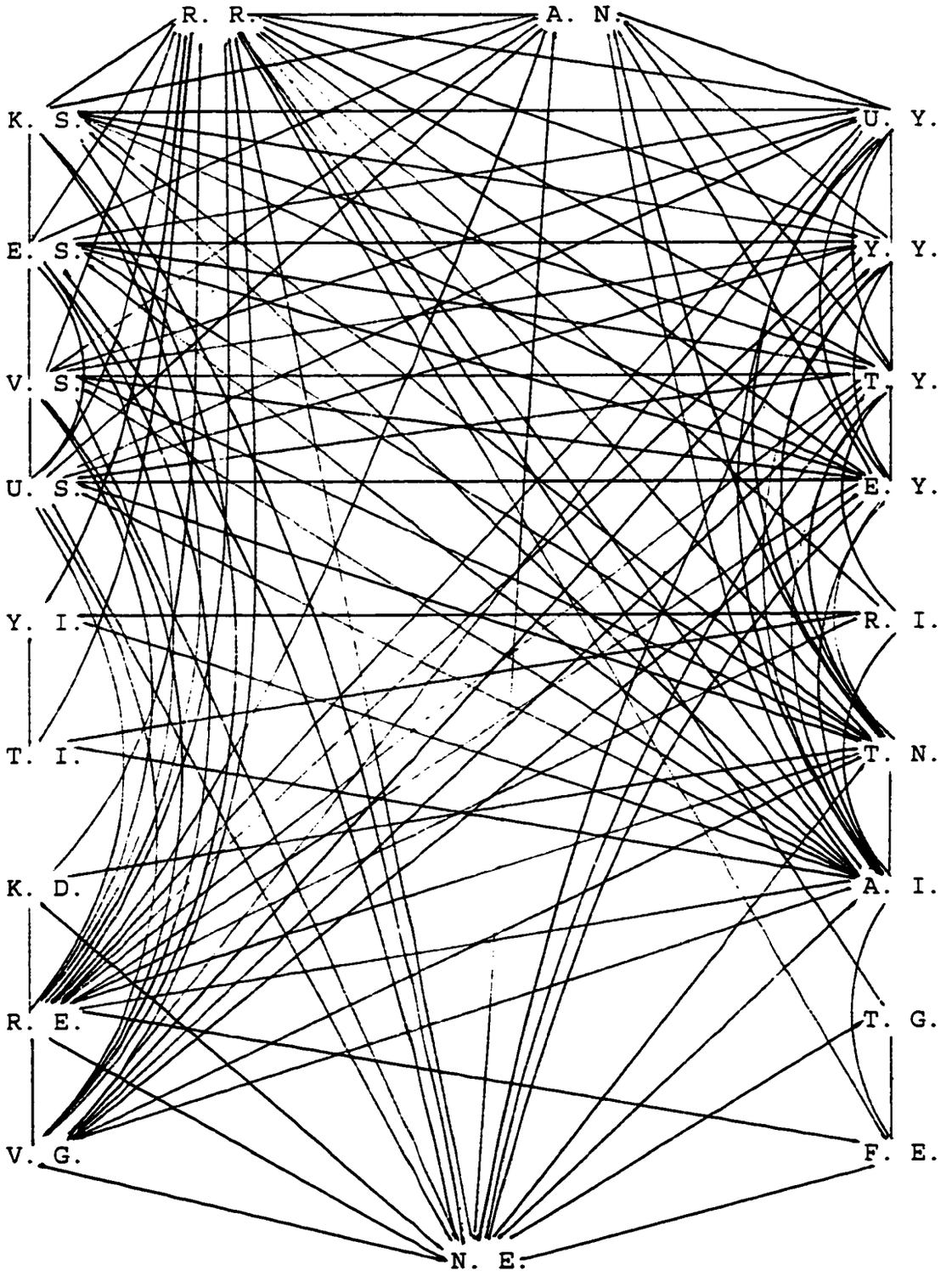


Diagram 6. Density of the Ostvpaken Ground Network

relatives, in addition to being members at the same ground. Several of these people have also had economically or service-based relationships with other members in the past, with the vast majority of these involving reciprocal exchanges of goods and/or services. Thus, it appears that Ostvpaken members are tied into a strong, multistranded network with many types of relationships unconnected to the ground itself.

This sense of interconnectedness is augmented by members taking part in all of the activities found among the grounds listed above. Summer and winter dances are important social activities for many members. Ostvpaken members get together to play the social ball game on summer weekends when they are not sponsoring a dance. Members also gather for bingos in the winter at a building owned by one of the members. These bingos attract the members of some Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, though most of those who attend Ostvpaken's bingos are members of that ground.

Ostvpaken bingos are less elaborate than those hosted by Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. U.Y. allows fellow ground members to use her building with relatively short notice and she does not demand a rental deposit. Generally, a family will take responsibility for hosting the bingo. This entails gathering grocery or other small items to offer as prizes, and buying sheets of bingo cards. Once a

group of members has procured these items, a date for the bingo is chosen and word is spread throughout the membership. Occasionally, the bingo will be advertised to a larger audience through fliers and announcements made at indoor dances. The building at which Ostvpaken's bingos are held is rather small (approximately ten feet by twenty five feet) which may account for the fact that relatively few non-members attend, even when the bingo has been widely advertised.

The physical setting of and interactional patterns during Ostvpaken's bingos are similar to those of Tutcenen's bingos. Picnic tables are lined up in parallel rows with chairs placed on both of the long sides of each table. People sit wherever they wish, with most sitting close to their family and/or friends. Conversations are carried on with people directly across the table or to one's side. When necessary, people exchange seats to talk with others at different tables. People also leave this activity to "go for a smoke," with this being interpreted as it is at the majority of Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, not as it is taken at Tutcenen.

Bingos, which are held almost every Saturday during the winter, along with the other activities, bring Ostvpaken members together frequently. The Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke (simply referred to as Mvskoke

from this point) and English are used at this ground during each of these events, but Mvskoke is spoken regularly by more individuals at this ground than at any other. Many adolescents at Ostvpaken are able to carry on conversations in Mvskoke and can be heard responding to their parents and peers in Mvskcke. Elders at this ground strongly prefer speaking Mvskoke and state that they feel more comfortable using that language. English is used by parents to talk with their young children and is used to begin speaking to a stranger at the ground. If, however, the stranger shows an ability and inclination to use Mvskoke, many speakers will switch to that language for the duration of the conversation.

This is not to imply that the greater use of Mvskoke at this ground is derived solely from the frequency of interaction among members, the strength of network ties, or the density of the network. Rather, these items should be considered in conjunction with the more rural background of many of Ostvpaken's members and members' lesser inclusion in the Anglo economy. A greater proportion of Ostvpaken members work at odd jobs or in the rural sector. Few have college or vocational degrees. Most leave the educational system after receiving their high school diploma. Such factors tend to reinforce the utility of Mvskoke among Ostvpaken members as they have not been influenced to give

up their language as strongly by the Anglo system as their Mvskoke (Creek) counterparts. Also, because many younger people at this ground seek training in job skills and traditional pursuits from their elders, most of whom prefer to speak Mvskoke, the youth are encouraged to have some proficiency in that language. Through these means, the utility of Mvskoke has been retained among members of Ostvpaken.

Members share a common attitude concerning the use of Mvskoke and English which reflects the greater importance and utility of the former over the latter. According to T.Y., a woman in her late teens, Mvskoke allows her to "talk about all kinds of things with my mother, father, and all older people." She goes on to say that,

> English is OK, but it's sometimes kinda hard to say what you want in English. Sometimes I get shy and can't figure out how to say what I want and sometimes it's the person I'm talking to. When I talk Mvskoke with my elders though, they know what I'm asking about. They know how to answer me better.

This view about the greater usefulness of Mvskoke versus English is echoed by many members at this ground, young and old.

The shyness that T.Y. speaks of becomes most evident when ground members are approached by someone they do not know and who speaks to them in English. From my own experience, I can say that ground members do not often give

long, involved answers to questions or requests when these are made in English. When the same question is asked in Mvskoke, however, the response is generally longer and more informative, even when given to the same interrogator. I have felt compelled to use Mvskoke to re-ask some questions about the ground and individuals' relations for just this reason. It appears, then, that this shyness is not governed just by emotion but also is influenced by the language in which requests, questions, and comments are spoken.

As with the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, the Seminole ground is made up of a dense, multiplex network and members espouse similar language use attitudes. Ostvpaken members also come together for frequent ground-related activities during which they engage in conversations using English and/or Mvskoke. This religiously based unit operates as both a social and a speech community.

Yuchi Stompdance Networks and Communities

The final set of stompgrounds to be investigated individually are those known as the Yuchi grounds. These grounds, like the Seminole ground Ostvpaken, are different from the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds in some respects. The Yuchi grounds have a different pattern of ceremonial organization than do the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole

grounds (Innes 1995c). They also draw many of their participants from more urban areas than do the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. The Yuchi grounds also differ in that a larger percentage of their membership appears to be made up of middle-aged people, with a smaller percentage of elders.

Networks and average multiplexity ratios from two of the three Yuchi grounds are shown in Diagrams 7 and 8. As in the networks from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground, the networks found at the Yuchi grounds are dense and members' ties to one another are generally multiplex, as shown in Table 10, below.

Hunera:	.690	145 multiplex ties/210 total ties
Hvsossv:	.752	115 multiplex ties/153 total ties

Table 10: Multiplexity Averages for Yuchi Grounds

Older members' recollections of the histories of each ground are filled with examples of such relations among ground members stretching back to the late 1930s. Among the Yuchi, the grounds have provided an arena at which these ties are recognized by a large number of people. Both Yuchi grounds discussed here show similar patterns of interaction and language use. For this reason, the general pattern will be discussed in order to eliminate redundancy.

The patterns of interaction among members of any particular Yuchi ground vary somewhat from those found

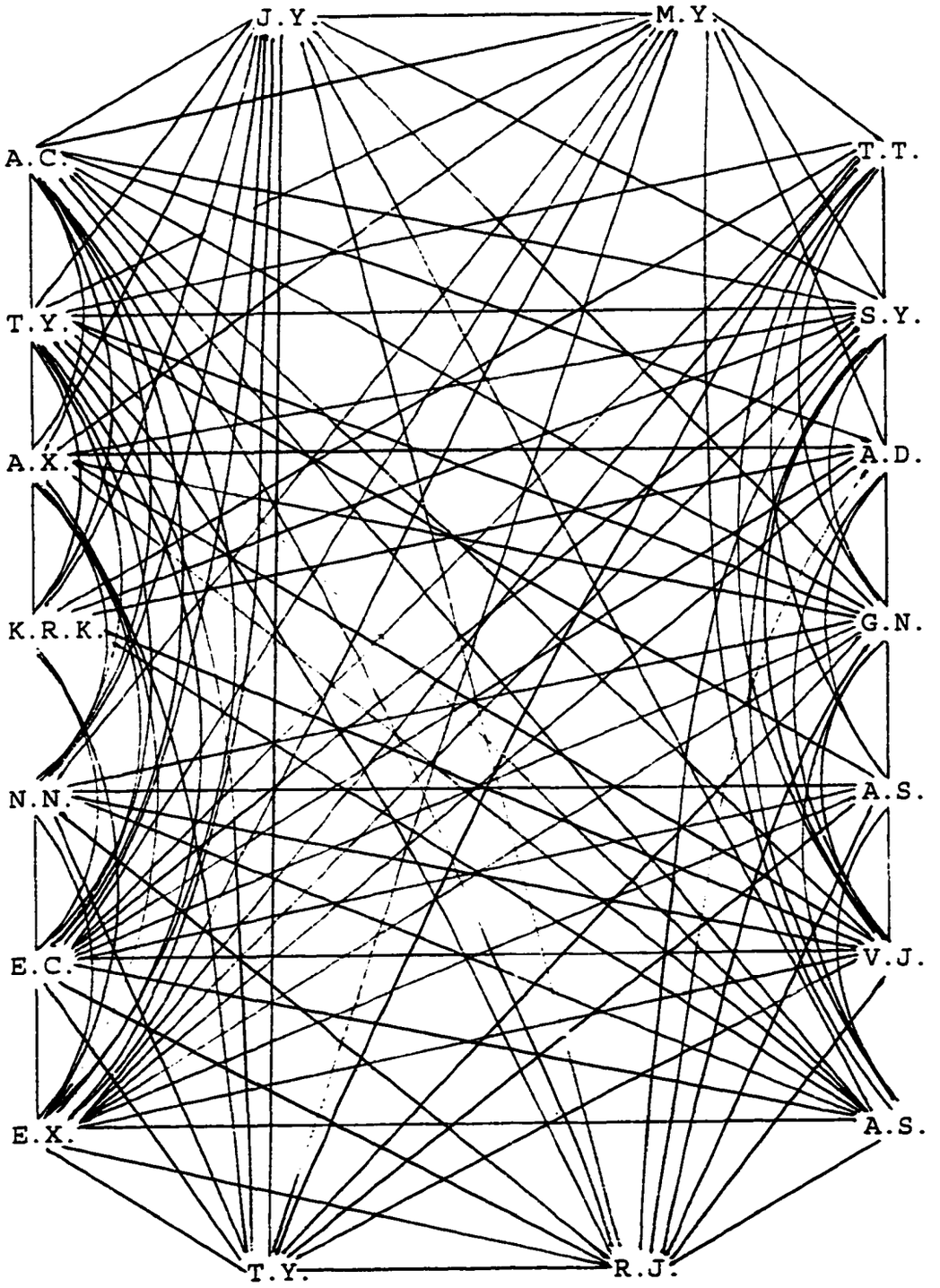


Diagram 7. Density of the Hvsossv Ground Network

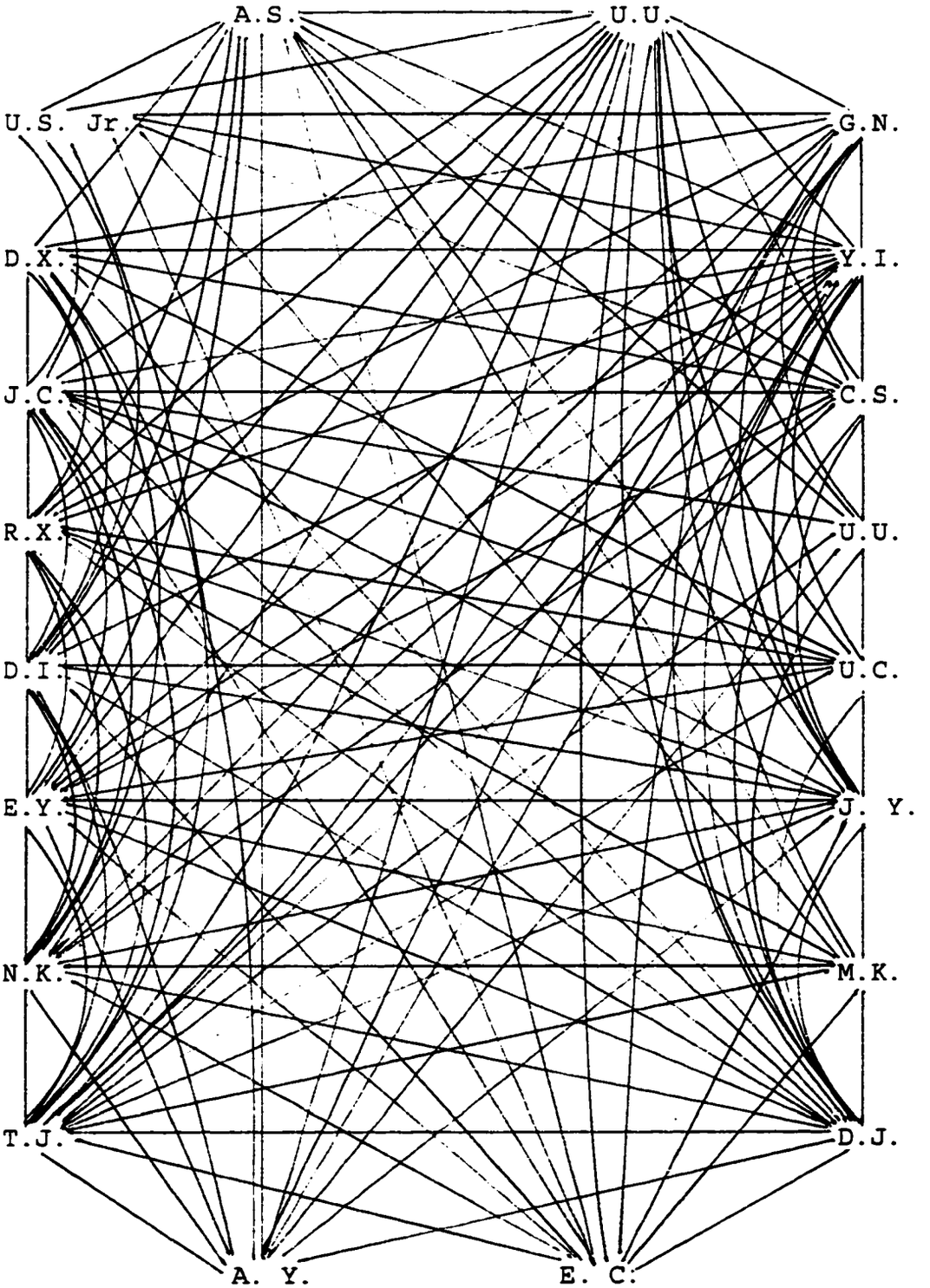


Diagram 8. Density of the Hunera Ground Network

among Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members as they assemble most frequently of all grounds. Yuchi ground members gather for many of the same activities as members of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds: playing ball, pre-dance meetings, indoor and outdoor dances, and taking medicine. The Yuchi, however, have still more activities which bring together ground members. They meet for "community meetings," which have to do with the organization and running of the community smokeshops and gathering halls associated with the three grounds. These meetings occur approximately once each month or once every two months and are structured much as the individual ground meetings, though people who are simply interested in the business, but are not ground members, may attend.

Another type of meeting occurs that involves only the leaders of the Yuchi grounds. Before the ceremonial season begins, Yuchi ground leaders gather to discuss their dance schedule. This arrangement prevents two Yuchi grounds from dancing on the same weekend, effectively eliminating rivalry among the Yuchi grounds for visitors (J. Jackson, personal communication). Leaders of some Mvskoke (Creek) grounds meet before the ceremonial season begins, but these meetings do not result in such tightly coordinated schedules. Instead, these leaders discuss approximate dates for dances, but they do not consider these dates to

be fixed.

The Yuchi also have a special set of soccer-like ball games that they play to open up their grounds each year. The Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole have nothing like this in their ceremonial cycle. The Yuchi ball games bring ground members together four times during the late spring months, a time when the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members may have discussed opening their grounds but will not have had any formal meetings for that purpose. People assemble for and behave during these ball games much as the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members do for the summertime social stickball games.

The most notable difference between the Yuchi grounds and the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds lies in the language use patterns of the Yuchi ground members. There are few Yuchi speakers left; the Yuchi community itself only recognizes fifteen to twenty people as fluent speakers. This compares with Mvskoke speakers which number from 4,000 to 7,800 (Mauldin 1996; Yahola 1995). There is little use of the Yuchi language by ground members, either during ceremonies or outside ceremonies. This is changing, however, owing to the efforts of Yuchi language speakers at the grounds. Through their efforts, stickmen are being taught the ritual phrases necessary to notify dancers that the time has come to get ready and to choose dance leaders.

Ground "callers" (the Yuchi term equivalent to the Mvskoke term "speaker") also are being taught how to produce phrases that convey some sense of Yuchi history, which is presented early in the evening before the dancing begins. Currently, one man fills the position of caller for each of the Yuchi grounds.

There also is a Yuchi language program available to interested parties in the Sapulpa area. This program is administered by E.U.C.H.E.E., a nonprofit group dedicated to the preservation of Yuchi history and culture. This organization sponsors classes on Thursday evenings, with programs being primarily geared toward vocabulary building, though some work on grammatical constructions also is introduced. Attendance at these classes varies, with a core group of four to six regular students. This core group is made up of three girls and two adults. Some ground members have been attending these classes fairly regularly, though they do not consider themselves to be part of the core. Attendance at the classes has not yet carried over to a greater use of Yuchi at the grounds.

Despite the proximity of the Yuchi grounds to Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, there has not been much incorporation of Mvskoke into either the ground ceremonies or the speech of most members of the Yuchi grounds. Current ground leaders are able to recall which former leaders or members were

fluent in Mvskoke, which suggests that most Yuchis are not fluent in Mvskoke and view fluency in that language as a special or notable ability. When asking about previous ground leaders, G.A. gave the following information about an early stickman at Aklatkv, the third Yuchi ground:

> Yeah, X.T., he was a good stickman. He spoke both Creek and Yuchi, so he could get everybody into the ring to dance whether they spoke Creek or Yuchi. I don't know how he knew Creek, he was just one of the ones who did. Not many spoke Creek back then, and not many do now.

X.T.'s ability to speak both languages still stands out to Yuchi elders who view this as an unusual talent.

English is the primary language among the Yuchi, both inside and outside the ceremonial ground. When members meet to discuss ground matters (future dance dates, fund-raising events, special events for particular ground members, etc.) English is the only language used. Occasionally, when two members fluent in Yuchi meet, they will exchange greetings or ask each other about the meanings of certain words, but generally will not carry on lengthy discourses in Yuchi.

With an emphasis on using "things Yuchi"--such as the Yuchi version of the Buffalo Dance--there has been an increase in pride associated with the use of Yuchi. This has not yet been translated into an increase in the numbers of Yuchi speakers, but language programs have been started. With any luck, these programs will allow children and

adults to gain at least limited fluency in Yuchi, and keep the language alive for a little while longer.

At the Yuchi grounds, the English language is used around the camps and in all aspects of the ceremony, except the calling and announcements of upcoming leaders. The men speak to each other in English while in the central ground area and all discussions about ground matters are in English. Women and children use English in the camps, and all conversations between men and women are conducted in English. The tone of the English conversation around the Yuchi grounds is similar to the tone of the Mvskoke and English conversation around the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds--lighthearted and jovial. The proscription against anger and hatred for anyone at the ground exists among the Yuchi as it does among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole.

Yuchi grounds exhibit shared norms of language use, frequent interaction, and dense networks, but they do not exhibit striking differences in language use patterns or attitudes, which makes it impossible to consider them as individual speech communities. However, because the language use attributes investigated here are held in common and because the membership binds together each of the Yuchi grounds, we can consider this cluster of grounds to be the lowest-order speech community. Designating a

cluster, rather than individual grounds, as the lowest-order speech community is necessary in this case because it is only as a cluster that the Yuchi grounds satisfy all the criteria for consideration as a speech community. It was shown that the constituent parts of this cluster, when investigated separately, do not satisfy all criteria necessary to constitute separate speech communities. For the Yuchi, then, there is no lower order than the cluster of grounds.

There appear to be several reasons for the Yuchis' unique lowest-order speech community structure, with many of them stemming from the differences in Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole social organization. It seems likely that the small number of Yuchi people and the strong sense of a larger social community based on a Yuchi identity, rather than a stompground identity, have worked to dissolve language use differences between the Yuchi grounds or have kept such differences below the surface. At the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds, there is a distinction drawn between ground members and those who belong to churches. This suggests that the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members do not envision themselves as members of a larger, indivisible social entity, which may account for some of the language use differences observed at their grounds.

Having established reciprocal social ties fairly

recently with Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds also seems to have had some influence on the structure of the Yuchi speech community (for more information about Yuchi ground alliances, see Jackson (1995a)). After removal to Indian Territory, the Yuchi remained somewhat geographically separate from other groups within Muskogee (Creek) Nation. This separation fostered continuous intra-group contact and cohesion among the Yuchi people, most of whom were located in the area around Sapulpa and Bristow, Oklahoma. This sense of cohesion is still evident in the Yuchi community to this day, with the vast majority of members at any one ground acquainted with the majority of members at each other Yuchi ground.

This cohesion and the many multiplex ties and frequent contact that maintain it, may be responsible for the evident similarities in Yuchi ground language use patterns and attitudes. As described by Trudgill (1974, 1979), Milroy (1980), and Milroy and Milroy (1977, 1992), social units that exhibit a high number of multiplex ties and very frequent contact promote normative behaviors throughout their entire populations. The Yuchi grounds, even though they are identifiable as separable social units, are made up of members who have a large number of strong, multiplex ties with members at other Yuchi grounds. These ties, which cause members to interact often with other Yuchi

people across the ground boundaries, appear to be significant factors in minimizing variation in language use patterns and attitudes among Yuchi grounds.

The size of the Yuchi social community may be yet another factor influencing the structure of the lowest-order speech community among the Yuchi. When the petition for federal recognition was filed in 1995, the numbers of people claiming a Yuchi identity were approximately 1,500 (this number is an approximation because the actual list is not open for public examination), with roughly one third of these having some sort of association with the Yuchi grounds (1994 fieldnotes; M. Foster, personal communication). This is a very small social unit as compared to Muskogee (Creek) Nation in general, with an enrolled membership of at least 36,000 people. It is much more likely that a set of behaviors and attitudes will be shared among a smaller number of people who come into meaningful contact with one another than across a very large number of people who only occasionally interact with one another. This appears to be the case for the Yuchi ground members.

Because the Yuchi grounds exhibit very different language use norms and patterns when compared with the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds, it is reasonable to speak of them as a speech community separate from the

Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds discussed in this chapter. The language use differences suggest that the Yuchis' lowest-order speech community may be useful at another analytic level, that of the penultimate-order speech community, to be discussed in chapter four. At that level, the existence of speech communities similar in structure to the Yuchis' will be explored for the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds and, if such speech communities are found to exist, the language use behaviors and attitudes of the Yuchi ground cluster will be compared to those found among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground clusters.

Summary

Each of the grounds described above is made up of a dense network of individuals who meet frequently and share a number of similar patterns of and attitudes about language use. Because each ground shows these traits, it is reasonable to investigate whether each can be considered a speech community separate from the others, as in Milroy's (1976) and Milroy and Milroy's (1977, 1994) studies of neighborhoods in Belfast, Ireland. As in the Belfast studies, the stompgrounds described here are composed of strongly connected networks of people who share a number of linguistic behaviors. The people at each ground interact

often and, during these interactions, individuals' language use is viewed as one means of signalling that one belongs to the group. Also, and perhaps most importantly, the preceding elaborations of the interaction and language use patterns of the various grounds show us that the individual grounds differ significantly in interactional strategies, frequency of interaction, and attitudes about language use.

Members at the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds have different activities that bring them together throughout the year (i.e., Tutcenen members play ball during the summer and hold bingos in the winter; Osten members attend many indoor dances during the winter). In general, the number of times that members of the different Mvskoke (Creek) grounds assemble is fairly equal. Patterns of Mvskoke and English language use during ground activities also are generally similar across the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds discussed above.

That such similarity is evident across grounds is not unusual, given that the number of stompground members is relatively small, and people from many different grounds interact fairly often at the public events (e.g., indoor and outdoor dances and bingos). This interaction across ground membership lines allows members from different grounds to discuss what they consider to be appropriate and inappropriate behaviors and to monitor how people outside of their own ground evaluate various behaviors and

attitudes. This kind of social feedback tends to level some of the differences between grounds. How this is effected and what this suggests about the existence of a larger, general stompground speech community will be discussed in the next chapter.

Despite the similarities found across the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, significant differences arise when analyzing some semantic categories and when comparing the attitudes about what the Mvskoke and English languages symbolize and the consequences of their usage for the ground community. Hvmken and Osten members differ definitions about what constitutes "angry words": at Hvmken only open arguments compose this category, while Osten members consider arguments and scandalous or scathing commentary about another member as falling in this category. This difference, while seemingly small, causes a wide variance in opinion about what may be discussed at the grounds. This difference in definition also causes differences in how various pieces of information are received and in whether it is the speaker's or listener's judgment that is pivotal in determining whether a comment was an angry word.

Tutcenen members differ from members of other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds in that they define the semantic category of "going for a smoke" in a distinctive way. At the other

grounds, going for a smoke entails leaving an event for the purpose of having a cigarette and sharing a conversation with one or a larger number of people. It is commonly assumed that people will engage in personal conversation during these smokes, but it is also the case that most pairs or larger groups of smokers will coalesce with others. Among Tutcenen members, however, it is simply assumed that individuals who leave an event to smoke are leaving in order to discuss topics that they do not wish the others to hear. These pairs or trios of individuals will not often gather with others as they leave the event. Instead, the pairs tend to disperse and seek out spots with more privacy so as to continue their personal conversations.

Attitudes about what use of Mvskoke symbolizes also vary among the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. For Osten members, use of the language and membership in a stompground community gives one an identity as a "traditional" Mvskoke. This traditional identity places one in a restricted and, depending upon one's perspective, religiously powerful subgroup within the wider Mvskoke (Creek) population. This categorization of people according to their use of Mvskoke and ground membership is not apparent among other grounds' members.

Hokkolen members view attempts to learn the Mvskoke

language as a symbol of one's commitment to the Mvskoke way of life. The commitment described here is not to a community like Osten's traditional one as this commitment can be shown by church members and non-Mvskoke people as well as ground members. While there is a hope among some Hokkolen members that the younger people who are striving to learn the language will go on to learn about the ground's traditions and practices so that they can carry these on as they come of age to do so, the more pervasive hope is that the young students will come to feel a sense of pride in their heritage and background and will begin to understand where their people came from. This also is the only Mvskoke (Creek) ground at which most members use the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke.

The language ideology shared by members of Cahkepen differs from that held by both Osten and Hokkolen members. For Cahkepen's members, use of Mvskoke shows that their *heles hayv* has a strong background in Mvskoke, and that the medicine he has made for their ground probably is not harmful. This is important to offset the suspicion and concern regarding a newly revived ground's medicine. If these concerns and suspicions are not addressed and proven false, then the ground will not receive much help from other grounds and will become an isolated community. This is an unacceptable state for a ground and would be likely

to cause it to become dormant again.

These differences are fairly significant and are readily apparent as members of different grounds are asked about their language use attitudes and patterns. The differences are significant because these practices and conceptualizations are so localized and restricted to the membership of particular grounds. For such restricted differentiation to occur within a relatively small population, there must be social distance between ground memberships significant enough to allow for the perpetuation of variation. The Mvskoke (Creek) grounds may be considered separate speech communities because this variation exists as differences in language concepts and attitudes.

Members of the Seminole ground also constitute a speech community separate from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds. Compared with the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, the Seminole have a higher frequency of interaction as a ground, use a greater number of activities promoting ground cohesion, and display a greater use of Mvskoke. This kind of differentiation is important to note, for it suggests linguists may not generalize about the findings from fine-grained analyses of code-switching, Mvskoke language retention, or the symbolism of Mvskoke in the stompground environment.

Seminole ground members share some similarities with their Mvskoke (Creek) counterparts. While the quality of interaction between members of a single ground at any particular event may vary--as does the number of times members from any ground come together--the expectations about language use are commonly held. At all Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground activities, the use of Mvskoke is expected when discussing ceremonial aspects of the ground. It is common to hear English used at these times as well, especially if a majority of those in attendance are not fluent in Mvskoke, but English always is presented as the language of second preference. Curse words and harsh language are not to be spoken in either Mvskoke or English when interacting with other ground members in a ground-related activity. The majority of speech, again either Mvskoke or English, between ground members is lighthearted and humorous, though serious news regarding illness or tragedy also may be presented at gatherings of ground members.

The Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds also are fairly similar in their use of Mvskoke and English, though the former, more accurately referred to as the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke, is used more often at the Seminole ground than at most Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. English is used by all members at these grounds, though

elders use less of it than the middle-aged and younger members. When elders speak with other elders, they often speak in Mvskoke, translating only when they want to include non-speakers in the conversation. At the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, middle-aged members, some of whom are fluent in Mvskoke, try to use the language and, while many are passively fluent, most must switch to English for their own production at some point in the conversation. Younger members at the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds often have some command of common phrases but do not have enough command to understand a conversation or respond with innovative sentences. At the Seminole ground, however, most middle-aged members are fluent in Mvskoke, as are a number of younger members.

Both languages are used for general speech around the camps, but Mvskoke is the preferred language while in the arbors. According to most men, Mvskoke is necessary for ritual speech, for discussing ground-related matters, and for formal speech during ceremonies. This restricted use of Mvskoke combined with the falling numbers of younger members who are fluent in the language has many male ground members concerned about the longevity of the grounds. This is a concern that spans across all grounds, even Hokkolen, where a language-teaching activity is in place.

Members of the two Yuchi grounds investigated above

exhibit similar patterns to each other of interaction and language use and language use attitudes. This negates consideration of the Yuchi grounds as separate speech communities. Yuchi ground members do, however, differ in patterns of language use from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. At the Yuchi grounds English is the predominant language. This is logical considering the small number of fluent speakers of Yuchi left. The Yuchi have not incorporated the Mvskoke language into their ceremonies as this is regarded as a foreign language (most Yuchi are not fluent in Mvskoke but are fluent in English). The Yuchi are conscious that their language and their ceremonies differ from those of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole. To use the Mvskoke language within the context of a Yuchi ceremony would be to allow in foreign influences and practices, which could put the ground in jeopardy.

Lately, there has been an increase in pride associated with the use of Yuchi and a real recognition of the fragile state of the language. This has led to an increased interest in the use of Yuchi at all Yuchi grounds and in other social situations. Unfortunately, this interest has not yet been translated into an increase in the numbers of Yuchi speakers, but it may if the interest of ground members continues. The Yuchi grounds are one arena in which the usefulness and importance of reviving the Yuchi

language are supported.

In most respects, the English language is used in ways similar to the ways in which Mvskoke and English are used at the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. Conversations are not to be hostile or antagonistic. The Yuchi share with the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole a proscription against speaking about anger and/or with hatred for anyone at the ground. These similarities with the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds seem to arise from the same cause presented for the similarities between the individual Mvskoke (Creek) grounds: membership in a small population that is defined by participation in a particular set of religious rituals and adherence to particular religious beliefs. As noted above, members of this population interact fairly frequently and discuss/critique the activities and behaviors of those within the population. In this way, normative views and behaviors are shared and maintained across the grounds.

Comparison of the multiplexity/uniplexity (M/U) ratios of all grounds suggests there may be an association between the social cohesion evident at each ground and the use of one versus two languages and the existence of gender and generational language use distinctions at the grounds (see Table 11). Three clusters emerge when the M/U ratios are compared: 1) Tutcenen, Osten, and Hvmken; 2) Hunera,

Tutcenen:	.582	
Osten:	.600	cluster #1
Hvmken:	.603	
Hunera:	.690	
Hokkolen:	.691	cluster #2
Ostvpaken:	.702	
Hvsossv:	.752	
Cahkepen:	.800	cluster #3

Table 11. Multiplexity/Uniplexity Averages of All Grounds

Hokkolen, and Ostvpaken; and 3) Hvsossv and Cahkepen. Interestingly, the widest gap, that between the first and second clusters, appears to be correlated with distinct differences in language use patterns exhibited at the member grounds.

One profound difference in linguistic behavior between the grounds in clusters one and two involves change from a high rate of bilingualism (cluster no. 1) to a high rate of monolingualism (cluster no. 2). As described above, members of the grounds in cluster one use Mvskoke primarily in the ceremonial area of the ground and use English outside of the ceremonial area. Members of the grounds in cluster two. however, tend to use one language (Mvskoke at Hokkolen and Ostvpaken, English at Hunera) in all areas.

At first this seems to be coincidental. There appears to be little that relates the M/U score, a measure of social cohesiveness, with this particular linguistic behavior. However, the variation in the amount of bilingualism is definitely tied to generational and gender

differences in language use--each of which is affected by social cohesion. In the case of cluster no. 1, men and women use the Mvskoke and English languages somewhat differently. Men at these grounds focus on the ceremonial importance of Mvskoke, using it predominantly in that area of the ground. Men use English in most other areas at the grounds. Women at these grounds, however, view Mvskoke primarily as a tool enabling them to talk about subjects that they do not want their children to understand or to use when joking. Men and women acknowledge that they are involved in different spheres of activity when they are at the ground and claim to know little about the other's activities. These kinds of statements indicate that there is some social division at these grounds.

Men and women at the grounds in cluster no. 2 show less differentiation in their language use behaviors. At these grounds, men and women tend to use the same language in all situations, though some switching occurs. At Hokkolen and Ostvpaken, men are expected to use Mvskoke within and outside the ceremonial area. Women at these grounds are encouraged to use Mvskoke in all speech events including, but not limited to, joking and gossiping. A similar situation exists at Hunera, but English is the language used. An effort is being made to promote the use of Yuchi at the ground but this has had limited success

because of the low number of fluent and passively fluent members. Communication across genders aids in the maintenance of the similarities in language use behaviors common to both genders at these grounds. Men and women at these grounds recognize that they play different roles during the ceremonies, but they also openly acknowledge that the ceremonies cannot be performed without their combined efforts. Statements of this sort give a sense of the social cohesion found at these grounds.

The differences in the M/U scores and the shift from bilingualism to monolingualism also correlate with a decrease in the amount of generational language use differences exhibited by the grounds in each cluster. At the grounds in cluster no. 1, the elderly members use Mvskoke much more frequently than younger members. Many of the middle-aged members at these grounds are only passively fluent in Mvskoke and are unable to conduct lengthy conversations in that language. This generational division in Mvskoke fluency concerns the elderly and middle-aged members at these grounds, but there have been no actions taken to bridge the gap. Instead, the younger members' use of English remains unchallenged as those fluent in Mvskoke switch to English when speaking with those not fluent in Mvskoke. While seeming to foster communication between generations, elders' practice of using English with the

younger members is, in reality, symbolic of the gulf that elders believe separates the generations. For the elders, their use of English shows that the younger generations are unable and unwilling to receive the traditional knowledge the elders have to pass on to them. Younger members are aware of the elders' feelings and the reasons behind them but do not agree with them. Instead, younger members believe that their elders are simply unwilling to accept what the younger members view as inevitable changes imposed by modern conditions. Each generation's attitude about its own and the other's language use patterns serve to maintain some social separation between them.

At the grounds in cluster no. 2, there is less difference in generational language use patterns and attitudes. As mentioned above, monolingualism is prevalent at these grounds. Both younger and older members at Hokkolen and Ostvpaken are involved in promoting use of Mvskoke in a wide range of situations at the grounds. Also, members of both generations view this as a means of facilitating communication and of strengthening the bonds between older and younger members. At Hunera, both generations use English for the vast majority of communication. Members recognize the necessity of using English because there are so few Yuchi speakers, even among the elders. Young and old members agree that use of

English has allowed their ground to continue and that without it this social arena would no longer exist. In all three grounds there is a greater sense of cohesion between the generations than appears at the grounds in cluster no. 1, which is fostered, in part, by similar language use attitudes and practices.

Members of the grounds in cluster no. 3, Hvsossv and Cahkepen, exhibit the same language use patterns and attitudes as those found among members from the grounds in cluster no. 2. Thus, the difference in M/U scores between the grounds in these two clusters do not appear to correspond with any significant change in linguistic practices.[2] The correspondences between higher M/U scores, monolingualism, and fewer gender and generation differences in language use still stand. These correlations are in accord with Milroy's (1980) and Trudgill's (1979) assertion that communities with high M/U scores will exhibit a great deal of norm levelling.

By beginning with a network-based approach, it has

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[2]The higher M/U scores found at these grounds appear to result from the social situations surrounding each ground. Both grounds are undergoing a period of ceremonial scrutiny, during which members' social ties must appear strong for the benefit of the ground. Hvsossv, which has been characterized as the most "Creek" of the Yuchi grounds (J. Jackson, personal communication), is incorporating more Yuchi rituals and practices and must appear stable throughout this period of change. Cahkepen, as previously discussed, is a newly revived ground and, at this time, has a small, highly committed group of core members.

become apparent that there are both similarities and differences between each of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds, each of which may be designated as a distinct speech community. The Yuchi grounds, because they share so many language use patterns and expectations in common, may not be considered as speech communities distinct from one another, but do constitute a speech community when considered as a cluster. However, becoming aware of the differences and the number of speech communities that exist within the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole stompgrounds--which most sociolinguists would assume to be a single, large speech community based on similar linguistic, ethnic, and religious background--suggests that we should not be so quick to assume the homogeneity of a population under study. It remains to be seen whether the discrete speech communities identified in this chapter fit into a larger speech community and how this might be achieved. The question of whether and how the Yuchi fit into the larger speech community that may encompass each of the individual Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds also must be investigated.

Chapter 4: Intermediate-Order Speech Communities

> The Creek grounds, you know they are kind of like each other and sorta like Ostvpaken [the Seminole ground]. But they're real different from the Yuchis. Yeah, we're all the same here, us Creeks.
>
> V.Y. (a member of Kolvpaken)

After finding in chapter three that the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds (the last as a cluster) are individual speech communities, it remains to be seen whether these lowest-order communities interact frequently and have enough similarity in language use patterns and attitudes to constitute one or more larger, intermediate-order speech communities. Intermediate-order speech communities are those that include at least one of the lowest-order communities, but do not contain as many of the lowest-order communities as the hypothesized highest-order speech community. The intermediate-order speech communities are analytical bridges between the lowest-order and highest-order speech communities. They allow us to examine the interactional patterns and language use behaviors and attitudes in communities of increasing size and social complexity.

The first of these putative larger speech communities--penultimate-order speech communities--are pivotal for understanding how the variation found in the lowest-order

speech communities is dealt with at higher levels. Penultimate-order speech communities provide us with the first means of moving from the particularistic detail about the lowest-order speech communities compiled through network analysis to more general observations about highest-order speech communities. In this work, penultimate-order speech communities will be investigated by mapping out ground-to-ground interactional patterns, analyzing the language use patterns and attitudes found among those grounds that interact frequently, and comparing the attitudes and patterns found among different ground units. In this way it will be possible to discover whether discrete clusters of grounds can be differentiated. It also will be possible to discern how the differences in language use attitudes and patterns in the individual grounds are maintained or ameliorated at this higher order.

In chapter three, the Yuchi grounds as a cluster were found to be the lowest-order speech community. While differing from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole lowest-order speech communities in structure, the Yuchi cluster constitutes a lowest-order speech community because there is no other lower order for them. The cluster of Yuchi grounds, will be compared with the intermediate-order speech communities of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds to examine whether these speech communities are

equivalent.

Intermediate-order speech communities of a different structure than the penultimate speech community, such as those defined by tribal identity and "national" identity, also will be investigated. At this level, it will be necessary to show that there is at least some meaningful interaction between members of different grounds and some commonly held language use attitudes and behaviors. Again, attention will be paid to the ways in which differences in opinion and/or behavior found among the constituent groups are dealt with at the higher level. In this manner, the community's means of dealing with its own heterogeneity will be explored.

Penultimate-Order Speech Communities

In order to be able to speak of a penultimate-order speech community composed of members from a number of grounds, frequent interaction and similarities in patterns of language use and expectations must be demonstrated for different grounds. Members from various grounds have occasion to meet at dances, which take place in both summer and winter, and bingos, which only take place in winter. Dances, which generally bring together members from four or more grounds, are the most common means for frequent, focused interaction between members of different grounds.

During both the ceremonial season and winter dance season, ground members often go to dances conducted by other grounds on weekends when their own ground is not conducting a dance. There is usually more than one dance each weekend during the ceremonial season (I have heard of up to four dances on the same weekend), which gives people whose grounds are not conducting a dance a number of choices. The number of dances held on any winter weekend also varies, with anywhere from one to three dances occurring on the same Saturday night. It is not unusual for members of one ground to travel from one indoor dance to another during the same night if these dances are hosted by individuals or grounds with which they are acquainted. Ground members attending a ceremonial dance often will not leave the dance to attend a second one, although they may leave before the official end of the dance at first morning light.

As a general rule, the leaders of a ground will suggest that the majority of members attend a dance sponsored by a particular ground on a given weekend. Most members comply with this suggestion. It is often the case when members do not follow the suggestion, that their spouse's ground, which was not the one suggested by the ground leaders, is sponsoring a dance on that same weekend. In these situations, both the husband and wife will attend

the dance sponsored by the spouse's ground and will not attend another ground's dance. When a spouse does not attend his/her mate's dance, many people, especially women, speculate that the relationship is in jeopardy.

Most members will follow the suggestions of their leaders. The attendance/interaction patterns of a number of grounds from the 1993-1995 ceremonial seasons, represented in Diagram 9, show connections among the grounds I studied. In the table, solid lines represent frequent interaction throughout the ceremonial year (those grounds that attend at least three out of four of the other's dances) and some interaction during the winter season. Dashed lines represent less frequent interaction during the ceremonial year (those grounds that attend fewer than three out of four of the other's dances) and only occasional interaction during the winter season. In this manner, the frequency of attendance patterns between members of different grounds and the degree to which behavioral and linguistic expectations and interpretations are shared may be analyzed.

The attendance patterns do tend to show variation in the interactional patterns of clusters of grounds. For instance, Tutcenen members are most likely to go to dances sponsored by Epaken, Cenvpaken, Palen, Kolvpaken, and Hvmken. Osten members attend dances sponsored by Epaken,

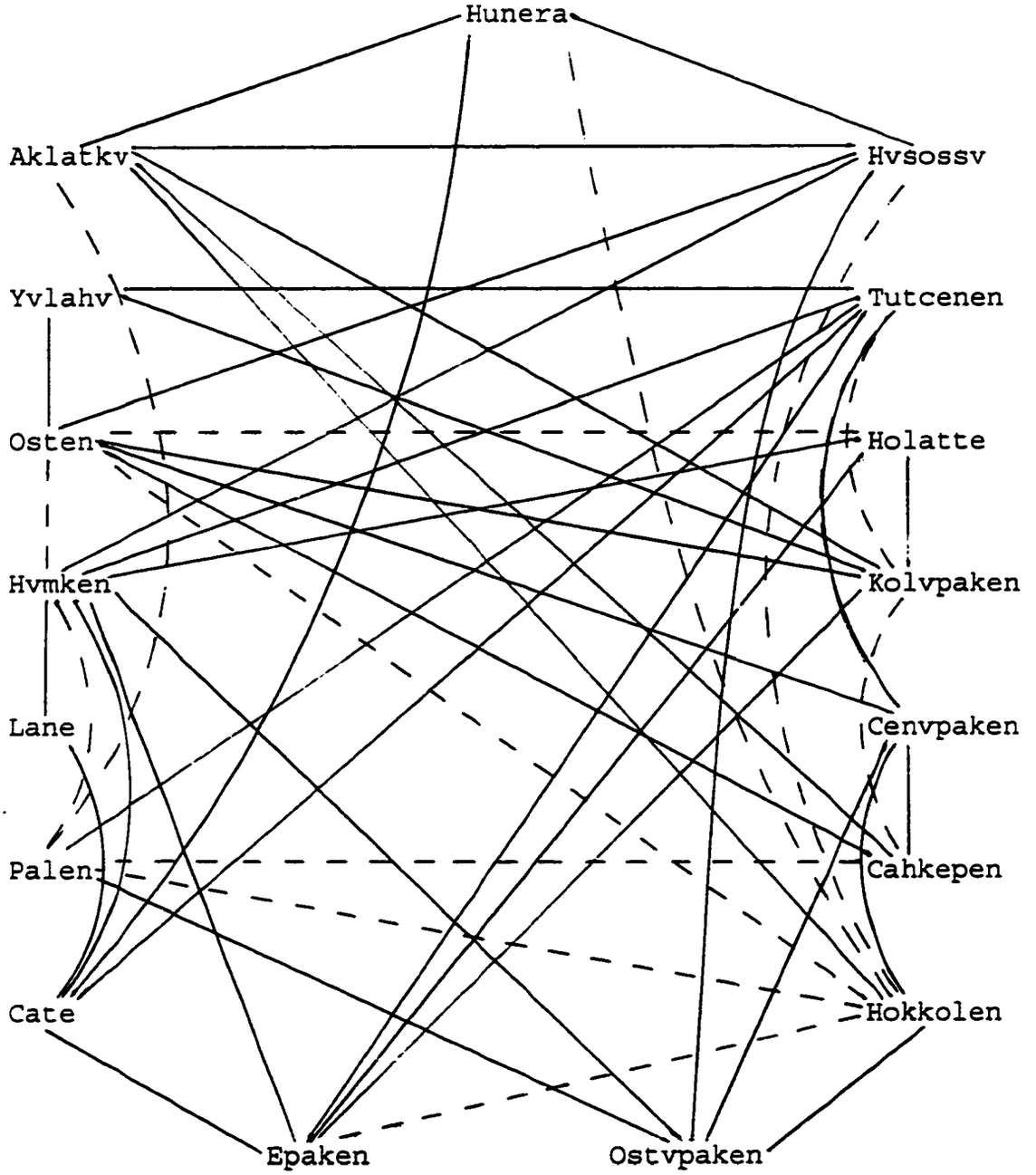

Diagram 9 Ground-to-Ground Interaction Patterns

Cenvpaken, and Cahkepen with great frequency. In looking at the interactional patterns of a number of grounds, five distinct sets appear: 1) Hvmken, Lane, Cate, Epaken, and Holatte; 2) Osten, Cahkepen, and Cenvpaken; 3) Hvsossv, Aklatkv, and Hunera; 4) Kolvpaken, Yvlahv, and Tutcenen; and 5) Palen, Ostvpaken, and Hokkolen.

In the case of the first set, each ground has strong ties (frequent interaction throughout the ceremonial and winter seasons) with at least three of the others. This type of patterning does not exist for any other cluster of grounds in Diagram 9. In the next three assemblages, each ground has a strong tie to the other two grounds in the cluster. The three grounds in the final assemblage are explicit about the strength of their ties, with both Hokkolen and Palen stating that their strongest ties are to Ostvpaken.

The reasons given for considering the final cluster as a possible penultimate-order speech community point out the utility of observations made by members in the division of these hypothetical penultimate-order speech communities. The reasons for formulating the five clusters enumerated above include both patterns of frequent social interaction and the recognition by ground members that these ties are meaningful. It remains to be seen whether the grounds in these clusters share similar language use attitudes and

behaviors and can be considered penultimate-order speech communities.

Hvmken, Lane, Epaken,
Holatte, and Cate

Diagram 9 shows these five grounds interact frequently throughout the year. The diagram also shows that only one of the five grounds, Hvmken, interacts frequently with each of the other four grounds. This should not eliminate the possibility that these five grounds are a distinct unit whose interactional patterns of the grounds overlap to form a closed set. Even though Lane and Epaken do not frequently attend each other's dances, they do come together when attending the dances conducted by Cate, Hvmken, and Holatte. A similar situation holds for Cate and Holatte, whose members do not necessarily attend dances conducted by the other ground, but do attend dances conducted by Lane, Epaken, and Hvmken. Frequent interaction involving each of the five grounds has been demonstrated and the first criterion for consideration as a speech community has been satisfied.

Similarities in language use patterns and attitudes among these five grounds remain to be discussed. The language use patterns and attitudes of one of these five grounds, Hvmken, were discussed in chapter three. At Hvmken, Mvskoke is of importance in the ceremonial sphere,

and English often is used outside of the ceremonial area. The decrease in the number of children fluent in Mvskoke is spoken about with concern, but there have been no concerted efforts by the members of this ground to alter this state of affairs. Members interpret the semantic category "angry words" in a way that differs from other grounds, viewing only those remarks that elicit a hostile response as "angry words." At the other grounds, remarks of a type that could elicit a hostile response are considered to be "angry words," regardless of the response.

A similar situation exists among the other four grounds in this cluster. While attending dances at Epaken and Holatte, I observed that children, adolescents, and adults predominantly used English outside of the ceremonial area. Members from Lane and Cate have stated that this occurs at their grounds as well. While concern is raised about the widespread use of English, there has been no collective action at any of these grounds to use Mvskoke in more situations or to teach Mvskoke to the children and/or adolescents.

Although use of Mvskoke is not stressed in areas outside the ceremonial center, it remains of great importance within the center of each of these grounds. Mvskoke is the language in which the important aspects of the ceremonies are to be conducted and is necessary for the

fulfillment of ceremonial roles. Members, then, still view Mvskoke as a meaningful component of ground ritual, despite its diminished use outside the ceremonial center.

Another language use behavior exhibited by members of each ground is evidenced by how one may speak about another ground. The ceremonial stickball game is played by two of these five grounds: Hvmken and Epaken. It is permissable for the males of these grounds to discuss interground rivalry and to make jokes about the strength, endurance, and character of the men from another of these grounds. Holatte members, while not actively participating in the ceremonial stickball cycle, are allowed to take part in this practice of joking about the men from one of these grounds. Often, this takes the form of satirical remarks about the men of one ground that are addressed to men from another ground. These remarks are always greeted with laughter and are not construed as attacks or "angry words," even when overheard by a member of the ground being satirized.

Women at these grounds are allowed to make remarks about similar sorts of topics but with the men from their own ground as the targets. Occasionally, but not very often, a woman will talk about a man or men from another ground. This generally only occurs when the woman has some kinship relation with the subject of her remark. In either

case, a remark about the man will be received with amusement and a rejoinder generally is made.

Members of Cate and Lane appear to follow this practice in that satirical comments may be made about members from the other four grounds in this cluster. Cate differs, however, in that members of this ground make similar kinds of comments about Osten, which is not included in this cluster. My knowledge of this practice at this ground is based on reports from members of the four other grounds in this cluster and from comments I have heard at grounds outside this cluster. It may be that this behavior is the result of the way in which Cate became active; Cate's membership broke away from Osten in the recent past. The split was a result of divisions and animosity in social and family relations among members of the two grounds. It is highly likely that this version of "angry words" is a means of highlighting and broadcasting Cate members' views on the state of social and familial relations with members of Osten.

Cate members' remarks about Osten members differ significantly from the behavior generally exhibited when members of the other four grounds use "angry words." When comments about Osten are made, the targets of these remarks are not present to react to them. There are some former members of Osten who attend dances at both grounds but have

not established or maintained a membership position at either ground. These people may be present when derogatory comments are made about Osten, but do not respond to the comments. According to one man, members at Cate are inclined to make comments against Osten when they know people who attend dances at Osten are near. He mentioned that no one who attends dances at both grounds dares to respond for fear that they will no longer be welcome at Cate's dances. This man, and others in his position, does not wish to anger Cate members because of familial and friendship relations with some of the members.

This behavior is marginally in accord with Hymken's characterization of "angry words" (discussed in chapter three), which appears to be shared by the grounds within this cluster. At these grounds, even though the commentary may be biting and could be construed as hostile, it is allowed as long as the recipient greets it with humor. This interpretation and the behavior it allows are not found among grounds outside this cluster. At other grounds, satirical or sarcastic remarks about the members of another ground are considered to be "angry words" whether or not the person to whom they are addressed receives them with amusement.

Taken as a whole, this set of grounds fulfills the criteria for consideration as a speech community. Members

from each ground meet frequently with members from the others throughout the ceremonial and winter seasons. As described previously, the pattern of interaction formed by these grounds brings together members of grounds who do not attend each others' dances at the dances of a third ground in this cluster. At these meetings, members from each of the grounds are able to observe and assess the linguistic behaviors and attitudes exhibited by other grounds' members.

Frequent observation and assessment of language use, made possible through this cluster's interactional pattern, certainly account for the similarities in language use behaviors and attitudes found among these grounds. At the grounds within this cluster, use of English is considered appropriate outside the ceremonial center but is not appropriate within the center. The view that members are allowed to poke fun at the weaknesses of those who belong to another of these grounds is common in this cluster. Yet another similarity appears when the semantic category of "angry words" is investigated as these occur only when the recipient of a remark reacts with anger or hostility. The grounds are not exactly alike in their language use, but the they are similar enough to support the finding that this cluster constitutes a penultimate-order speech community.

This is the second cluster resulting from analysis of the interactional patterns apparent in Diagram 9. This set of grounds forms a closed set. Each ground in this cluster interacts frequently with the other two and no pair of grounds interacts frequently with a ground outside this cluster. Members describe the bonds between the grounds in this cluster as "strong," "close," and "friendly."

These evaluations of the social bonds are demonstrated by a communicative practice followed by the leaders of these grounds. During the ceremonial year, leaders of these three grounds gather in the late spring to discuss the dance schedule. At this meeting, at which leaders from other grounds may be present, the ground leaders work out a general schedule of dance dates, assuring that their grounds' dances will not overlap.[1] In this way ground leaders ensure their followers will be able to interact throughout the ceremonial season.

These grounds share a number of language use attitudes and behaviors. Mvskoke is of great importance at each of

[1]Only tentative dates are proposed at these meetings. According to tradition, precise dance dates are to be set only one week before the dance. Dates set at this meeting would precede the dance by at least three months. Dances may need to be postponed because of deaths or serious illness in the membership. Leaders are acutely aware of members' and their families' health when deciding on dance dates so as to minimize the chance of having to cancel.

these grounds. As described in chapter three, many Cahkepen members are fluent in the Mvskoke language. Members believe that their use of Mvskoke is both powerful and symbolic--causing others to believe in the ceremonial power of Cahkepen ground--and must be continued. In order to achieve this, elderly and middle-aged Cahkepen members consistently use Mvskoke to speak to each other and encourage younger members to use it as often as possible. The families that make up Cahkepen's membership use Mvskoke at home and initiate conversations with visitors in that language.

A comparable situation exists at Cenvpaken where there is a strong emphasis on maintenance of the Mvskoke language. Almost all middle-aged and older members speak Mvskoke. Members ask their children whether they have understood Mvskoke comments or announcements, especially those spoken by the *emponayv*. When children are able to paraphrase the announcement/comment, they are praised. When children are able to paraphrase only part of the announcement, an adult may help them translate what was said, repeating those parts of the announcment with which the child is having problems. If a child is unable to translate what was said, the child's attempt may be received with remarks about the importance of understanding and speaking Mvskoke or with silence. Parents and

grandparents believe these are ways to motivate children to learn the language.

At first, Mvskoke language use observed at Osten does not appear to parallel that at the other two grounds. Many Osten members are not fluent in Mvskoke, and children are not strongly encouraged to attempt to use the language. The latter characteristic is changing, however, under the new *mekko*. C.S. has discussed starting Mvskoke language classes similar to those conducted at Hokkolen. Osten members currently are working out the logistics of conducting such classes and say classes may be instituted during this summer's ceremonial season. Whether these classes will come to fruition is uncertain.

Offering classes would bring Osten members' Mvskoke language use into accord with their view about the importance of Mvskoke as a socially significant symbol. As mentioned in chapter three, fluency in the Mvskoke language marks one as a potential "traditionalist," a member of a restricted segment of Mvskoke (Creek) society. Inclusion in the traditional segment of society is based equally on one's fluency in Mvskoke and participation in the stompdance religion (at other grounds traditionalists also may be members of church congregations). Osten members say this segment of society is vitally important for the continuation of a distinct Mvskoke (Creek) identity.

The interpretation of Mvskoke language use separates Osten members from most other grounds' members. Cahkepen members' conceptions of the symbolic quality of Mvskoke are similar, however. As described in chapter three, Cahkepen members view their use of Mvskoke as a means of proving the ceremonial strength of their ground. Their fluency in Mvskoke also lends greater credibility to their *heles hayv*'s medicine-making abilities. These interpretations follow from Cahkepen's and other grounds' members' beliefs that only men fluent in Mvskoke are capable of learning how to make medicine and then perform the duties of a *heles hayv*. The perception of a *heles hayv*'s abilities are further enhanced if the *heles hayv* comes from a lineage known for its adherence to traditional lifeways, including retention of the language and participation in the stompdance religion. In a sense, then, Cahkepen members' Mvskoke language use is meant to show others that their *heles hayv* could claim membership in a group akin to Osten's traditional community.

The power of this kind of traditional identity signaled by fluency in Mvskoke is recognized by Cenvpaken members as well. Members of this ground believe that there should be a fairly high number of Mvskoke speakers at ceremonially strong grounds. They point to grounds like Hvmken as examples of ceremonially suspect grounds. The

frequent use of English outside the ceremonial center and the need to translate for the benefit of younger members are two of Cenvpaken's members' reasons for characterizing Hvmken in this way. Cenvpaken members have placed Osten in this category for the past two years, but, because of Osten members' open discussion about C.S.'s suggestions for Mvskoke classes, Osten is moving into the category of ceremonially secure grounds.

A third linguistic behavior is common to each of these grounds in that each of them defines and behaves in relation to "angry words" in the same way. At each ground, angry words are those that may be construed as derogatory, sarcastic, or pejorative remarks about another person or ground. Remarks of this sort are not to be made at a ground, even in jest. Outside the ground, however, members find remarks of this kind tolerable in situations where they will not lead to large-scale, public arguments (i.e., they may be expressed to friends or voiced quietly among a small group of sympathetic people).

This conceptualization of angry words tends to preclude discussion of some topics at these three grounds. For instance, activities or occurrences at Cate or involving Cate's members are never brought up at Osten because of these grounds' recent separation. For the most part, this holds true at Cenvpaken and Cahkepen as well

because Osten members are almost always in attendance at these grounds' dances and the hosts and visitors do not want to stir up bad feelings. Cahkepen members' language use also is affected by this interpretation of angry words. Members of some grounds, particularly Palen and Lane, have declared Cahkepen to be dangerous because it is a newly revived ground. Cahkepen members angrily deny this characterization when outside the ground and, while at the ground, will not mention the names of either of these two grounds. Cenvpaken and Osten members respect this avoidance and will not speak about Palen or Lane when Cahkepen members are near.

The language use attitudes and behaviors exhibited by each of the grounds in this cluster appear to influence the other grounds' language use. Influence on a ground's linguistic behavior is best illustrated by the tacit agreement found among members of these three grounds to avoid mentioning the names of grounds or individuals that may cause someone to use angry words. Leveling of language use behaviors also appears to be taking place in regard to Osten's interest in pursuing a strategy to promote Mvskoke language retention among its members, bringing it in line with the behaviors of Cahkepen and Cenvpaken. Because of the frequency with which these grounds interact and the behaviors and attitudes they share, it is reasonable to

label these three grounds as a penultimate-order speech community.

Hvsossv, Hunera, and Aklatkv

Each of these three grounds is identified by members of the stompdance community as a Yuchi ground. As detailed in chapter three, none of these grounds satisfies each of the conditions necessary to be considered a separate lowest-order speech community. Instead, the lowest-order speech community was found to consist of these grounds as a cluster. The members at each of these grounds are strongly tied to one another, and the members frequently interact in activities concerning each ground. Yuchi ground members also were found to share a number of language use behaviors and attitudes. These findings showed that the Yuchi grounds satisfy each of the criteria for consideration as a speech community. It remains to be seen whether the Yuchis' lowest-order speech community also may be considered a penultimate-order speech community.

Frequent interaction involving each of the Yuchi grounds is observable in Diagram 9, above, in that each of these three grounds supports the activities sponsored by the other two quite often. As discussed in chapter three, members at these grounds often speak about attending dances put on by the other Yuchi grounds and about how this enhances the social fabric of the entire Yuchi community.

Aside from its utility at the community level, frequent interaction also is mentioned as a means of preserving or enhancing the physical and emotional well-being of individual community members.

This view of interaction generally only pertains explicitly to other Yuchis. Yuchis who are married to members of other tribes do consider interaction with select people from the other tribes important, but this pertains primarily to those who are considered to be "kin." In regard to ground-to-ground interaction, this focus on associating with other Yuchi grounds may be a carry-over from the days before World War II when the Yuchi grounds were not part of the Mvskoke (Creek) ground network.

According to the leaders of the Yuchi grounds, close connections with Mvskoke grounds arose during and after World War II when the numbers of Yuchi people attending the ceremonies dropped as many of the younger members enlisted for military service. As in the following description of the first Mvskoke participation in a Yuchi ground ceremony, the reason generally given for the rise of interaction with Mvskoke grounds involves a need for more participants at the ceremonies:

> Back in World War II, a lot of the younger guys had left for the service. Yeah, that was when we really needed some help, had to have some help to run our dances right. I remember, one day, we were camping at Hvsossv, and one of the guys asked if he could ask in some Creek dancers. The

> leaders said, "sure." So he went and asked. Next thing we knew, next dance we had, here come these old hay trucks, flatbeds, you know, with Creek men and women riding on them. Yeah, that was the first time I think the Creeks ever came to a Yuchi dance. They sure helped us out, kept our men and women from getting so tired. They stayed all night, singing. It was a good dance. (J.C. 1994 fieldnotes).

Prior to this, the Yuchi grounds generally only helped each other out during the ceremonial season and remained separate from the Mvskoke grounds. It is small wonder, then, that each Yuchi ground has more in common with the other Yuchi grounds than it does with any particular Mvskoke ground.

As related in chapter three, the Yuchi grounds exhibit different patterns and attitudes concerning language use than the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. At the Yuchi grounds, English is widely accepted as the language of interaction in all spheres of the ceremonial arena. Knowledge of the Yuchi language is no longer necessary for making medicine at the ground, nor does the leader of the ground need to be fluent in Yuchi (Innes 1995c). Maintenance of the Yuchi language is not strongly tied to the continued existence of the grounds or proper execution of the rituals carried out at the grounds. This attitude differs greatly from that expressed by members at Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds.

This attitude does not translate into a disregard

for the status of the Yuchi language, however. Members from each of the Yuchi grounds and one of the Yuchi churches have banded together to sponsor weekly language classes. These classes are open to all interested parties, Yuchi and non-Yuchi alike, though the majority of students and teachers are Yuchi ground members. At these classes, students are taught traditional Yuchi lore and language. In this way, members at each of the Yuchi grounds are working together to combat the death of the Yuchi language, though this is being done in the name of the larger Yuchi community rather than exclusively for the grounds.

At the grounds, those who can speak Yuchi are accorded a great deal of respect and influence. These elders are considered to be most knowledgeable about the ceremonial procedures to be carried out at the grounds and when they make suggestions about the way in which things should be done, their suggestions are taken quite seriously. Elders who are not fluent in Yuchi also are respected, but their influence is more limited than that of fluent speakers.

This behavior reflects another difference between the Yuchi grounds and the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds in that all elders at the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds are treated with respect, but suggestions concerning changes in the ceremonial procedure, even those made by elders who are fluent in Mvskoke, are treated with

a great deal of caution and often are dismissed. At the Yuchi grounds, suggestions about matters are discussed by the ground leadership and, especially when they have been proposed by elders fluent in Yuchi, they are carefully weighed and often are accepted. This should not be taken to suggest that a speaker's fluency in Yuchi will be a direct indicator that his/her suggestion will be accepted. It does seem, however, that suggestions made by elders fluent in Yuchi are given more consideration and are more likely to be taken up than those made by people (including elders) who are not fluent in Yuchi. Thus, even though Yuchis no longer mandate use of their language to carry out ceremonial activities, the language retains considerable ceremonial power.

The interactional patterns of the Yuchi grounds, combined with their similar language use patterns and attitudes, allows us to consider them as a single speech community. For the Yuchi, the lowest-order speech community is the cluster of Yuchi grounds, rather than each single Yuchi ground. In addressing the question of an encompassing Seminole-Mvskoke (Creek)-Yuchi stompground speech community, however, the Yuchi cluster, comparatively, must be treated as the analytic equivalent to Seminole and Mvskoke (Creek) penultimate-order communities.

The analytic equivalence between the Yuchi lowest-order speech community and the penultimate-order communities found among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds occurs because of the similarities among these communities. Both sets of speech communities (Yuchi lowest-order and Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole penultimate-order) are made up of a number of grounds which have been shown to interact frequently and share a variety of language use traits. The Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole penultimate-order speech communities are differentiated from one another according to differences in their interactional patterns and language use behaviors. The Yuchi have been shown to have an interactional pattern that separates them from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds. They also have been shown to exhibit language use behaviors and attitudes that differ from the behaviors and attitudes found among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. For these reasons, the lowest-order speech community involving the Yuchi grounds is equivalent to the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds' penultimate-order speech communities.

Kolvpaken, Yvlahv, and Tutcenen

This cluster of grounds forms yet another closed set. Diagram 9 shows that members of each of these grounds attend several dances and bingos conducted by each of the

other two grounds in this cluster throughout the year. No pair of these grounds interacts frequently with any single ground outside this cluster. Interaction of this frequency satisfies the first criterion for considering this cluster of grounds as a speech community.

The language use behaviors and attitudes exhibited by members of these grounds are fairly similar to those exhibited by the members from the grounds in cluster one (Hvmken, Lane, Cate, Epaken, and Holatte), with only a few differences. Members from Tutcenen, Kolvpaken, and Yvlahv believe it is acceptable to make mildly sarcastic remarks about the ballplaying abilities of each other's men. This seems to be the result of Tutcenen and Kolvpaken members' participation in the ceremonial ballgames described above. Yvlahv members, because of their close ties with these two grounds, are allowed to make comments about the ballplaying abilities of Tutcenen and Kolvpaken members. In all cases, these comments are interpreted as jokes rather than hostile remarks.

This behavior is similar to that found among grounds in cluster one. Differences appear, however, when the way in which this behavior is performed at these grounds and the kinds of topics that may be discussed in this discourse style are analyzed. At the grounds in cluster one, comments may be made about people or grounds who are not

present. It also is acceptable at these grounds to load these remarks with innuendo so that, on the surface, they may appear to be about a man's athletic abilities but this only serves to hide a sarcastic comment about his masculinity. Cate members take this commentary one step further by making unflattering remarks about Osten, a ground outside the cluster. This type of commentary is unusual but is accepted by members of the other grounds in the cluster.

The slightly sarcastic joking carried out by the grounds in cluster four does not follow the conventions outlined for cluster one grounds. At Tutcenen, Kolvpaken, and Yvlahv, ballgame-based jokes are not made about someone unless he is present. This convention seems to temper the commentary somewhat, causing the jokes to be softer and, often, more humorous. This practice also may explain why jokes made at these grounds are not laden with so much innuendo. It is often the case at these grounds, that the individuals about whom a joke was made will continue the sequence by pointing out how the trait commented on affects other aspects of his life. When an individual does not follow through with this self-deprecating behavior, people tend to stop making jokes about that person. It seems, then, that the lack of innuendo creates a means of checking an individual's willingness to allow joking to continue at

his expense. It also allows a joked-about individual to decide which, if any, aspects of his personal life will be open for discussion in the guise of joking.

None of the grounds in cluster four considers truly caustic commentary about another ground, like that made by Cate members, to be appropriate. Members at Tutcenen, Kolvpaken, and Yvlahv all are aware of the reasons behind this commentary, but none believe that they excuse comments of this sort. V.Y., a member at Kolvpaken, explained that making openly hostile or derogatory comments about another ground violates the basic premise of the stompdance religion--to foster love for everyone. He noted that angry feelings are natural but he added that each ground's leadership should work toward diminishing anger among their membership rather than allowing it to be fostered by inflammatory remarks and groundless rumors. Members at all three grounds were uncomfortable about discussing Cate's behavior and were unanimous in stating that it is inappropriate.

That these grounds are not entirely alike in their interpretations of all language use behavior becomes evident when that of "going for a smoke" is analyzed. As described in chapter three, Tutcenen members consider going for a smoke an activity to be pursued when one wants to have a relatively private conversation with another person.

At the other grounds in this cluster, however, going for a smoke most often involves more than one pair talking together and, as a result, topics of an intimate nature generally are not discussed at these times.

This difference in interpretation does not present much of a problem for the members of this cluster. When Tutcenen members are going for a smoke with other Tutcenen members, their ground's interpretation of that activity is followed: A pair or trio will leave the main activity area and will be allowed to have a discussion away from other participants. When Tutcenen members are interacting with members of another of these grounds, going for a smoke may be conducted in one of two ways. In the first case, the Tutcenen member may pointedly ask only one other person, generally by name, to go for a smoke (in the majority of these cases the other person is of the same gender or kin group, which tends to keep members of the other person's ground from interpreting this as a romantic enticement). When going for a smoke is presented in this manner, others are loath to join in. If, however, the Tutcenen member says that he/she is going for a smoke without specifically inviting another person, a large group of people from another ground may join in the activity. In such cases, going for a smoke, while involving a member from Tutcenen, will be transacted much as it is at other grounds.

Consequently, this language use behavior may be performed in the style common to Tutcenen or in the style common to the other grounds, depending on the manner in which it is introduced. Tutcenen's slightly different interpretation of this behavior is both acknowledged and followed by the other grounds' members when interacting with Tutcenen members and is allowed to coexist with the other grounds' interpretations of this behavior.

Except for their differing interpretations about going for a smoke, these grounds are similar in their language use behaviors and attitudes. At first, the language use behaviors and attitudes exhibited by these grounds appear to be the same as those found among the grounds in cluster one. In the description above, however, differences between these two clusters became apparent in regard to language use. Because the linguistic behaviors of these two clusters are differentiable and because each ground interacts frequently with the others in this cluster, they can be considered parts of a single penultimate-order speech community.

Ostvpaken, Hokkolen, and Palen

This trio of grounds does not form a completely closed set as Palen and Hokkolen do not interact frequently. Ostvpaken members frequently meet with members from the

other two grounds. However, members of Hokkolen and Palen only tend to meet at dances conducted by Ostvpaken. Through these activities the members of these two grounds consistently meet with one another at bingos and dances conducted by Ostvpaken throughout the year. Because of the central role of Ostvpaken, each ground in this cluster interacts frequently with the others, satisfying that criterion for consideration as a speech community.

Similarities arise when exploring the language use patterns and attitudes within this cluster. Among these grounds, there is a strong emphasis on Mvskoke language retention. At Hokkolen, the Mvskoke language is used in a number of teaching situations with younger members of the ground, ostensibly so they will become more proficient in Mvskoke. These situations often revolve around some traditional activity or craft, that is explained and discussed in Mvskoke. In this way, the leadership of the ground believes it is providing a means of perpetuating fluency in the language.

At Ostvpaken, Mvskoke is used by almost all members, including younger members. A number of young members at this ground feel more comfortable speaking Mvskoke than English. Ground leaders encourage this kind of behavior by making speeches about the importance of Mvskoke as a tie to tradition and about feeling a sense of pride in being able

to speak the language well. These sentiments, combined with members' tendency to use the language, appear to be reinforcing maintenance of Mvskoke within this ground, so much so that this ground can be said to have the highest percentage of Mvskoke speakers.

Palen emphasizes use of Mvskoke throughout the ceremonial ritual. D.J., the *emponayv* at Palen, told me that Palen members believe their ground has the most Mvskoke speakers, and that they are proud of their Mvskoke language retention. I am unable to vouch for the numbers of Mvskoke speakers at the ground, but the feelings of pride have been noted by members of other grounds. D.J. told me that he and other leaders at the ground commend younger members who are fluent in Mvskoke. He also told me that the men expect the women to use Mvskoke when they are at the ground and that several families use Mvskoke at home.

These grounds also share common conceptions about the semantic category of "angry words." Among these grounds, angry words are those that may be construed as derogatory remarks or attacks on another person. Speakers are expected to avoid making such remarks. The recipient of comments of this type is not obligated to interpret them as humorous, because speakers are not expected to make such comments in the first place.

If someone from one of these grounds makes a derogatory remark, the listener may react with anger, silence, or humor. Generally, angry words are greeted by one of the latter two reactions. When such incidents occur, especially if they seem to be indicating a tear in the social fabric of the ground or between two grounds, ground leaders will meet to allow both parties to present their sides in the disagreement. Through this means, the leadership tries to resolve the problem by reaching some agreement among the parties. When such a situation arises between members of two grounds in this cluster, members from each party's ground will approach members at the other ground to try to establish some understanding and ease the situation. If the situation is not resolved, both parties in the conflict try to avoid one another while at the grounds.

Another interesting language use pattern occurs for Hokkolen and Ostvpaken. At these two grounds, vocabulary items indicative of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect are used by a large number of speakers. It is not surprising that speakers at Ostvpaken, the only Seminole ground, use these vocabulary terms (e.g., *cofvnwv* "fork" in Oklahoma Seminole, "needle" in Mvskoke; and *kapv* "ashes" in Oklahoma Seminole, "ashes or soap" in Mvskoke). What is surprising is that speakers at Hokkolen frequently use

Oklahoma Seminole vocabulary. One would not predict speakers at Hokkolen would use these terms if one were only considering the "tribal" identity of this ground; it is identified as a Mvskoke (Creek) ground, not Seminole.

Stompdancers are not always able to articulate why they identify Hokkolen as a Mvskoke (Creek) ground rather than a Seminole ground. When they are able to state why Hokkolen is a Mvskoke (Creek) ground, stompdancers generally focus on two reasons, both of which have little to do with the tribal identities of the ground's members. Most people cite Hokkolen's location outside Seminole county, the boundaries of which are equivalent to Seminole Nation's boundaries, as the primary reason for including Hokkolen with the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The second reason has to do with Hokkolen's historical affiliation with the Upper Creeks (see Swanton (1946:166-167)).

While the ground's tribal identification does not appear to be based on members' tribal identities, their tribal identities seem to play a role in supporting the use of Oklahoma Seminole at Hokkolen. First, a majority of the members at Hokkolen are enrolled in the Seminole tribe. Many of these people and many of the Mvskoke (Creek) members live in or near the Seminole Nation area where this dialect of Mvskoke is common. Most of Hokkolen's members are likely to use the Oklahoma Seminole dialect in their

day-to-day lives.

Interaction and contact with members from Ostvpaken also help to reinforce Hokkolen members' use of the dialect. When Hokkolen members interact with members from other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, the use of Oklahoma Seminole and some of the misunderstandings arising from its use may be commented on by the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds' members. This does not occur when Hokkolen members are interacting with people from Ostvpaken. Rather, interaction with members from Ostvpaken provides Hokkolen members with an opportunity to discuss comments made by Mvskoke (Creek) ground members about their use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect with a supportive audience. In effect, Hokkolen members' interaction with Ostvpaken members may serve to legitimate their use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect.

Members at both Ostvpaken and Hokkolen are able to codeswitch from one dialect to the other. Codeswitching of this sort only involves lexical substitutions (e.g., Mvskoke *kvpe* for Seminole *sokkoskv*) as Oklahoma Seminole and Mvskoke are nearly identical in syntax, morphology, and phonology. Because the vast majority of Mvskoke and Oklahoma Seminole speakers are aware of the lexical differences, switching does not always appear to be necessary for successful communication.

The Mvskoke speakers I have interviewed from Palen

claim Oklahoma Seminole is not spoken at their ground. Speakers there are familiar with the dialectal differences and are able to comprehend what is said when Oklahoma Seminole terms are used in context, but they do not use the Seminole terms in free speech. Knowledge about the differences between the Oklahoma Seminole dialect and Mvskoke is widespread throughout the stompdance community, however, so Palen members' knowledge should not necessarily be ascribed to their contact with Hokkolen and Ostvpaken.

Palen stands out from Ostvpaken and Hokkolen in its attitude concerning the necessity of seeking out and maintaining contact with other grounds. According to some Palen members, their ground leaders have long advocated self-sufficiency in regard to the ground's own ceremonial performance, leading them to make few invitations to members from other grounds. This explains why members from all grounds but Ostvpaken view Palen as a "closed ground"--one that does not encourage outsiders to visit and participate in its dances. This attitude is considered to be socially inappropriate by most non-Palen members who regard "visiting" as an important social activity. For non-Palen members, visiting is a means of building and maintaining social bonds through the act of speaking with other grounds' members.

Despite the emphasis on the importance of visiting,

except for Ostvpaken, no other grounds that Palen to their dances. Many people told me that Palen's attitude about visitors has been noted for several years and that, long ago, leaders strongly urged that Palen members find marriageable partners within the ground membership. Palen is unusual in its attitude about outsiders and the low numbers of social and communicative ties that it has established. Ostvpaken members recognize this and talk about their relationship with Palen as a special one. Ostvpaken members note that, because they are the only ground to have strong ties with Palen, they know that they will always have help from at least one set of visitors--Palen.

Asked about their interaction with Palen members, Hokkolen members say that they believe themselves to also be affiliated with Palen. While this does not appear to be the case according to the overall frequency of interaction shown in Diagram 9, Hokkolen members interact with Palen members more frequently than most other grounds, though not enough to warrant a broad line in the diagram. Hokkolen members note that they come into contact with Palen members at most of Ostvpaken's dances, and they state that their interaction at these times is beneficial and meaningful. Small groups of individuals from Hokkolen will attend dances at Palen occasionally but, as one man put it, "we

don't go there as a ground 'cause they don't invite us." Hokkolen members have told me that they attend some dances at Palen because it is a closed ground--those in attendance are likely to be only people who take the religion and dancing seriously--and Hokkolen members find this to be uplifting. Hokkolen members say they do not invite Palen to their dances because they are not certain their invitation would be accepted, and they already have the chance to interact with Palen members at Ostvpaken.

Except for the use of vocabulary from the Oklahoma Seminole dialect and Palen's attitude about establishing social relations with other grounds, each of the language use patterns and attitudes described above are shared by all of the grounds in this group. While the actual strategy for promoting Mvskoke language retention differs from ground to ground, the attitude underlying each of these behaviors is similar--Mvskoke is important for people in contexts outside the ceremonial center. The semantic category of "angry words" is constructed similarly for all grounds in this group, whose construction differs somewhat from that found among the grounds in the Hvmken cluster.

Because of the frequency with which these grounds interact and the behaviors and attitudes they share, it is reasonable to call these three grounds a penultimate-order speech community. Two of these grounds, Hokkolen and

Ostvpaken, display a particular linguistic behavior that sets them apart from all other grounds in that speakers at these grounds use the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke. This suggests that these two grounds could be considered a speech community in and of themselves, employing a particular linguistic dialect and interacting often.

Higher-Order Speech Communities

In chapter two, two intermediate-order speech communities were proposed. These speech communities were proposed as being separable according to the social characteristics of tribal and "national" identity. If tribal speech communities exist, grounds' interactional patterns and language use behaviors and attitudes should differ rather significantly according to their tribal identification. In order to show that national speech communities exist, we should find grounds' interactional patterns and language use behaviors and attitudes differ according to their position within either Muskogee (Creek) or Seminole Nation.

These two types of speech communities were proposed according to distinctions within the Muskogee stompdance population perceived by its members. It is entirely possible that these social divisions do not correlate with the existence of different speech communities. The social

divisions recognized by members of the population under study provide us with starting points for analysis. Because we must prove the existence of the speech community corresponding to these social differences--we must discover meaningful interaction takes place and linguistic behaviors or attitudes are shared--the resulting speech communities are not tautological. The researcher must not assume that social divisions are indicative of linguistic divisions.

The structure of the first of these intermediate-order speech communities--those identified by tribal affiliation--will vary among the tribal groups. The Yuchi grounds already have been shown to comprise a lowest-order speech community incorporating all three individual Yuchi grounds. For this reason, the lowest-order Yuchi speech community will be investigated as a tribally identified speech community. Among the Mvskoke (Creek), the speech community based on tribal identity must be larger than the penultimate-order speech communities because this higher-order speech community must be made up of all Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Among the Seminole, this speech community must be made up of at least part of a penultimate-order speech community, Ostvpaken, the single ground with a Seminole tribal identity, which also is a lowest-order speech community.

It is necessary to show that certain criteria are

satisfied in order to support the existence of tribally identifiable speech communities. As in the discussions of each speech community presented to this point, patterns of interaction showing that each cluster of grounds is well-connected must be presented. Similarities in language use behaviors and attitudes among the constituent grounds in each cluster also must be discerned. Where differences in language use behaviors and attitudes among the grounds in each cluster are evident, the significance of these differences for social cohesion will be explored.

The Yuchi Speech Community

Analysis of the three Yuchi grounds as a single cluster already has shown that this set satisfies the requirements necessary to be regarded as a lowest-order speech community analytically equivalent to a penultimate-order speech community. These grounds attend each other's activities with great frequency and the interaction is highly valued and emphasized. English is used in every sphere of activity at these grounds, presumably because the number of Yuchi speakers is so small. Yuchi is still of some importance, however, for if observations and/or suggestions are made by a member fluent in Yuchi they are responded to with more respect and consideration than those made by a member who is not fluent in Yuchi. Observations

or suggestions made by fluent Yuchi speakers also are more likely to be incorporated into the ceremony than will observations made by someone not fluent in Yuchi.

While it is not used often at the stompgrounds, the Yuchi language is steadily gaining in importance as a marker of tribal identity. Members from each of the Yuchi grounds have been active in Yuchi classes that are open to all people in the Yuchi community. Participation in the language classes affords people a means of claiming a Yuchi identity signifying inclusion in a social community larger than that comprised of the three grounds. The growth in interest in a Yuchi identity and the role the language has in signaling this identity has extended to people who attend the Yuchi churches and some who are only marginal participants at the churches and grounds. The language use attitudes found at the Yuchi grounds is thus found throughout the wider Yuchi social community. Use of the Yuchi language is indicative of membership in the general Yuchi social community, not of membership within a subset of the Yuchi social community--the grounds.

Although the Yuchi are not federally recognized as a tribe distinct from the Muskogee (Creek), stompdancers and others within Muskogee (Creek) Nation are cognizant of differences in language and tradition which causes them to speak of the Yuchis as a separate tribe. This designation

as a separate tribe appears to be a historical phenomenon and does not derive from the Yuchis' recent petition for federal recognition. The Yuchis themselves, as described above, are currently being rather forceful in asserting their distinct tribal identity, which may have made a greater number of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole stompdancers aware of their tribal identification and may account for the unanimous agreement that the Yuchi grounds have a Yuchi tribal identification.

From the discussion of the Yuchi grounds' tribal identification and the previous discussion of their existence as a speech community separate from other grounds, it is evident that the Yuchi grounds constitute a tribally based speech community. To show that the Yuchi tribally based speech community is meaningful in the context of the wider stompdance population, the language use attitudes and behaviors of the Yuchi speech community remain to be compared to those of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole tribal speech communities. Before that is done, however, the existence of distinct Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole speech communities must be demonstrated. The Mvskoke (Creek) speech community will be examined next.

The Mvskoke (Creek) Speech Community

Interaction across penultimate-order speech

communities will be important to discern whether a speech community defined by tribal identity exists for the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Evidence for such interaction is found in Diagram 10, in which data concerning only the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds has been extracted from Diagram 9. The grounds in Diagram 10 were identified as Mvskoke (Creek) grounds by members of the stompdance community. There was unanimous agreement that each of the grounds in Diagram 10 has a Mvskoke (Creek) tribal identity.

As can be seen in Diagram 10, most Mvskoke (Creek) grounds interact frequently with other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The dashed lines, which indicate less frequent interaction between grounds, show that this type of interaction also helps tie together all the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Occasional interaction between grounds can bring together members from Mvskoke (Creek) grounds who would not necessarily associate with one another. As a case in point, when Hvmken hosts a dance, chances are very high that members of Osten will attend. Occasionally, members from Palen also will attend dances at Hvmken, and very likely will come into contact with members from Osten. As can be seen from Diagram 10, members from Osten and Palen only infrequently attend one another's dances. While attending dances sponsored by another ground, however, members of these two grounds can--and often do--interact.

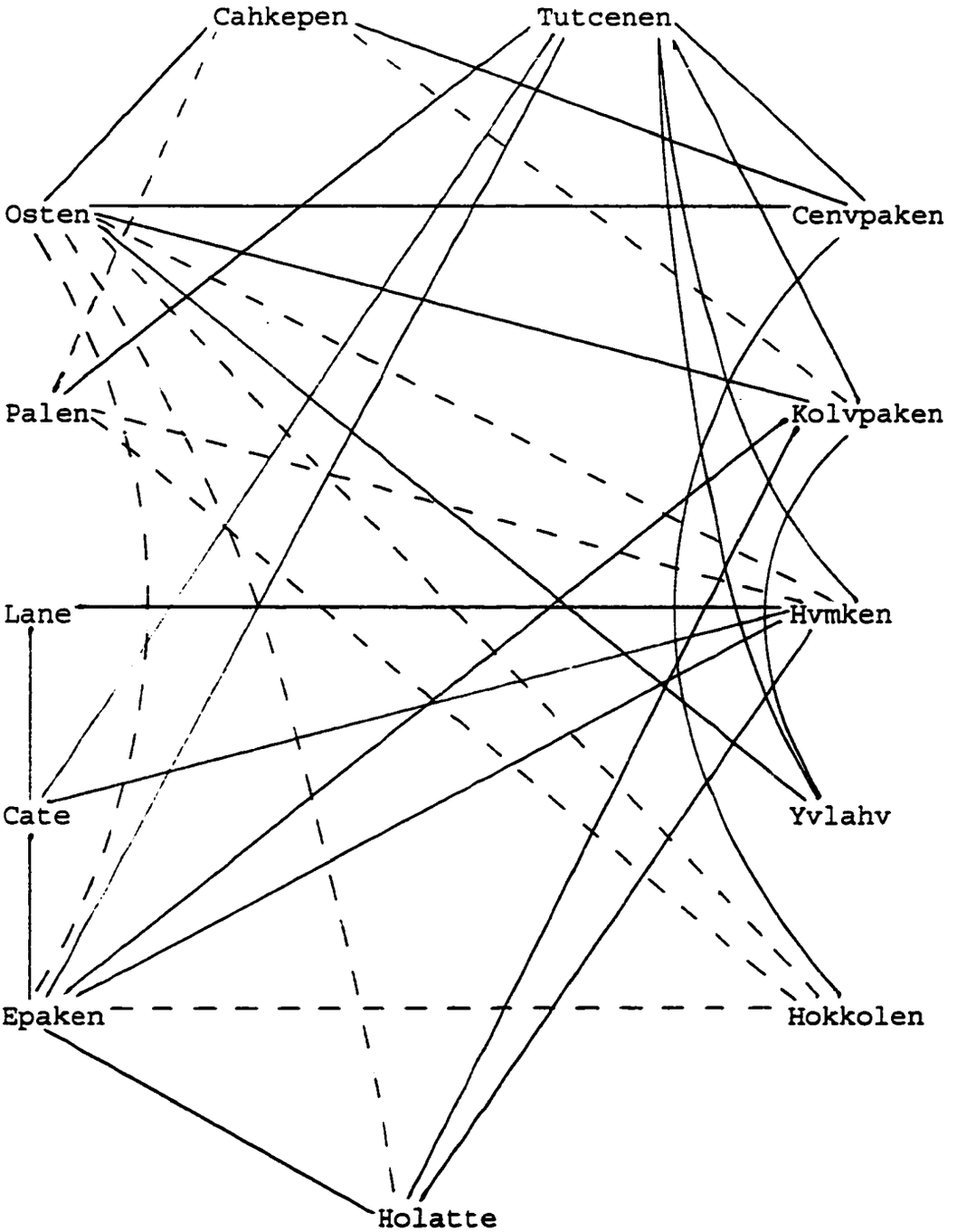

Diagram 10. Interactional Patterns for all Mvskoke (Creek) Grounds

This situation provides a means by which members of other grounds who do not often support one another also may come into contact with one another such that meaningful, though infrequent communication may occur.

There is one other factor that appears to have some influence in the maintenance and spread of language use patterns among the various grounds, the movements of people (I know of at least fifteen) who are not members of any ground but go to a variety of dances based on their friendships with members of different grounds. These people do not form any cohesive, named social catgory, but many are recognized as knowledgeable dancers who go to many dances and are known to a large number of people at almost any ground. The movements of these people were not discussed in regard to penultimate-order speech communities because they do not affect the interactional patterns of the grounds at that level of analysis. Non-members' movements between grounds are not ordered or regular and do not appear to merit reconsideration of the ground interaction and linguistic patterns discussed above.

People lose their ground affiliation in one of two ways; either their own ground is inactive or they have a falling out with members at their home ground and decide that they will no longer camp there. When situations like this arise, it is possible for people to change their

ground membership, assuming that one was not asked to leave one's own ground because of some horrific behavior. As a case in point, one woman joined a ground to which her father had belonged after her own ground (as determined matrilineally) became inactive. This woman was welcomed into her father's ground, set up a camp, and was considered to be a full member. Later, this woman began to doubt the abilities of the *heles hayv* at her father's ground, eventually pulling out of her camp. She is no longer affiliated with any particular ground, choosing instead to attend dances at a variety of grounds in the role of visitor. The leaders of one ground, with whom she is close friends, have invited her to establish a camp at their ground, but she has not done so.

There are four possible courses of action when one must leave a ground. Some, whose mothers' grounds have become inactive, have established camps and become members at their fathers' grounds. Others have established a camp at a ground at which they have friends. Some have decided not to become a member at any one ground, preferring to visit any ground. It would appear to be risky, in a ceremonial sense, to choose the last course of action, because being without a ground would seem to keep one from enjoying the benefit of taking medicine, which could jeopardize one's health and well-being. Despite this

appearance, however, most of these people have established close ties at some ground, where they are allowed to take medicine and commonly do so. In the course of doing this, the men and women generally help out at close friends' camps, donate money, or provide some service to the ground, but do not do so to the extent that they are considered members. The final option involves removing oneself from practicing the stompdance religion altogether--a move that rarely is made.

People in the non-member category, those who choose the third option, may help to maintain and strengthen the common language use patterns among grounds precisely because they can cross the interactional lines between grounds. Where ground leaders may have reasons to avoid another ground's dances due to personal conflict or doubts about the other ground's sanctity/cleanliness, people who are not officially members at either ground may attend dances at both and help to spread linguistic behaviors and expectations from one ground to the other. This process, along with the less frequent ground interactions (the dashed lines in Diagram 10), help to keep the people within the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds aware of the behaviors and attitudes found at grounds outside of their own lowest-order and penultimate-order speech communities. Through these interactional practices (frequent interaction,

infrequent interaction, and the movements of non-members), members from each of the grounds within the set identified as having Mvskoke (Creek) tribal identities has the potential to come into contact with members from every other ground.

Now that interaction across all grounds has been shown, it is necessary to investigate whether language use behaviors and attitudes are shared throughout the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. At each of these grounds, Mvskoke plays an important part in the ritual procedure and there is a general sense that if the Mvskoke language becomes any more endangered, the grounds will lose their ceremonial strength and significance. Alongside this are the unanimous reports of Mvskoke use within the ceremonial center at all Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. These reports and assessments come from men who participate in this area. I must rely on their reports because women generally are not allowed in this area except when dancing. According to these men, who come from a number of grounds, Mvskoke is used throughout the time the men are in the arbors, preparing for the medicine-taking and dancing to come. While these men acknowledge that translations must be made at times to accommodate those who are not fluent in Mvskoke, they also say that the majority of stompground business taken care of at these times is first spoken about in Mvskoke.

Use of Mvskoke outside of the ceremonial center varies more from ground to ground than does its use in the ceremonial center. Both English and Mvskoke are used in the camps at the majority of grounds. The use of either language depends on the speakers' and listeners' abilities in the languages. At some Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, the majority of speech is carried out in Mvskoke, while at other grounds the majority of speech is carried out in English. The number of Mvskoke speakers varies from ground to ground, as do the number of English speakers. Generally, at a ground with a younger population, such as Tutcenen, English will be the language used most often in conversation. At a ground with an older population, such as Cenvpaken, Mvskoke will be the language used most often in conversation.

While the amount of Mvskoke used by members at each Mvskoke (Creek) ground varies, what Mvskoke symbolizes is fairly similar across grounds. At each of these grounds, the Mvskoke language is viewed as a cultural marker, a means of denoting that one is Mvskoke as opposed to Anglo or some other tribal identity, such as Shawnee or Yuchi. Interestingly, speakers at Hokkolen consider their language to be Mvskoke as spoken at other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, not Seminole (the term most Mvskoke and Seminole speakers use when discussing the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of

Mvskoke). When asked outright about what the language signifies for members of this ground, one woman's comments speak for the group:

> We speak Mvskoke. That's the language of our people, the Mvskoke language. See, Seminoles, they speak different. Some of the members here, they're enrolled Seminoles, but they still speak like us Mvskokes. (R.D. 1993 fieldnotes)

Thus, when asking about perceptions of those at the ground, they feel that they are using Mvskoke, which supports their identification as a Mvskoke ground. People from other grounds have noticed Hokkolen speakers' use of Oklahoma Seminole vocabulary, but when asked whether this lessens their identity as a Mvskoke ground, the overwhelming majority say that it does not. They mention that they have not overheard Seminole used in the ceremonial center, which they believe shows that Hokkolen members are more Mvskoke than Seminole.

From this, it appears that a speech community based on tribal identity does exist for Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. They interact with some frequency and share similar views about the importance and usage of the Mvskoke language. Because of the size of this tribally identified speech community, variation between grounds and the penultimate-order speech communities in regard to language use patterns and attitudes is to be expected. These differences have been accommodated, especially when they concern views about

the importance of the Mvskoke language and what it symbolizes.

Such accommodation is evident in the case of the difference between Osten ground members' conceptualization of what the Mvskoke language symbolizes versus other grounds' members' conceptualizations. As discussed in chapter three, Osten ground members consider use of the Mvskoke language to be a symbol that one belongs to a select group within the larger Muskogee (Creek) Nation population--a "traditional" group that retains both the Mvskoke language and the stompdance religion. For members of other grounds, knowledge of the Mvskoke language is a general marker that one belongs to the Mvskoke tribe, but is not taken to be a symbol that one belongs to a distinct subset of the general population.

Osten members are not alone in their belief that there is a traditional segment of the population, predominantly made up of stompground members, however, for this view is shared by members from a number of grounds. According to other grounds' members, to belong to this subset one must satisfy both of the requirements necessary for inclusion in the Osten traditional population segment--fluency in Mvskoke and participation in the stompdance religion. Despite their recognition of this traditional identity, other grounds' members' ideas about what Mvskoke symbolizes

differ from Osten members' in that only Osten members describe Mvskoke speakers as members of the traditional segment first and as members of the general Mvskoke population second. Members of other grounds reverse the order of the identities when speaking about someone's position in the Mvskoke population because of their use of the Mvskoke language.

Because all ground members are aware of these two identities ascribed to people who are fluent in Mvskoke, it seems that Osten members have reversed the order in which the identities are attributed. Osten members invest fluency with more symbolic content than do members of other grounds, although Cahkepen members' reasons for Mvskoke language use suggest they also believe it is of great symbolic importance. Osten members also are aware of the views of other grounds' members in regard to the symbolic content of the Mvskoke language and are willing to agree with this different view on occasion. At meetings attended by a number of grounds' members, such as those at the Tribal Towns Organization (described in Innes 1991), topics concerning Mvskoke identity and language often arise. At these times, Osten members will agree with the views proposed by members from other grounds, which often take the form of assertions that Mvskoke tribal/cultural identity hinges on the continued viability of the language.

Even though this view is agreed with at these meetings, Osten members still will assert that a true Mvskoke identity can only be claimed by those who belong to the traditional segment of the population--those who are fluent in Mvskoke and are involved in the stompdance religion.

Despite the differences detailed above, the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds do appear to make up a single speech community that can be distinguished by tribal identity. Diagram 10 shows that the majority of these grounds interact frequently with one another. Those grounds that do not appear to interact still come into contact with one another when they attend dances or activities sponsored by grounds with which both parties are acquainted. Thus, the grounds within this tribally identified speech community fulfill the interactional requirement.

These grounds also share a number of language use attitudes and behaviors. At each ground, the Mvskoke language is of extreme importance in ritual proceedings and the continued use of Mvskoke is considered to be necessary for the continuation of the stompdance religion. English is accepted in non-ceremonial areas of the grounds and is used by many younger members at most Mvskoke (Creek) grounds.

Despite or perhaps because of the widespread use of English by ground members, Mvskoke is regarded as an

important marker of tribal, cultural, and, in some cases, religious identity. The social status Mvskoke symbolizes varies among the grounds, with most viewing use of Mvskoke first as a marker of a general Mvskoke tribal identity which leads, by extension, to a general Native American cultural identity and then, second, as a marker of a more specific traditional religious identity. For one ground, however, perception of a Mvskoke speaker's social status involves switching the order in which these identities are attributed--one is first considered to share in the traditional religious identity, then in a larger Mvskoke tribal identity and, lastly, in a Native American cultural identity. These different conceptions are reconciled by each side including the other's conceptualization in its analysis of the symbolic content of Mvskoke.

The interactional patterns and the similarities in language use behaviors and attitudes found among the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds allow us to classify them as a single speech community. Members of the stompdance community distinguish this set of grounds from others according to its tribal identity, which permits us to consider this a tribally identified speech community. This brings us to the last tribally identified speech community to be investigated, that of the Seminoles.

The Seminole Speech Community

As detailed in chapter three, the language use behaviors and attitudes found at the Seminole stompground, Ostvpaken, are widely held by its members and are distinctive from those encountered at most Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The most prevalent linguistic marker for most individuals is Ostvpaken members' use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect, which distinguishes them from most Mvskoke (Creek) grounds' members. Ostvpaken members also exhibit the greatest use of Mvskoke speech, with most older members and several young members fluent in the language. These language use behaviors occasionally are called upon when individuals are asked to explain why Ostvpaken is considered a Seminole ground versus a Mvskoke (Creek) ground.[2]

The members of Ostvpaken also interact frequently with one another. They often interact with some Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, but their primary interactional focus is with each other. These two sets of behaviors, linguistic and interactional, allow us to view Ostvpaken as a speech community in and of itself. Because Ostvpaken is separated from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds according to its

[2]The most common reason for identifying Gar Creek as a Seminole ground has to do with its location in Seminole County. As noted previously, Seminole County is contiguous with Seminole Nation.

tribal identification, it appears that we are able to speak about a tribally identified Seminole speech community made up of the single Seminole ground. The tribally identified Seminole speech community is thus no different from the lowest-order Seminole speech community.

Analysis of Tribally Identified Speech Communities

The discussion above shows that tribally identified speech communities exist for the Yuchi, Mvskoke (Creek), and Seminole stompgrounds. The data for the existence of the Yuchi speech community primarily was drawn from the discussion of the Yuchi grounds in the section on intermediate-order speech communities. There, the Yuchi grounds were found to interact frequently with one another and were shown to share a great number of language use behaviors and attitudes.

Evidence for a tribally identified speech community composed of the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds is found in their interactional patterns (Diagram 10) and from comparison of the language use behaviors and attitudes found among the penultimate-order speech communities. The first body of data shows that these grounds interact with one another, though not with the frequency found at the lowest- and penultimate-order speech communities. While interaction may be infrequent, it does take place and so, through the

actions of meeting at other grounds' dances and the movement of those who are not members at any ground, each of these grounds is cognizant of the others' language use behaviors and attitudes. These behaviors and attitudes are fairly similar throughout the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Where differences are apparent, they are reconciled at the larger community level and pose no barrier to communication. For these reasons, the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds constitute a single speech community.

It also was found that the Seminole ground satisfies the conditions necessary for consideration as a speech community. Ground members interact often at a number of activities focused around the ground. Their language use behaviors and attitudes are strikingly similar, showing relatively little variation. Stompdance community members are aware of the linguistic behaviors and attitudes shared by Ostvpaken members and offer these as reasons for separating Ostvpaken from the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, designating it a Seminole ground. This distinction between the Ostvpaken and the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds and the differences in linguistic behaviors and attitudes that accompany it prove that Ostvpaken makes up a tribally identified, Seminole speech community

While tribal identification, which is relatively easy to discern for any given ground, does appear to work as a

means of distinguishing speech communities among all of the stompgrounds, the utility of this concept is suspect, especially in regard to the Seminole ground. In discussing the differences in linguistic behavior that separate the Seminole ground from the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, it was necessary to point out that these differences were between Ostvpaken and the majority (not the entirety) of Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. This distinction, which is necessary because of the similarities found among Hokkolen's and Ostvpaken's members' language use patterns and attitudes, points out a shortcoming in this means of differentiating speech communities.

The similarities between the language use behaviors and attitudes of Hokkolen's and Ostvpaken's members do not force us to deny the existence of tribally identified speech communities. Instead, they make us realize that this means of distinguishing speech communities is of limited use and provides us with a rather superficial breakdown. Separating grounds into speech communities according to tribal identity can show differences in some language use patterns and attitudes between the groups that emerge, but it does not really allow us to explore and explain situations in which strong similarities arise among the small units within the larger groups. Beginning with the larger groups--a common strategy in sociolinguistic

work--might lead one to overlook that Hokkolen and Ostvpaken share similar interactional and language use patterns. Working up from the smaller units (the individual grounds and penultimate-order speech communities) allowed us to see these.

Nation-Based Speech Communities

Nation-based speech communities are comprised of the grounds found within the two nations--Seminole and Muskogee (Creek). The structure of the Seminole Nation speech community is the same as the tribally defined speech community discussed above. When discussing either tribal or national identity of a ground, people consider Ostvpaken to be the only ground with a Seminole tribal and national identity. Because Ostvpaken was found to constitute a speech community, it may be considered the putative Seminole Nation speech community.

In contrast, the putative Muskogee (Creek) Nation speech community consists of more grounds than the tribally defined speech communities--it is made up of all the Yuchi grounds and each of the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. These grounds are combined within the Muskogee (Creek) Nation speech community because members of these grounds identify the grounds as being under the jurisdiction of Muskogee (Creek) Nation. Being subject to Muskogee (Creek) Nation's

jurisdiction forces these grounds to approach Muskogee (Creek) Nation government if they need monetary or legal assistance. This action, which ground members consider both aggravating and beneficial, provides them with a sense of cohesion as each of these grounds has the same trying benefactor.

Requesting aid from Muskogee (Creek) Nation government is an infrequent activity for the majority of Muskogee (Creek) Nation grounds, but it does sometimes bring the grounds together. Dances and money-making events sponsored by one or more grounds are a more frequent reason for people from these grounds to interact. The dance and benefit attendance patterns of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation grounds are shown in Diagram 11. Evident in this diagram is the amount of interaction that ties together each of the Muskogee (Creek) Nation grounds. Each ground does not interact often with all others but, because of the overlap of infrequent/frequent interaction, members of any single ground have a chance of coming into contact with members from all other grounds.

Members of these grounds also encounter one another at Tribal Towns Organization meetings. This political organization was formed in 1982 to promote the concerns of the "traditional" Mvskoke community (as defined by the majority of Mvskoke (Creek) grounds). Occasionally,

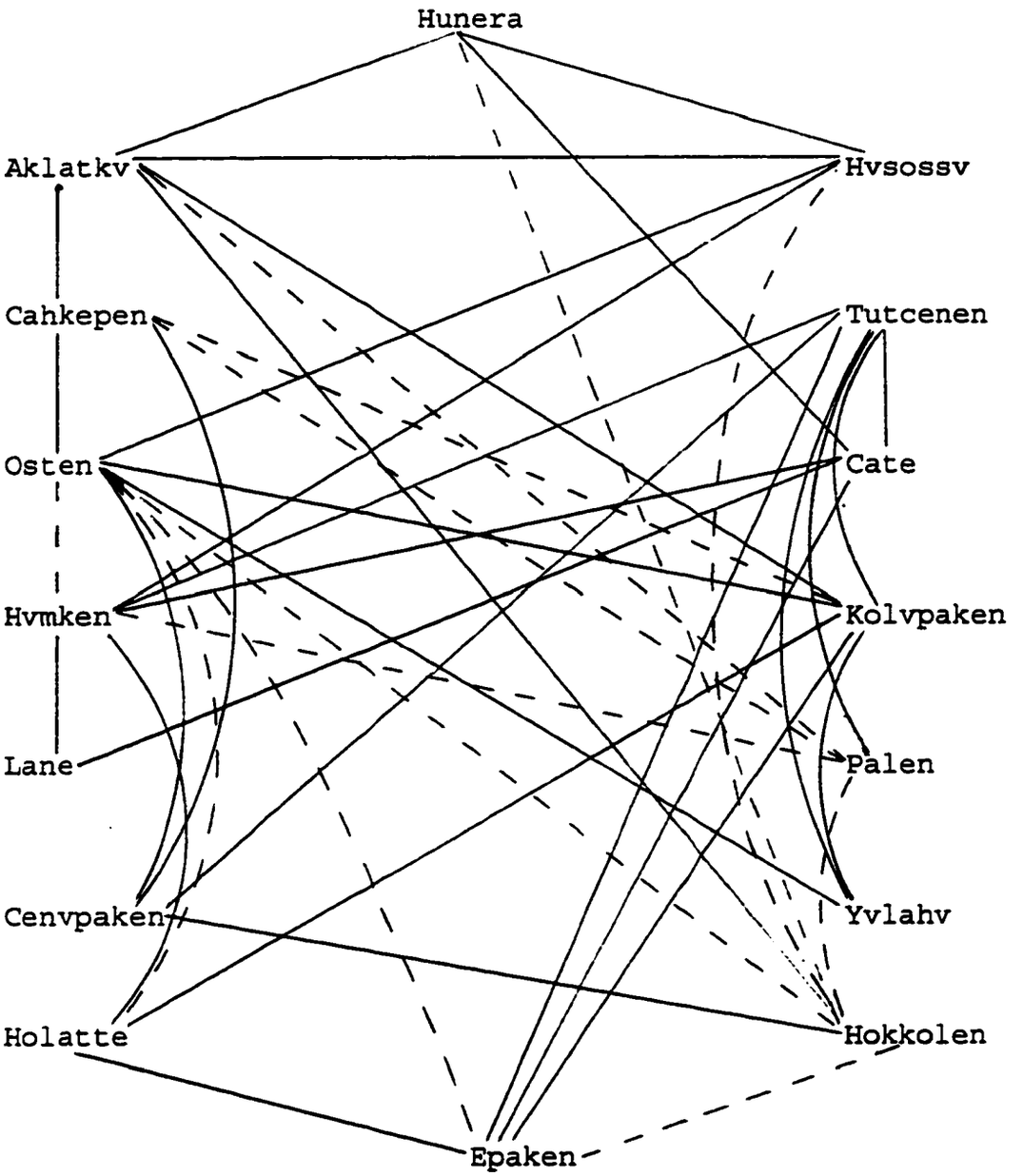

Diagram 11. Muskogee (Creek) Nation Ground Interaction Patterns

leaders and members of a number of Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds attend the monthly meetings of this body. Until the early 1990s, one of the leaders of Ostvpaken also attended meetings but since his death almost no one from Ostvpaken has participated.

Communication between members of the different Muskogee (Creek) Nation grounds is further fostered by the movements of the "non-members" detailed in the section covering the Mvskoke (Creek) tribally identified speech community. These individuals primarily tend to visit the Muskogee (Creek) grounds, with only occasional forays to Ostvpaken. The freedom of these "non-members" to attend activities at any ground allows for the spread and maintenance of language use behaviors and attitudes among grounds that ordinarily would not interact. E.Y., for example, discusses and exhibits language use behaviors and attitudes representative of Hvmken although he is not a member at that ground. Throughout the past year (1995), he attended dances at several of the Muskogee (Creek) grounds, including Hunera, Osten, and Cahkepen. His attendance at these grounds, and the attendance patterns of others like him at other grounds, provide chances for members to become aware of and assess the linguistic behaviors and attitudes of a ground with which they do not often interact.

The movements of these non-members are not the only

way in which interaction between the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds are accomplished. As evident in Diagram 11, there is some visitation between Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds throughout the ceremonial and winter seasons. The Yuchi grounds certainly interact more frequently among themselves than they do with any Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, but they have established some social ties with certain Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Aklatkv, for instance, is noted by Yuchis as the most Mvskoke (Creek)-like ground of the three Yuchi grounds (J. Jackson, personal comm.). Part of the reason for this characterization rests on Aklatkv's consistent, though infrequent, interaction with Hokkolen, Kolvpaken, Palen, and Cahkepen. Each of the other two Yuchi grounds also has some interaction with Mvskoke (Creek) grounds.

During the ceremonial season, the Yuchi grounds generally have only one weekend per month to visit non-Yuchi grounds because the Yuchi dances are scheduled so members may attend one another's dances. Members from the Yuchi grounds believe that this same focus on Yuchi-Yuchi interaction is appropriate during the winter dance season as well. This belief does not keep Yuchi grounds' members from attending dances at Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, but the Yuchis lack of consistent attendance at Mvskoke (Creek) dances does explain why members from so few Mvskoke (Creek)

grounds make a point of attending the Yuchi grounds' dances.

It should be pointed out that Mvskoke (Creek) grounds also find themselves in dance-visiting alliances similar to those found among the Yuchi. These alliances provide the bases for the interactional patterns that delineated the various penultimate-order speech communities among the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The grounds in each penultimate-order cluster commonly arrange their dance schedules so each ground in the cluster may attend the others' dances. These arrangements are not as formalized among the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, however, for grounds in the same cluster occasionally will hold dances on the same weekend.

The actions of those who are not considered to be members at any particular ground and the interactional patterns found among the grounds within Muskogee (Creek) Nation satisfy the first requirement necessary to consider this group of grounds as a speech community--at least infrequent interaction. It is now necessary to show that some similarities in language use and expectations for language are shared by the member grounds within this group. At first glance this would appear to be impossible as the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds and Yuchi grounds were shown to be contained within separate speech communities. Despite this differentiation, these two communities do hold

some language use behaviors and attitudes in common. It remains to be seen whether these similarities outweigh the differences.

The most obvious of similarity concerns how members of Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) grounds interpret the use of their respective languages. As discussed previously, the Yuchi currently are going through a period of tribal revitalization. Recently the Yuchi language has taken on significance within the social community as a means of promoting tribal unity and is significant for individuals as a symbol of belonging to the tribe. While this has not yet caused an increase in the number of fluent speakers or a feeling that the use of Yuchi is terribly important for the successful performance of ceremonial ritual (probably stemming from the fact that there are so few fluent speakers), the language has become a significant marker of tribal identity.

This view is mirrored in the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds' opinions about the symbolic content of Mvskoke language use. At each of these grounds, Mvskoke is one means of establishing either a "traditional" or a general Mvskoke identity. Ground members will not attribute either of these identities to someone until they have proven their fluency in Mvskoke. Thus, the Mvskoke language plays a similar role for the Mvskoke (Creek) ground members as for

Yuchi ground members.

It should be pointed out that the Yuchis' view about the symbolic content of their language differs from that of the Mvskoke (Creek) people. For the Yuchi, tribal identity is not divided into traditional and non-traditional. The Yuchi, at this point, are more concerned about asserting a tribal identity that separates them from the other members of Muskogee (Creek) Nation. The Yuchi identity thus is conceived as encompassing all those who would claim a Yuchi tribal identity, regardless of their membership in a church or stompground. Use of the Yuchi language, then, causes Yuchi people to attribute speakers with a tribal identity that is not segmented according to religious affiliation.

Concomitant with their view about the importance of Yuchi as a means of signaling one's Yuchi tribal identity are stories about the role of the Yuchi language in establishing that the tribe still exists. At a meeting between a representative from the Bureau of Indian Affairs and members of the Yuchi tribal community to discuss the status of their petition for federal recognition in the winter of 1994, one man responded to the representative's comments about the moribund nature of the Yuchi language with a story reminiscent of the Mvskoke (Creek) story about the role of language in proving one's Indian identity (see pp. 225-226). The Yuchi gentleman accused the

representative of ignoring the surge in interest in Yuchi because this would allow her to assert that the tribe no longer existed. He urged his fellow Yuchis to continue learning the language because this would be an undeniable symbol of tribal and cultural identity. His comments did not harken back to a mythic past as the source of this view but his message was very similar to that of the Mvskoke (Creek) narrative.

Members of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds also share similar beliefs about appropriate language use behaviors at the grounds. The first of these beliefs concerns the semantic category of "angry words." Fights and verbal arguments are considered to be inappropriate at each of these grounds. In regard to remarks that may be interpreted as defamatory or malicious, the Yuchi grounds and the majority of Mvskoke (Creek) grounds perceive this behavior as angry words. Only the grounds in Hvmken's penultimate-order speech community have different perceptions of angry words, regarding such remarks as appropriate as long as the listener does not react with anger.

Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) grounds share a similar set of ideas concerning the value of a person's knowledge according to his/her fluency in the native language. As mentioned previously, elders fluent in Yuchi are treated

with great respect due to their knowledge and experience, which is partially signaled through and given added credence by their fluency in Yuchi. Elders fluent in Mvskoke also are treated with respect at the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. The respect that they are shown stems from their knowledge and experience in the Mvskoke (Creek) stompdance community and their knowledge of the Mvskoke language.

A similar situation exists for middle-aged members at Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, but this does not extend to middle-aged members at the Yuchi grounds. This is partly due to the large numbers of middle-aged Mvskoke speakers as compared with the lack of middle-aged Yuchi speakers. At Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, middle-aged individuals fluent in Mvskoke are accorded more respect and are more eligible for ground leadership positions than are those who are not fluent in Mvskoke. At the Yuchi grounds, however, there are no middle-aged people fluent in Yuchi and fluency in this language does not affect a person's leadership eligibility. Linguistic ability still is important for Yuchi people in this age group, however, as an English speaker's ability to describe and explain the proper ceremonial procedure is a means of establishing his/her appropriateness for a leadership position.

The partial similarities discussed above are offset by

one striking difference in attitude between Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) ground members concerning the necessity of native language use in the performance of the religious ceremonies. As discussed previously, use of Mvskoke in the ceremonial center is of great importance at each of the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Men and women state that the ceremonies cannot be conducted properly unless particular portions of the ritual are performed in Mvskoke, such as the making of the ground medicine. There is unanimous agreement that if any other language is used or if the Mvskoke words are spoken incorrectly during in the recitation over the medicine, the ground members will be in great jeopardy. According to Mvskoke (Creek) ground members, no other language may take Mvskoke's place in some parts of the ceremonial performance.

The Yuchi do not have such beliefs concerning use of their own language in the ceremonial sphere. Education about ceremonial ritual is allowed to take place in English, as it must because of the dearth of fluent or passively fluent Yuchi speakers. Conversations about ground-related topics also must be carried out in English. Recitations over the medicine are not requisite parts of medicine preparation, which is performed by young men.[3]

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[3]The Yuchi may have never found recitations over ground medicine like those performed by Mvskoke (Creek) *heles hayvlke* necessary (J. Jackson, personal comm.).

Yuchi members believe their medicine is just as beneficial and potent as Mvskoke (Creek) medicine and say their grounds are as religiously powerful as the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds despite their use of English in many ceremonial areas. Not all Mvskoke (Creek) ground members, however, are convinced.

Comparison of the language use behaviors and attitudes found among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds showed that differences arose in each case, except that of angry words. These differences are striking enough to demonstrate that these grounds are not part of a single Muskogee (Creek) Nation speech community, despite the patterns of interaction that weave these grounds together. The Seminole Nation speech community, the only national speech community shown to exist, consists of a single ground, Ostvpaken.

This analysis suggests that while it is possible to speak of speech communities whose boundaries conform to the boundaries of the political "national" entities, these must be thoroughly investigated and must be proven to exist before further analysis can be conducted. It should be noted that the one national speech community found to exist

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Yuchi healers who treated individuals, however, did prepare medicine in a style similar to the Mvskoke (Creek) *heles hayvlke*, including the use of recitations and blowing into the medicine as it was prepared.

among these grounds involved only a single ground. National speech communities, then, are rather useless as analytic devices for investigating language use among the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole grounds.

Language-Based Speech Communities

The problems identified in the above discussions of the tribally and nationally identified speech communities vanish if one considers a different means of separating the grounds into speech communities according to language. This strategy provides a better fit with the language use patterns and attitudes and interactional patterns found among the grounds than does creating speech communities based on tribal identity. This method of differentiating speech communities is not an emic one. When stompground members are asked about linguistic differences among grounds they generally respond that the tribal identity of a ground corresponds with the language used at that ground.

The tribal/linguistic correspondence made by many ground members works for the Yuchi, Seminole, and a majority of Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. It does not, however, hold true for Hokkolen, a ground identified as Mvskoke (Creek) but whose members speak the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke. Designating speech communities according to the language spoken would cause Hokkolen and

Ostvpaken to be grouped together. This grouping appears to be a better fit with the interactional and linguistic usages in the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds discovered in the analyses of the lowest- and penultimate-order speech communities.

This finding points out that the ways in which sociolinguists define their units of study can have a profound effect on their subject populations. If one were interested in studying the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke among stompdancers and approached stompdancers for help in locating bodies of speakers, one would be directed only to Ostvpaken. This would occur because of speakers' tendency to conflate tribal identity and the language spoken at a ground. Unless an analyst were to spend time interacting with Hokkolen members and realize that they, too, speak the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke, the analyst would be unaware that a second body of Oklahoma Seminole speakers existed in the stompdance community.

Dividing speech communities according to the language used at the grounds also provides a construct in which Hokkolen's language use is not anomalous. When the grounds are divided according to tribal identity, Hokkolen members' use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect is radically different from the other Mvskoke (Creek) grounds and is not easily explained. Language-based speech community groupings,

however, put Hokkolen with Ostvpaken and make awkward explanations for Hokkolen members' use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect unnecessary, thereby allowing the analysis to focus on the items these grounds share. This underscores the usefulness of exploring speech communities from the lowest levels.

Two more inclusive, intermediate-order speech communities, based on generational and gender language use differences remain to be discussed for the Muskogee stompdance (social) community. The highest-order, most inclusive speech community also is yet to be investigated. Each of these three speech communities, because they cross all ground divisions identified by stompground members, will be explored in the next chapter.

Chapter 5: The Most Inclusive Speech Communities

> People who go to church, they think we're sinners or something out here. Some say we're worshipping the Devil. That's not true, what they say. It just shows you the difference between us [ground members] and them [church members]. We don't speak out about the differences and all, but we know we're not like them and maybe that scares 'em.
>
> T.B. (a member of Cenvpaken)

In chapters three and four a number of lowest- and intermediate-order speech communities were found to exist among the grounds constituting the Muskogee stompdance social community. Thus far, the speech communities that have been investigated are composed of single grounds or clusters of grounds differentiated according to a variety of criteria, including tribal identity, national identity, and language spoken at the grounds. In this chapter, the existence of a highest-order speech community made up of all of the grounds will be explored. The existence of two other intermediate-order speech communities, based on age and gender, that also span all ground boundaries will be examined.

The Highest-Order Speech Community

The hypothetical highest-order speech community is made up of all grounds in the Muskogee stompdance social community. This possibility is suggested by the

similarities in religious rituals and beliefs found among those who take part in the religion practiced by members of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole stompgrounds, as well as the historic associations among these peoples. In order to prove the existence of the highest-order speech community, it will be necessary to show that interaction involving all Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds occurs and that similar language use behaviors and attitudes are shared by the members of these grounds.

Patterns of interaction involving all grounds were described in chapter four (Diagram 9). The diagram shows that the grounds are well enmeshed, with members of each ground having the possibility of interacting with members of every other ground at events throughout the year. The majority of the focused activities that tend to bring together members from a number of grounds (dances, bingos, leaders' meetings, ceremonial stickball games) have been described in chapters three and four. There are, however, three more events that attract members from different grounds.

The first of these events, city- or tribe-sponsored celebrations or festivals, occur infrequently and only involve a limited number of ground members. The majority of these festivals are held at sites in either Muskogee (Creek) or Seminole Nation. Members of generally one or

two grounds will be approached by a festival organizer and asked to put on a public dance. While members of a single ground may decide to take full responsibility for the show, most tell members at other grounds. Often, one finds that members from a number of different grounds attend these festivals and take part in the dances.

Members from grounds that have not been asked to dance also attend these festivals. The festivals provide a forum for craftsmen to show and sell their wares--an activity that many Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people find profitable. Still others find attending these events as spectators an enjoyable experience, spending quite a bit of time socializing with numerous people. Often, when the dancing is set to begin, ground members whose grounds were not officially asked to participate will move close to the dance area and will join the dancing once it has begun. When this occurs, members from the ground that was asked to perform will go around and thank all those who have helped them in their performance, an activity similar to the greeting and thanking of visitors that takes place at the ceremonial dances.

A second interactional event that causes members of different grounds to gather occurs at the meetings of the Tribal Towns Organization. These meetings were mentioned in chapter four. Tribal Towns meetings occur once each

month. The organization was created to address the concerns of ground members. These meetings are overtly political. Leaders from several of the Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole grounds attend occasionally, though it has been quite some time since a leader from the Seminole ground has attended a meeting.

The Tribal Towns Organization, while currently attracting few ground leaders and members, may attract more ground members in the future. The meetings tend to attract many people when political candidates come to speak during election years or when individuals have been invited to discuss concerns specific to the rural members. Meetings that attract a large number of people only occur infrequently, but the topics discussed at these meetings tend to get people talking about ground members' collective needs and views.

The third event bringing people from different grounds together occurs when threats to the grounds' existence are perceived. An event of this sort occurred during the 1991 ceremonial year. In the summer of 1991, representatives from the Muskogee (Creek) Nation Health Service (MCNHS) approached ground leaders, specifically the *heles hayvlke*, about changing one aspect of the Green Corn Ceremony--ceremonial scratching. The scratching is performed on each ground members' arms, legs, and, occasionally, abdomen.

The *heles hayv* or someone chosen by the ground member makes four straight scratches with a needle or some other sharp, pointed object, which is dipped in herbal medicine before and after the scratching. The scratches often are deep enough to bring blood and cause thin scarring. Scratching is practiced in order to strengthen the ground member and to allow the medicine to penetrate the body via the blood.

MCNHS representatives urged that new needles be used for each individual or that the needles be sterilized in alcohol between scratchings in order to minimize the possibility of the transmission of HIV-AIDS. Ground leaders and general members viewed this as an attack on their practices and/or as an attempt to shut down the grounds. These sentiments about MCNHS's suggestions reflect the general sense of concern that ground members feel whenever government officials are perceived to be behind an activity that affects the ground members in some way (e.g., the story about the man from Washington checking on the status of Indian tribes related on pages 225-226). It was not surprising, given these beliefs, that conspiracy theories began circulating shortly after the changes were proposed.

Two theories were widely believed by ground members. The first involved the Indian Health Service (IHS), the federal agency charged with overseeing and providing health

services for the Native American population. According to this theory, the IHS, which was not directly involved in this situation and which did not send out representatives, was trying to establish a precedent for regulating ground activities. For many ground members, it was a short step from the regulation of scratching techniques to outlawing many other ground practices, with shutting down grounds as the final result.

The second theory involved Muskogee (Creek) Nation. The principal chief at this time, Claude Cox, was, at most, ambivalent about the grounds and their members. The majority of ground members considered him to be hostile to the continuation of the ground religion, citing his perceived willingness to help churches with monetary and structural problems and his lack of attention to similar ground problems. This perception of Cox caused many ground members openly to disagree with his administration and its policies. However, verbal disapproval was never transformed into electoral power, for a number of reasons (Moore 1988, n.d.) According to the second scenario, Cox had sent MCNHS representatives to the grounds to establish some control over their activities. Ground members suspected that he wished eventually to disband the grounds and divide his detractors, leading to the same outcome as that attributed to the IHS.

While neither of these scenarios came to pass, the events leading to their discussion roused the ire of almost all ground members. At this time, leaders and general members from a number of grounds attended meetings at the Tribal Towns Organization. Discussions about the situation also were held at the smokeshops in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations. Members of Ostvpaken, the Seminole ground, were concerned about the issue of ground dissolution and were aware of the first conspiracy theory described above. Ostvpaken was never formally approached by any MCNHS or IHS representatives, however. Nonetheless, there was a concerted effort on the part of all ground leaders to resist MCNHS's interference in their performance of ground ritual, even if it meant going to jail (which was the expected result of resistence in both scenarios). The furor over MCNHS's suggestions eventually died down as the ceremonial year drew to a close. However, the reaction to this perceived threat shows that such issues foster communication across ground boundaries and serve to unite the grounds.

Events and activities of the kinds discussed above, combined with the dances, bingos, and leaders' meetings, allow members at all Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds to interact. This interaction does not necessarily bring members from all grounds together at the same time,

nor does it happen with great frequency. However, all the ground members I have spoken with view inter-ground interaction as meaningful and believe that communication across all ground boundaries takes place.

There are a number of similarities in language use behaviors and attitudes shared by the grounds in the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community, perhaps as a result of the interaction described above. One of these is the belief that it is necessary and proper to present speeches concerning tradition and established ways of performing the ceremonies in the native language at ceremonial and indoor dances. These speeches are presented in Yuchi at the Yuchi grounds and in Mvskoke at the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. Translations are not generally offered at the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds but are offered occasionally at the Yuchi grounds. It is considered appropriate for the emcee to make speeches of this type at indoor dances as well, but these are not presented in the discourse style employed by *emponayvke*.

Speeches like this are thought to be necessary parts of ceremonies by most ground members. Members from all grounds view these speeches as one way of educating the younger members about ground history and tradition. Many also believe that speeches of this nature provide meaningful contexts for introducing children and

adolescents to the native language. Even when these speeches are translated, adult members state that both of these goals have been reached for younger members hear about ground history through the native language first.

A second language attitude common to all grounds parallels the adult members' concern about younger members hearing and understanding the native languages spoken at these grounds. There is a strong emphasis among ground members that their native languages be retained because they are markers of tribal and cultural identities. This view has caused a revival in language classes among the Yuchi, who are providing the most formalized program of language retention of all the ground clusters. Members at the Seminole ground appear to have retained their language fairly successfully, though this seems to be as much a result of members' lack of integration into the Anglo economy as it is a result of opinions about language maintenance. The Mvskoke (Creek) grounds vary in the amount of attention they pay to Mvskoke language retention strategies and how they choose to emphasize the use of the language. However, at each Mvskoke (Creek) ground members make statements about the importance of keeping Mvskoke alive on some occasions.

As mentioned above, the reason for stressing native language retention comes from a view that the language

serves as a tribal or cultural marker. This view about the symbolic content of the native languages is found at all grounds, whether Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, or Yuchi. At all grounds, the native language is considered to be one of the most, if not the most, distinctive signs of a person's inclusion in the traditional stompdance social community and/or a particular tribe. For the majority of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members, people with very limited or no fluency in Mvskoke are not legitimate members of this social community. Among the Yuchi, participation in Yuchi language classes and ability to produce limited, formulaic expressions serves to distinguish those who are sustaining a tribal identity distinct from the Mvskoke (Creek) versus those who are not. In the Yuchi community, those who are not asserting a Yuchi identity separate from a Mvskoke (Creek) identity (through means such as learning the Yuchi language or frequently participating in the Yuchi grounds or church), are considered to be, at best, marginal tribal members. In each case, then, use of the native language is a forceful symbol of one's tribal or traditional stompdance identity.

A third language use attitude shared across all grounds in the stompdance social community concerns a belief that those fluent in the native language have more knowledge about stompdance religious traditions. Ground

members also believe that the number of fluent speakers of the native languages found at the grounds is greater than that found at churches. This belief may be the result of another espoused by ground members, that ground members are adhereing to "old ways" as opposed to church members who have adopted "new ways." Fluency in the native languages is one sign that an individual has a connection to or knowledge of the old ways--tradition, folklore, subsistence strategies. Among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole, the distinction between church and ground members is very clear and, generally, implies some social and cultural separation. For the Yuchi, the distinction between church and ground members is less clear, but the view that ground members fluent in Yuchi are more knowledgeable about ground traditions commonly is held.

At this level of analysis, relatively few dissimilarities are apparent in language use behaviors and attitudes among the grounds. An argument can be made that the Yuchis' reliance on English as the primary language at the ground points out one difference between the Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole grounds. It seems, however, that the Yuchi are at one end of a continuum that contains all the grounds. This continuum ranges from high retention and use of the native language (as found at Ostvpaken, the Seminole ground) to great reliance on English (as found at

the Yuchi grounds). Mvskoke (Creek) grounds fall in between these two points, exhibiting varying amounts of Mvskoke and English language use. In effect, the Yuchis' language use is not very different from that found at Tutcenen, except that Yuchi is no longer required in the ceremonial center. When all grounds are considered, then, the Yuchi and Seminole are found to be at different points along a continuum, and are not completely separate. All points along the continuum agree wth the ideal that the native language should be preserved.

The Yuchis' insistence that proficiency in the native language is not necessary for medicine makers is yet another difference that needs to be discussed. This difference, among others, was found to be great enough to deny the existence of a single Muskogee (Creek) Nation speech community. However, when one is investigating the existence of the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community, the power of this difference decreases. The decrease occurs because, at the scale of the highest-order speech community, the underlying attitude about the symbolism of the native languages is similar, even though the linguistic practices concerning medicine-making may differ. People at the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds are aware of the Yuchis' medicine-making practices and talk about the differences when a discussion of medicine-making

occurs. However, Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole people view the differences as slight when comparing ground members to church members, tending to disregard the differences in favor of a larger, unified social community. Because of this practice, it seems that the language use difference in regard to medicine-making is not problematic at this level. Instead, it provides us with an example of variation within the speech community.

No great differences in language use behaviors and attitudes arise when all of the stompgrounds are compared. Indeed, some seemingly disparate language use behaviors were found to result from grounds' differing positions along a continuum, with no complete breaks existing between grounds. These findings, when combined with the interactional pattern tying all of the grounds together, support the existence of a single speech community encompassing all of the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds. The highest-order speech community proposed in chapter two has thus been found to exist.

Because this highest-order speech community is composed of all Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole stompgrounds, it is reasonable to assume that some intermediate-order speech communities also may cross all ground boundaries. This assumption was not tested in the previous chapter because none of the other intermediate-

order speech communities examined to this point included all grounds. It seems reasonable to explore the existence of intermediate-order speech communities that cross whatever social boundaries may exist after one has explored whether the highest-order speech community exists.

Two highly inclusive, all ground-crossing intermediate-order speech communities were proposed in chapter three: age-based and gender-based speech communities. The speech communities based on age should find older and younger ground members exhibiting different language use behaviors and attitudes. The speech communities based on gender should find male and female ground members' language use differing. These speech communities were suggested after analyzing language use patterns at a number of individual grounds and were not proposed by Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people themselves.

Age-Based Speech Communities

Analysis of the individual grounds presented in chapter three suggested that ground members' language use behaviors and attitudes differ according to age or, more precisely, generation. At a majority of grounds, differences in language use attitudes and behaviors become apparent when elder members', middle-aged members', and

younger members' linguistic practices and ideologies are compared. The question then arises, is there interaction involving members of these three generational groups and are the linguistic differences significant enough to warrant considering each generational segment to be a separate speech community? To answer this question, the interactional pattern and language use behaviors and attitudes of each generation will be examined in turn, beginning with the elder generation.

Elder Ground Members as a Speech Community

While discussing the language use behaviors and attitudes of individual grounds in chapters three and four, it was often the case that the behaviors and attitudes of the elders at the ground appeared to be somewhat different from those of younger generations. Elder ground members, those who are sixty years old and older, are more fluent in Mvskoke (Creek) or Yuchi and tend to use their native language more often in their conversations with others than do the younger members. Among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole, this generation also has great concern about the loss of the native language, primarily because this will affect the religious power of the grounds. Among the Yuchi, the elders are concerned about the loss of the language, not because of its necessity at the ground, but

because they view it as a strong link to the past, to Yuchi tribal and cultural history and tradition.

Concern about native language loss has an impact upon yet another language topic, whether the development and use of language retention strategies should be encouraged. The majority of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole elders believe that language retention strategies should be pursued, though few wish to be involved in formalized language classes or other intensive programs. Yuchi elders have been involved in the language classes described in chapter three since their inception, and are committed to continuing the classes for as long as possible. Each of the language use attitudes and behaviors described above is shared by the vast majority of elders. It is now necessary to investigate whether elder ground members interact in meaningful ways that can be shown to promote the similarities noted above.

There are at least two activities that bring together large numbers of elder stompground members fairly regularly: senior lunches and, sadly, funerals. Lunches are provided through programs funded by the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations. These meals are provided at the community centers/smokeshops throughout Muskogee (Creek) Nation (including the area in which Yuchis reside) and in the multipurpose building at the Seminole Tribal

Complex. Elders generally go to the nearest location for their lunch, but will eat lunch at another location when they are in its vacinity for some reason, such as a medical appointment. A high number of the elderly ground members I know eat these lunches, and talk about them as social events. Most think of these lunches as a means of gathering with friends throughout the week (the lunches are offered Monday through Friday) as well as a healthy meal.

Funerals are the second type of interaction that gathers large numbers of elder ground members. Elders attend the funerals of other elders and of younger stompdance members, with a higher number of elder members from different grounds tending to be found at the funerals of other elders. If the deceased was an active member in the stompdance social community, the turnout for his/her funeral generally will be very high.

The structure of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members' funerals tends to differ from that of Yuchi ground members. Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole funerals traditionally take place after the body has lain in state for four days, either at the deceased's home or at a funeral parlor, the most common sites for ground members' funerals. During this time, friends and family members are expected to stay with the body throughout the days and nights. The individuals sitting with the body are expected

to pray for the deceased and think about his/her good qualities. The prayers and thoughts may be verbalized or recited silently. This tradition is falling from common usage as family members and friends find it hard to get out of other responsibilities and funeral home owners are not always receptive to this practice. When the practice is carried out, one often finds that the majority of non-relatives in attendance are elders.

As related above, the majority of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members' funerals are conducted in funeral homes. This is generally explained as a result of the separation between church and ground beliefs--according to many ground members, most churches will not allow ground members' funerals to be conducted on their premises because ground members are not considered to be Christians. Nevertheless, ministers from Mvskoke (Creek) churches may be asked to preside over the service. Seminole ministers are not often asked to perform this function, perhaps because of the more distinct split between grounds and churches found among the Seminole people (Schultz 1995). Even when ministers are not presiding over the service, hymns often are sung and sermons, prayers, and/or eulogies often are presented in the Mvskoke (Creek) language.

The final portion of a Mvskoke (Creek) or Seminole funeral occurs when the body is interred. This may take

place in a family cemetary or a public cemetary. At the interment ceremony, friends and family gather for a final chance to say something about the deceased, with elders generally choosing to do so in Mvskoke. When those who wish to speak are finished, the coffin is lowered into the grave, at which point each person at the graveside takes a handful of dirt from that dug out of the grave and sprinkles it on the coffin. Mourners and friends tend to leave this ceremony in groups, offering support to one another. Occasionally, the deceased's family will invite those who came to the graveside to a dinner in the deceased's honor. Elders almost always attend these when they occur, spending much time reminiscing about the deceased and about their relationship with him or her. Shortly after the funeral, most ground members seek out the help of a *heles hayv*, asking him to make medicine for them so that they do not become sick from being in close proximity to a dead person.

Some aspects found at Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole funerals also occur at Yuchi funerals. There is a corpus of Yuchi hymns, though these are not as numerous as Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole hymns, and these often are sung at funerals. At the funeral of a highly esteemed member of the Yuchi tribe, one of the men fluent in Yuchi may be asked to present a sermon and/or eulogy in Yuchi. Prayers

are offered for the deceased, though most of these, unless they are said by a Yuchi elder, are not often recited in Yuchi.

Yuchi funerals differ in at least two respects from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole funerals. First, most Yuchi funerals are performed in churches, either at one of the two Yuchi churches or at a Mvskoke (Creek) church near the deceased's home. There is little separation in the Yuchi tribe between Christian church members, Native American church members, and ground members, a factor that probably supports the performance of ground members' funerals at churches. It should be noted that Yuchi ground members take medicine after a funeral as a group and that this occurs at the church at which the funeral was performed, so long as the church's leaders are agreeable.

A second aspect of Yuchi funerals that differs from those of Mvskoke (Creeks) and Seminoles, is that a meal often is served before the service begins. During this meal, all those who have come to attend the funeral service are welcome to eat in the church friendship hall and converse with others who have come for the same purpose. Long tables are arranged in the friendship hall, much as they are for Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole bingos. Individuals tend to sit next to their friends at the tables, again in a manner similar to that followed by

Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole bingo players. Conversations are carried on in much the same way as they are during bingos. At these meals, however, there is much movement of people into and out of the activity. Many come in to have a "symbolic" meal--some small portion of food to show that they appreciate the preparers' efforts and are attending the service in a spirit of friendship. The majority of people eat a little and then disperse to talk with friends or spend some time with the deceased's family who generally are sitting with the body in the church proper. Conversations during and outside of these meals are almost always carried out in English. Rarely, elders fluent in Yuchi will conduct a conversation in that language, but these do not often last for long periods of time.

Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi funerals attract elderly members from a number of stompgrounds, especially when the deceased is another elder. It is not uncommon for some church members to be present at these funerals as well, for all the deceased's friends are expected to come, no matter what their religious backgrounds may be. At a stompground member's funeral, however, the vast majority of those in attendance will tend to be adherents to the stompdance religion. It is also the case that the majority in attendance tend to be elders, even at younger members' funerals, perhaps because they are not constrained by work

schedules and other responsibilities. These factors cause funerals to be yet another sort of event that draws elderly members from throughout the stompdance community together for a meaningful, focused activity.

From the above discussion, it appears that the elderly generation of stompground members can be said to constitute their own speech community, though this should not be considered to be proven until the younger generations are investigated. There are at least two types of events that bring together this segment of ground society fairly frequently and at which communicative interaction is expected to take place. Evaluations of and observations about language use behaviors and attitudes are often aspects of elders' conversations during these activities. The effect of such interaction is apparent when elders' language use attitudes and behaviors are examined, as these are quite standard across all grounds, with the only difference concerning what the Mvskoke (Creek)/Seminole and Yuchi elders believe will be lost if their respective native languages die.

Middle-Aged Ground Members as a Speech Community

This generational cohort exhibits the most variation in language use behaviors and attitudes of the three to be explored here. When middle-aged (those from thirty to

sixty years old) ground members' native language fluency and language ideology are compared, not only across grounds, but also at each individual ground, a wide range of linguistic abilities and beliefs become apparent. These abilities and beliefs now will be discussed.

Middle-aged men and women tend to be the most active members at most grounds, primarily because they have the most energy and money to donate to the ground. While they may not necessarily hold a ceremonial position at the ground, middle-aged men often take part regularly in ground related activities. This causes many middle-aged men to be participants at the ground meetings, where they are informed about coming activities or events and are given a chance to comment on conditions at the ground. Of those who participate frequently in Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground activities, a large proportion are fluent in Mvskoke, many are only passively fluent in Mvskoke, and a smaller proportion are not fluent in Mvskoke. Those who are members but do not participate regularly in ground-related activities have a slightly different range in fluency, with most being either passively fluent or not fluent in Mvskoke. These trends hold whether one is examining Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds individually or all grounds as a cluster.

The fluency variation for middle-aged women at the

Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds tends to mirror that of the men. A majority of those women who are very involved in ground activities, many of whom are married to men who also are highly involved, tend to be fluent or passively fluent in Mvskoke. Those who are not themselves highly involved in ground activities but who are married to men who are highly involved are predominantly passively fluent in Mvskoke, though a fairly high proportion are fully fluent in Mvskoke. Women who are not highly involved and are married to men who also are not highly involved in ground activities seem to have the greatest numbers of those not fluent in Mvskoke.

Middle-aged men also are very active at the Yuchi grounds, probably for the same reasons that they are at the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. A large number of middle-aged Yuchi women also are very involved in ground activities, regardless of their mates' levels of involvement. At the Yuchi grounds, however, there are no middle-aged members of either gender who are fluent in Yuchi. As noted in chapters three and four, this is one of the most profound differences between the Yuchi grounds and the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds. At this scale of analysis, however, greater use of English at the Yuchi grounds provides an example of variation within the middle-aged speech community, if one is found to exist.

Attitudes among middle-aged Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members concerning the use of Mvskoke and English vary somewhat regularly with the range in Mvskoke fluency. Men and women who are fluent in Mvskoke and are highly involved in ground activities are very concerned about the declining state of the language. Several men and women have told me that they believe the language will die out within the next generation unless steps are taken to stop its decline. Some of these fluent middle-aged ground members, such as B.S., the *mekko* of Hokkolen ground, have organized classes at which Mvskoke is taught to the ground's younger members. At other grounds, I have noticed that middle-aged members are making a point of asking their children whether they have understood portions of elders' discussions or the *emponayv*'s speech. This did not seem to be such a common occurrence when I began my fieldwork, though I simply may not have been aware of it, and it suggests that fluent middle-aged members are becoming more active proponents of Mvskoke language learning.

A majority of those who are passively fluent in Mvskoke agree with the beliefs and actions of the fluent members. Passively fluent members who are not highly involved in ground activities are less concerned about the state of the language, however, than fully fluent members. As one woman put it,

> we don't use it much, only at the ground, so that's why I don't speak it myself. Pretty soon, I guess English will be used at some of them [the grounds]. But I think we'll be like the Spanish or Chinese and all them that come to America but never really stop speaking their language; there will always be some Mvskoke speakers around.

This sentiment is fairly common among passively fluent ground members. Some of the men are slightly concerned about losing the language because of its importance in the ceremonial center, but they often state that they are certain that enough Mvskoke speakers always will be available to carry out ground functions. Many passively fluent middle-aged members express an interest in learning more Mvskoke, but very few take active steps to do so.

There are a moderate number of middle-aged ground members who are not fluent in Mvskoke. In many ways, their attitudes toward Mvskoke language use are similar to those expressed by the fully fluent members. The vast majority of non-fluent members believe that the language is vitally important as a tribal/cultural marker and are concerned about the state of the language. Many of these people believe that language classes should be offerred by the grounds, public schools, community centers, and/or the tribe. Beliefs of this sort do not seem necessarily to correspond to a willingness to seek out teachers or classes. Instead, many of the non-fluent members remain somewhat distant from fluent members and are not as

involved in ground events as their more fluent counterparts, tending instead to seek out the companionship of others who are not fluent.

At the Yuchi grounds, similar attitudes about the language are held by almost all middle-aged members. As discussed in chapter four, the Yuchi social community is undergoing a tribal/cultural revival and the language is considered to be a significant symbol of tribal and cultural identity. Several middle-aged Yuchi ground members have been attending the classes offered by the E.U.C.H.E.E. organization in Sapulpa. Middle-aged members' attendance at these classes has not yet led to an increased number of fluent Yuchi speakers at the grounds but it does show that this group is committed to learning the language.

Some of the variation in native language fluency and attitudes about the native language may be the result of the wide range of socioeconomic and educational levels attained by members of this generation. Middle-aged ground members also vary as to residential location and family structure, both of which also may contribute to the diversity of this age cohort's linguistic behaviors and attitudes. As a general rule, Mvskoke fluency increases among middle-aged members as education and socioeconomic levels decline. It also is generally true that fluency in Mvskoke correlates highly with rural residence and

maintenance of strong extended-family relations. Mvskoke fluency rates tend to decrease as residency becomes more urban and strong family relations are found only among immediate-family members.

These correlations do not fit the Yuchi situation. Among the Yuchi, middle-aged members at all socioeconomic and educational levels are not fluent in Yuchi. Residential location and familial structure also have no impact on middle-aged members' abilities in or attitudes about the Yuchi language. The Yuchi, in regard to language use behaviors and attitudes, thus have a much more homogeneous middle-aged ground membership than do the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole.

Interestingly the differences in language use behaviors and attitudes persist despite middle-aged ground members' rather frequent interaction at dances and bingos. Middle-aged members also attend the tribal and city festivals that attract elder members. Middle-aged members have a slightly different interactional strategy at these festivals than do elder ground members, primarily because the middle-aged often have children or adolescents with them. For this reason, many middle-aged members spend much of their time monitoring or interacting with their children at these festivals. As a result, they often have less time to interact with a great number of other middle-aged

adults. This does not keep middle-aged people from describing festivals as interesting events that allow them to socialize with middle-aged members from other grounds.

Middle-aged ground members thus have the opportunity to interact frequently, and share a number of language use attitudes and behaviors. The apparent differences in language use attitudes and behaviors found in this population seem to be problematic for the proposal that a speech community composed of all middle-aged ground members exists. Variation is problematic only if one is searching for homogeneous speech communities, which will be few in number, if not non-existant, at this order. Instead, because this is a large speech community, it seems reasonable to assume that variation will occur and provides the basis for investigation of the ways variation is dealt with by community members.

Among middle-aged ground members, an attitudinal difference arises when one considers their views about the state of their native language and whether steps should be taken to strengthen their native language. Both those fluent in Mvskoke and those who are not fluent in either Mvskoke or Yuchi have similar views concerning this attitudinal criterion. Fluent and non-fluent members of Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds believe the languages (Mvskoke and Yuchi) are endangered and that their

use should be fostered among the younger generation. Among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole, these two groups (fluent and non-fluent) also are similar in that, despite their view about the language's state, neither group has made substantial efforts to promote language retention. Among the Yuchi, there has been an effort to promote language learning in the general population, old and young, ground members and non-members alike.

In contrast, the majority of passively fluent middle-aged Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members--there are no passively fluent middle-aged Yuchi ground members--do not believe the language is in a state of danger. Many are in agreement that use of Mvskoke should be encouraged, but they do not believe that they are in a position to do so. Instead, they feel that others, particularly those who are fluent, should promote the language among their family members and others who are interested. The passively fluent feel that this will cause enough Mvskoke speakers to survive in the stompdance religion and will ensure the continuation of the stompgrounds.

While seemingly disparate, these different opinions actually are located on continua. Middle-aged members' views about the state of their native language vary between 1) it is very endangered to 2) it is not endangered. On this continuum, the majority of fluent and non-fluent

members express attitudes closer to the first evaluation than to the second. The majority of passively fluent members express attitudes closer to the second evaluation than to the first. In all three sets of middle-aged members (fluent, passively fluent, not fluent in the native language) there are some members who express attitudes that differ from the majority (e.g., some fluent Mvskoke speakers believe that the language is not endangered). Middle-aged members' attitudes range enough that there is no clear demarcation between two distinct groups--those who believe the language is endangered versus those who do not.

Middle-aged members' ideas about the necessity of language retention strategies also show some variation, ranging from 1) classes or other programs are necessary to 2) little should be done. Again, members' expression of these opinions tends to correlate with their native language fluency level--those who are fluent or not fluent believe language retention programs are needed, those who are passively fluent do not believe formal programs are necessary. These are normative generalizations, however, and do not reflect the views of those who differ from the majority of those in their native language fluency group. In effect, there is no separation between those who express the first view and those who express the second regarding language retention strategies because a number of people

from each fluency group have attitudes that range from one extreme to the other.

Young Ground Members as a Speech Community

Young ground members (younger than thirty years old) exhibit language use behaviors and attitudes that differ somewhat from the older and middle-aged ground members. Perhaps the most striking of these differences is the younger generation's almost complete reliance on English. There are some younger members who are fluent or passively fluent in Mvskoke, many of whom are to be found at Ostvpaken, the Seminole ground. The number of younger members fluent or passively fluent in Mvskoke is but a minute percentage of the total number of younger members, however. There are no younger members who are fluent or passively fluent in Yuchi.

A second difference between the older generations and the younger generation involves the younger generation's attitude about native language retention. There is a striking disregard for the maintenance of the native language among the vast majority of Mvskoke (Creek), Yuchi, and Seminole youth. As one young member of Holatte told me,

> I don't think Mvskoke's gonna be much use to me. The old people talk it, but I don't think they're saying anything that's gonna help me now, you know? They're always using it to talk about old

times and all that's gone.

This attitude is echoed by many younger members at the grounds, perhaps because members of this age group tend to view the ground activities primarily as social events, not as religiously, tribally, or culturally significant events.

In general, young people remain marginal members until their early- to mid-twenties. At this time, young men are expected to participate regularly in ground activities and are expected to devote more time to ground endeavors. Young women are expected to help out at their family's camp(s) and are not expected to spend as much time socializing outside of their camp while at the ground. It is generally at this point in their lives that younger members begin to reevaluate their attitude toward their native language. As participation in ground activities increases, more pressure is exerted on younger members by elders and middle-aged members to have a high regard for their native culture and to retain its traditions and traits, one of which is the native language.

The kinds of activities that bring together members of this age group also tend to differ from those that bring together their elders. Younger members attend dances and bingos with the elders, but their activities at these events are monitored by their elders. Because parents tend to feel more secure when they know what their children are

up to, they encourage them to either remain close where their parents can see them or to gather in groups, generally with the parents' friends' children. These requests tend to limit the number of inter-ground connections developed by younger members, though it does not completely isolate groups of younger members.

While they may form many ties with other grounds' members at ground-related activities, young members have another avenue for interaction not available to their elders: schools and school activities. Many younger members are still in high school or junior high school. Members from a number of grounds attend the schools in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations. Quite a few young ground members actively participate in school sports and find themselves playing with and competing against other grounds' members. Relationships fostered through athletic and scholastic activities are displayed at the grounds as young members are allowed to gather with schoolmates from other grounds whenever they are at a dance.

Athletic activities that are not school-sponsored are another means by which contacts are made between youth from different grounds. A high number of young ground members participate in intermural sports throughout the year, including during the ceremonial season. Through play on intramural teams and in intramural tournaments, these young

members meet with members from a number of different grounds and interact throughout the year. Elder members view these activities as being very positive and important opportunities for younger members and they encourage the youth to take part in such activities.

The language use behaviors and attitudes of the younger members are distinct from those found among the elder generation but are similar to some middle-aged members. Members of this youngest generation resemble members of the eldest generation, however, in that they are rather homogeneous in their language use attitudes and behaviors, though their attitudes and behaviors are significantly different from those of the eldest generation. Members of the youngest generation have activities that bring them together with some frequency and invite meaningful interaction to take place across ground lines. These attributes--similar language use attitudes and behaviors and frequent interaction--tend to support the conclusion that this generation constitutes a speech community. As noted for the eldest and middle generations, however, proof of a distinct speech community is based on comparison of each generation's language use attitudes and behaviors with each other generation's.

Members of each generation are found to participate in a number of events that promote interaction across ground

boundaries. None but the elders' lunches are age-segregated events, and the possibility of interaction across generational lines exists at each other type of event. It appears, then, that there is no great social separation between each generation.

The language use attitudes and behaviors of each generation appear to differ, despite their interaction. Elders' greater use of the native languages is the most notable difference between theirs and younger generations. The youngest generation's almost complete reliance on English also seems to distinguish them from elder generations. However, when one notes the variation within the middle generation, the variation between the eldest and youngest generations is acceptable because the gap is bridged in the middle generation. As when native language use at the various grounds was explored above, a continuum can be shown to exist in regard to generational native language use. The eldest and youngest generations provide the endpoints (primarily native language speakers at one end, primarily English speakers at the other), and the middle generation exhibits a range between these points. One can divide the generations according to native language use, but, because the generations are on a continuum, the resulting divisions would certainly appear to be artificial and would not reflect the existence of separate speech

communities.

Thinking of the generations as parts of a whole, with variation allowed, lets us deal with another set of language use differences, that concerning attitudes about the native language. Elders express some anxiety about the state of their native language, whether Yuchi or Mvskoke. Members of the eldest generation are strongly in favor of language retention programs, though most are not actively promoting any. The majority of members of the youngest generation are not worried about their native languages, and are not interested in participating in language retention programs. As in the case of native language use variation, middle generation members' attitudes span between the two extremes provided by the eldest and youngest generations. Yet again there is no distinct separation between any of the generations on this point.

Because there are no clear social or linguistic divisions between the generations, it is not possible to state that they are separate speech communities. Seemingly significant language use differences appear when one considers each generation independent of the others, but the differences become less significant when the generations are compared with each other and the full range of variation is considered. For this reason, generationally based speech communities do not seem to

exist in the Muskogee stompdance population.

One last set of intermediate-order speech communities that crosses ground boundaries remains to be examined, that of gender-based speech communities. Just like the generation-based speech communities explored above, these were suggested in chapter three after examining the language use behaviors and attitudes exhibited at a number of grounds. As in the examination of age-based speech communities, the language use of both genders will be examined and an initial assesment of each gender's status as a speech community will be offerred. However, comparison of each gender's language use with the other's will be used to ultimately decide whether two speech communities exist.

Gender-Based Speech Communities

The existence of gender-based speech communities will be examined by comparing the language use behaviors and attitudes of male and female ground members. From the data presented in chapter three, it seems that there are linguistic differences evident among men and women when they are involved in ground activities, just as the activities in which they take part while at the ground differ. The differences and their significance in regard to speech community existence will be explored in the

following discussion.

As mentioned above, the activities in which men and women take part while at the grounds differ. In effect, the roles of men and women at the grounds are segregated, yet both sexes must perform their parts in order for the ceremonies and activities to take place. Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi men and women recognize this division of labor and social roles but do not discount or aggrandize either gender's role. This does not mean, however, that the linguistic and role differences between the sexes are glossed as insignificant or are ameliorated. Instead, it seems as though the division between the genders has helped to sustain differences in linguistic attitudes and behaviors while the necessity of both genders working for the good of the entire community has helped to keep the differences from fragmenting the social community. The linguistic differences that separate the sexes and the commonalities that they share now will be discussed.

Male Ground Members as a Speech Community

Male ground members take part in several events that promote inter-ground interaction. These events, which include dances, bingos, ceremonial stickball games, Tribal Towns Organization meetings, etc., have been described in chapters three and four and in the above discussion. Men

from different grounds thus have many opportunities to observe and evaluate each other's language use attitudes and behaviors. The many events in which they take part and the opportunities for language use evaluation which they afford satisfy the first requirement for consideration of male ground members as a speech community.

The language use behaviors and attitudes found among men from a number of different grounds now will be examined in order to discern whether they are similar throughout the population of male ground members. Men spend the majority of their time in the central area at the ground and, as described in chapter three, they spend much of this time discussing the coming ceremony and the state of the ground. At the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds, almost all of this discussion takes place in Mvskoke, according to the men with whom I have spoken. All have noted, however, that English translations must often be provided for those who are not fluent in Mvskoke. These translations are to follow Mvskoke comments because Mvskoke is viewed as the appropriate language for discussing ground matters.

At the Yuchi grounds, the men are engaged in similar activities and tend to focus much of their attention on the events that take place at the center of the ground. However, there is relatively little use of Yuchi while the men are in the central area. Instead, English is the

language used throughout the ceremonial events as this is the only language with which many of the men are familiar. While the use of English in the ceremonial center has not yet changed at the Yuchi grounds, there has been an attempt to make certain individuals at the grounds--those holding the positions of stickmen and callers--more familiar with Yuchi. This has led to greater use of Yuchi during ceremonial dances as the callers have taken to making the four calls, announcing that dancing will begin, in Yuchi. The stickmen also have begun to use Yuchi when announcing the next dance leader. Members of the Yuchi grounds are encouraged by this reincorporation of Yuchi into the ceremonies, with many stating that they feel use of Yuchi in this context is more appropriate than use of English.

Perhaps because of the belief that use of the native language is most appropriate in the ceremonial center, men at the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds are concerned about the state of their native languages. Those men who are highly involved in ground ceremonies, whether fluent, passively fluent, or not fluent in their native languages, share the view that the native languages must be strengthened. Marginal members, those who are not highly involved in ceremonies, no matter their fluency in the native languages, do not tend to share this view about retaining the languages. Marginal members will not voice

their opinion that, because they think the language will be maintained in certain families, promotion of language retention programs is unnecessary, when highly involved members are around. The view held by the highly involved members is the publicly broadcast view, and is considered to be the communal view of the men at any particular ground.

Among the men of the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds, there is a strong correlation between the amount of respect accorded someone in regard to his/her ceremonial knowledge and that individual's fluency in his/her native language. In all three types of grounds, those who are fluent in their native language are considered to be more knowledgeable and more astute in their observations about the correct performance of ground activities than those who are not fluent. The Yuchi differ from the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole, however, in that they are more willing to consider implementing changes or alternate ways of doing things that have been suggested by a fluent Yuchi speaker. At the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds, a fluent speaker's observations may be respected and often will become the basis for conversation throughout the ceremonial year, but they do not often lead to change.

Thus, for the men, the native languages are held in

high regard, particularly as they are most appropriate in the performance of ceremonial activities. There is also a common perception that those who are fluent in their native language should be treated with a great deal of respect. This is perhaps most evident among the Yuchi who are more likely to consider making changes in ceremonial performance proposed by a fluent Yuchi speaker than are the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole. At all grounds, however, those who are fluent in their native language are considered to be most knowledgeable about ceremonial performance.

Yet another language use attitude common to male ground members concerns their opinion about the states of their native languages and the steps that should be taken to maintain them. Among those who are highly involved in ground activities, no matter what their fluency level is in the native language, there is concern that the languages are in decline and language retention programs should be pursued. This is the "official" view coming from all male ground members and is espoused by everyone, whether one is a highly involved or a marginal member, fully fluent, passively fluent, or not fluent in the native language, when asked about this issue at the ground or in the company of a highly involved ground member. Many marginal members have a different view, which they only present when questioned outside of the ground and when highly involved

members are not present. Quite a few marginal members are not terribly concerned about the state of their language, either Yuchi or Mvskoke (Creek), and do not believe that language retention programs are necessary. This view is not widely advertised by these ground members, as they are apparently unwilling to openly contradict the official ground view.

The differences in the amount of native language use in the ceremonies and in opinion concerning the state of the native languages and whether strategies should be pursued to strengthen them are reasonable given the size of the population of male ground members. Both of these differences are dealt with in the population--the Yuchi are beginning to take steps to incorporate more of the native language in their ceremonies, bringing them closer to the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole language use practices. In the case of the opinions about the state of the languages, the official ground view is extolled in public by those who profess not to agree with it in private so that no open disagreement arises between those who espouse the different views. These differences, then, already are, or are being ameliorated within the population and do not appear to be serious enough to merit considering dividing male ground members into different speech communities.

The similarities in language use attitudes and

behaviors and the frequent interaction of male ground members support the conclusion that they are a speech community. This conclusion will only be verified after the language use behaviors and attitudes exhibited by male ground members are compared with those exhibited by female ground members. It is now necessary to evaluate the language use behaviors and attitudes of the female ground members first, to establish whether they constitute a speech community and, second, to determine whether their linguistic behaviors and attitudes differ significantly from those of the men.

Female Ground Members as a Speech Community

Female ground members take part in many of the same activities that the men do throughout the year. These activities often necessitate and/or facilitate cooperation and communication among women from a number of different grounds. The dances, bingos, town and tribal festivals, funerals, and meetings cause frequent and meaningful interaction to occur, thereby satisfying the first criterion for speech community existence.

The language use behaviors and attitudes of female ground members appear to differ from those of the men just as their activities do. The majority of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole women appear to use Mvskoke for two reasons,

either to communicate with those who are most comfortable speaking in Mvskoke, or to make commentary unintelligible to children and others not fluent in Mvskoke. Female ground members tend to view the Mvskoke language first as a tool, then as a ritually important language, although they are fully aware that men tend to reverse the order of these perceptions.

Women's perceptions about the use of Mvskoke seem to color their opinions about language retention programs. While many say they support school- and tribally run programs, many do not actively participate in such programs, nor do they strongly encourage their family members to participate (it should be noted that they also do not discourage participation). Of those who do take part in language retention programs, they often cite the value of Mvskoke as a tribal or cultural marker as their motivation for participating in such programs. Even women who do not participate in retention programs speak about the role Mvskoke plays in differentiating the Seminole and Mvskoke (Creek) people from other Native American tribes. Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole women are more inclined to mention this aspect of the Mvskoke language as an important reason for ensuring its survival than they are to mention its religious use.

Very few women at the Yuchi grounds are fluent in the

Yuchi language. At these grounds, women tend to insist that their children leave their vicinity before they make comments that they do not wish the children to overhear or they lower their voices while speaking, if they think those around them should not hear what they have to say. Switching into Yuchi for these purposes is not an option available to the vast majority of female Yuchi ground members so different steps are taken to keep others from hearing certain conversations or comments.

The reason for using a different strategy to keep children and others from overhearing/understanding a conversation may be explained as a result of the small number of fluent Yuchi speakers. With the rapid decline in the numbers of Yuchi speakers after World War II, fewer and fewer of today's middle-aged and younger members have ever heard Yuchi used as a means of preventing non-speakers from understanding conversation. The difference between the language attitude of Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole women and their Yuchi counterparts is thus attributable to historic circumstances operating within the Yuchi social community rather than social or cultural cleavages between the Yuchis and the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole.

Yuchi women share an awareness of the growing interest in native language retention with Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole women. Yuchi women differ from their Mvskoke

(Creek) and Seminole colleagues, however, in that they strongly encourage participation in language retention programs primarily because they consider it important for the good of the Yuchi tribe, not because it will provide them with a linguistic tool. For Yuchi women, then, their native language is important as a tribal and cultural marker and relatively little thought appears to have been given to its other, more mundane uses. When only their attitude about Yuchi's symbolic quality is explored, female Yuchi ground members' attitude mirrors Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole women's attitude about Mvskoke.

While engaged in ground-related activities, women use English more often than do men. When women are in their camps at the grounds, much of the conversation is carried out in English. At the meetings which precede ceremonial dances, benefit dances, and bingos, women spend much of their time talking to others in English. Again, when women fluent in either Mvskoke or Yuchi meet friends, either male or female, at a dance or at some other event, a great deal of code-switching between the native language and English tends to occur. Female Yuchi speakers may initiate their conversation in Yuchi but they are prone to drop Yuchi quickly and to conduct the bulk of the conversation in English. In comparison to men, women use English more frequently; a finding which holds true across all ground

boundaries.

The kinds of topics open for discussion also vary across gender lines. When they are involved in ground-related activities, whether at the ground or not, men seem constrained to talk about matters that concern the ground. Even when talking about other people's health or some other concern seemingly unrelated to a ground, men's comments often are presented in such a way that a ground is considered (e.g., when hearing that an elder member is sick, men's discussion often turns to how the ground will cope with the elder's death or what the ground is doing on the elder's behalf).

Women, on the other hand, are not bound by these constraints. Female ground members only very rarely talk about ground ritual while at the ground, generally because their comments may be taken as criticism or "angry words." Instead, women tend to focus on topics of a public nature--people's health and economic status, relationships, etc. When discussions of this nature are public, participants tend to refrain from making comments that could be construed as angry words. If the discussion is private, however, some critical personal evaluation is allowed, as long as it is not considered to be mean-spirited. Generally, women's discussions about these public topics do not entail much consideration of ground involvement.

Instead, women focus on the topic's impact at the personal or familial level.

The language use attitudes and behaviors common to female ground members, combined with the opportunities for frequent interaction, support considering them to be members in a single speech community. However, when women's language use behaviors and attitudes are compared to men's, significant differences do not arise. Men and women appear to value their native languages for different reasons--men for religious purposes, women for communicative utility--yet members of each gender recognize and include the other gender's reasons when stating why they think the languages are useful. Language retention strategies are promoted by both genders, though women are more uniform in their support.

The only true differences between men's and women's language use arise when the kinds of topics open for discussion and the manner in which they are regulated in conversation are examined. As mentioned above, women are comfortable talking about personal topics, those that are highly emotional and/or concern private matters, and keep these topics grounded in personal repercussions. Men, however, tend to be uncomfortable when talking about personal topics, preferring to discuss topics that do not have high emotional content. When they are presented with

a personal topic, men tend to shift from discussion of personal impact to a discussion of general or public impact. Women are expected to follow men's practice of discussing topics with less emotional involvement when their comments could be construed as angry words. This last observation suggests that the difference in topic management is less than it first appears, for women are expected to maintain some emotional distance from the topic within their conversations. The difference lies in the amount of emotional distance men and women are allowed to show in regard to the topic. Women can show more emotional involvement with the topic, but there is a limit that even they are not to cross.

Comparing men's and women's language use behaviors and attitudes shows that the genders are not so different in their language use. In effect, their language use behaviors and attitudes are quite similar. Members of both genders also tend to take part in the same events, which serve to promote both intra- and inter-gender communication. Thus, despite their different and separate roles at the grounds, men and women interact frequently and meaningfully and share enough language use behaviors to deny that they are two separate speech communities.

Despite finding that gender-based speech communities do not exist, it is still possible to investigate

differences in the language socialization processes boys and girls undergo. One of the more striking points of language socialization concerns how ground members' children are socialized into the gender differences in topical choice. After dances or other public events, women spend quite a bit of time chatting with their daughters about information they may have picked up from their friends. Daughters also are allowed to join in women's discussions, as long as the topic is not deemed inappropriate for younger members (e.g., the discussion does not concern marital infidelity, injuries or diseases of a grave nature, etc.). Boys, on the other hand, are not expected to take part in women's discussions, nor are they expected to offer any information their friends might have shared with them. In some cases, men will make a point of keeping their sons busy with ground-related business so as to keep them from socializing too much.

Distinct language socialization practices like these carried on throughout the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi grounds would seem to support the idea that men and women at the grounds can be considered members in different speech communities. The socialization processes cause male and female members to have different language use behaviors and attitudes but, because men and women are present when these different behaviors are displayed, both genders are

aware of the range of acceptable behaviors. Because there is frequent interaction across gender lines, however, these differences are not so powerful as to cause splits in the social community and, by extension, do not support the existence of two speech communities.

Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people, when discussing the differences between men and women, do not bring up linguistic differences. The data presented above suggest that this is not an oversight on the part of the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people. Instead, as pointed out by Bell (1990), the most salient characteristic distinguishing men from women for Mvskoke (Creek) ground members is the menstrual cycle inherent to women. In speaking with Seminole and Yuchi ground members, the same characteristic is remarked upon as the most important feature distinguishing women from men. The language use differences, then, are not great enough to support the existence of separate gender-based speech communities and are not considered to be terribly important by the members of the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community.

Utility of the Most Inclusive Intermediate-Order Speech Communities

The intermediate-order speech communities explored in this chapter spanned all grounds and were more inclusive than the intermediate-order speech communities examined in

chapter four. At this level of speech community, the linguistic behaviors and attitudes that compared are more general than those compared when analyzing the less inclusive, lower-order speech communities. It would seem, then, that sociolinguistic analysis of the higher-order speech communities would be less specific and, perhaps, less informative. However, while exploring the existence of the higher-order speech communities presented above, unexpected similarities and differences arose. In essence, these differences and similarities, which were found to be illuminating and interesting, were the reward for investigating whether ground-crossing intermediate-order speech communities exist in the Muskogee stompdance population, for these were not found to exist. However, looking for speech communities of this order may present us with problems and answers as complex and informative as those provided by analysis of lower order speech communities. The trick, it seems, lies in remembering to compare possible speech communities of the same order and recognizing that differences may signal variation within the same speech community, not the existence of distinct speech communities.

From analysis of individual grounds, consideration of both age- and gender-based speech communities appeared to be in order. These two types of speech communities were

suggested as patterns of differences in language use behaviors and attitudes arose between men and women and different generations across a number of grounds. As these patterns were explored, interesting results emerged. It was found, for instance, that the middle-aged generation's language use attitudes and behaviors serve to connect the youngest and eldest generations, so generationally based speech communities were found not to exist. This discovery lends further strength to the assertion underlying this work--that sociolinguists must evaluate whether and what kind of speech communities exist within a population rather than assuming, *a priori*, that they are there and have a particular character.

Examination of gender-based speech communities also was found to inform larger issues of sociolinguistic concern, primarily language socialization processes. After finding that male and female ground members do not form separate speech communities, it was still possible to explore whether the topic management differences observed between men and women are the products of distinct language socialization processes. Indeed, this was found to be the case, though the routines used by Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi people are not as formalized as those analyzed by Schieffelin (1990) and Ochs (1988). The findings from the Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, and Yuchi

gender-based speech communities should encourage further research into language socialization processes in these speech communities. Thus, while the attempt to find a highly inclusive intermediate-order speech community was unsuccessful, it did give us insight into processes that maintain and lessen linguistic variation.

In the ascent to more inclusive speech communities, the characteristics distinguishing one speech community from another become more and more general. At the same time, the usefulness of the speech community for discrete linguistic analysis is apparently in decline. This set of findings invites a thorough critique of the highest-order speech community as an analytic unit.

Utility of the Highest-Order Speech Community

As noted above, speech communities are most useful as comparative units, for it is through comparison that similarities and dissimilarities are found. In order for speech community comparisons to be valid, one must establish that the speech communities are of the same order. This can be done by explicitly stating what kinds of criteria are being used to discern the speech communities. The same types of criteria must be used to discern the speech communities, even when the speech communities are from different populations.

When interesting points arise across different speech communities, sociolinguistic analysis of the cause(s) and effect(s) of these similarities and dissimilarities follow in hope of explaining why people from different backgrounds communicate in the way that they do. Indeed, in this work, findings of sociolinguistic interest came out of analysis of comparable speech communities found within the same social community. It seems justifiable, then, to propose other highest-order speech communities comparable to the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community in order to examine the usefulness of speech communities of this size.

At least four other high order speech communities analogous to the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community can be proposed to exist. Two of these, the Muskogee Baptist church speech community and the Muskogee Methodist church speech community are hypothesized to exist among the general Muskogee population, which also contains the stompdance speech community. The third and fourth hypothesized highest-order speech communities are hypothesized to exist outside of the Muskogee population, being made up, respectively, of Cherokee stompground members and Shawnee stompground members. In each case, the Muskogee stompground speech community has some social or cultural properties in common with the other proposed

highest-order speech communities.

While it is not within the scope of this work to prove the existence of each of the four putative highest-order speech communities, it is necessary to explain why each was proposed. Both the Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist speech communities were suggested after speaking with Muskogee people, the majority of whom see a significant social division between members of each proposed speech community. The reason for separating the Baptist and Methodist speech communities, rather than proposing one speech community made up of all Muskogee church members, stems from my acquaintance with the types of events that bring together members of these two denominations. Baptist and Methodist churches are arranged in denominationally separate "fourth Sunday" networks, which bring together members of at least four churches on alternate Sundays. (These "fourth Sunday" networks suggest that churches cluster in a manner similar to the penultimate-order speech communities found among the grounds). Members of Baptist and Methodist churches also meet at summer encampments and church fundraisers held throughout the year. Because these activities tend to attract members from same-denomination churches, it seems safe to suggest that the speech community criterion of frequent, meaningful interaction only occurs among churches within a denomination and, from

these data, does not appear to occur across denominational lines.

The two other proposed highest-order stompdance speech communities are split for reasons similar to those used to divide the Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist speech communities. In all honesty, I am not very well acquainted with the Cherokee or Shawnee stompdance social communities. However, from what I have observed at the Muskogee stompgrounds and in discussions with Muskogee stompdancers, the Cherokee and Shawnee stompdancers appear to have separate interactional patterns. According to some Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole ground members, the Cherokee grounds have an activity schedule that keeps members involved in Cherokee ground activities almost every weekend of the year, an observation that is supported by the low number of times I have noted Cherokee dancers at a Muskogee ground. The Shawnee grounds are not described as being so interconnected or self-involved, but they are noted as being separate from the Muskogee and Cherokee stompdance social communities, again supported by my own observations. The reports of distinct interactional patterns support separating these two sets of grounds into distinct speech communities.

My work in the Muskogee community has brought me into contact with quite a few Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee

Methodist church members. My experience has been that the Muskogee Baptists tend to use Mvskoke more in their services and daily lives than do Muskogee Methodists. This is not to claim that only Baptists have retained Mvskoke. Rather, a larger number of Baptist church members claim to be fully fluent and there appears to be greater use of Mvskoke in Baptist services than I have found in talking to Muskogee Methodists. Within both speech communities, however, the membership displays a range of fluency, much like that noted in the stompdance speech community.

Also within these speech communities, the men's and women's language use seem to differ in ways similar to those found at the grounds. I have been told that church leaders are supposed to speak about church matters in Mvskoke, especially when the leaders may need to ask for divine guidance in order to decide the matter (e.g., choosing a new deacon). From my discussions with both Baptist and Methodist church members, Baptists claim to uphold this tradition more than Methodists, many of whom state that this is the way it should be done but go on to say that it is not. This may be partly owing to the slightly lower number of fluent Mvskoke speakers in the Methodist population or it may reflect a greater degree of assimilation in regard to the performance of leadership positions at Methodist churches. In effect, these findings

resemble the differences between the Yuchi grounds' and the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds' respective use of English and Mvskoke as the language of ceremony.

In these rather general observations, it is clear that there is really very little that decisively differentiates the Muskogee stompground speech community from the Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist speech communities. If the speech communities identified by denomination were examined from the ground up, other linguistic factors may appear that could cause one to consider them to be separate and discrete. However, without such fine-grained analysis to draw upon, the primary difference between these speech communities appears to be based upon social differentiation, not linguistic differentiation. This suggests that an even more inclusive, pan-Muskogee speech community could be hypothesized to exist, which could account for the lack of differences among the three speech communities just compared. Here, then, is a case similar to that encountered when exploring gender-based speech communities, as social differentiation does not equate with linguistic differentiation and the existence of distinct speech communities is not supported.

It appears reasonable to compare the Muskogee stompdance speech community with the Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist speech communities, for members of each

are bound to come into contact with members of the others at some point in their day-to-day experience. Communication of this sort across speech community lines may be another factor accounting for the apparent lack of differences between these speech communities. The reason for comparing the Muskogee stompdance speech community with the Cherokee and Shawnee stompdance speech communities rests on the observation made above; Muskogee stompdancers interact with Cherokee and Shawnee stompdancers with some frequency. Whether this correlates with a relatively low number of language use differences now will be explored.

When the Muskogee stompdance speech community is compared to the Cherokee and Shawnee speech communities, some linguistic differences are readily apparent. This is not terribly surprising, for neither the Cherokee nor Shawnee speak a Muskogean or Yuchian language, so those Cherokee and Shawnee who speak their native language speak a language unintelligible to Muskogee stompdance members. I have only observed Cherokee and Shawnee stompground members at dances hosted by Muskogee grounds, so I am unable to compare language use at Muskogee grounds with language use at the Cherokee and Shawnee grounds. However, when Cherokee and Shawnee people are visiting with their Mvskoke (Creek), Seminole, or Yuchi hosts, they follow many of the same conventions described previously: "angry words"

are not spoken, women speak about personal topics as such but men speak about the topic as it relates to their ground, and stompdancers fluent in one of the native languages are characterized as being very knowledgeable about ground traditions. These language use behaviors are thus common to those who take part in the stompdance religion, no matter what their tribal identity may be.

From such very preliminary evidence, it seems that the highest-order stompdance speech communities are very similar. Indeed, it seems that the only real difference revolves around the native language used at the grounds. This is not so striking when we remember that different native languages, Mvskoke and, to a limited but growing extent, Yuchi, are used at grounds within the Muskogee stompdance speech community itself. It was actually found that the difference in native language use at the Yuchi, Mvskoke (Creek), and Seminole grounds was not significant enough to deny that these sets of grounds are incorporated into a single speech community. This observation suggests that if the highest-order Cherokee and Shawnee stompdance speech communities were examined from the ground up and they were found to share the qualities listed above with the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community, then the existence of an even more inclusive pan-stompdance speech community should be explored.

From the results of these two cursory comparisons of the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community with four other hypothetical highest-order speech communities, two important points emerge. First, in both comparisons, the proposed highest-order speech communities were so similar in language use behaviors and attitudes that it appears to be more reasonable to consider them as parts of an even larger, more inclusive speech community. This is, to some extent, to be expected because each of the lower-order speech communities found to exist also were found to nest inside even larger speech communities. The Muskogee stompdance speech community was proposed to be the highest order in this work simply because the bulk of my evidence concerns stompground members' language use behaviors and attitudes. If I had been able to perform similar analysis on church members' language use in this work then it would have been logical to propose a church and ground inclusive speech community. As a corollary, finding many similarities among the church and ground speech communities suggests that it may be inaccurate to separate these three Muskogee speech communities.

A similar argument can be made against considering the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community to be unique in comparison to other highest-order stompdance speech communities, namely the Cherokee and Shawnee.

Members of these three speech communities were shown to share a number of language use behaviors. They were found to have enough in common to suggest that they may simply be parts of a larger speech community. Without more detailed analysis of the Cherokee and Shawnee stompdance speech communities, this suggestion should only be considered as such, further proof must be offered before we can categorically state that the more inclusive speech community exists.

The second point, which follows, is relevant to the investigation of the usefulness of the highest-order speech community. In the comparisons carried out previously, it became clear that the greatest distinction between the higher-order speech communities concerned social or cultural differences, not linguistic differences. It appears, then that these units may be better used to inform sociocultural analyses of these populations rather than sociolinguistic analyses. Thus, while members of the target population may assert that there are clear social distinctions between particular units, sociolinguists should not assume that they will find linguistic distinctions correlating with the social distinctions. This observation may compel us to focus on similarities in language use among socially differentiated groups where we were wont to focus on differences in language use.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The analytical concept of speech community, so central to sociolinguistic study, has always been problematic, primarily because it is so ill-defined (Dua 1981, Williams 1992). Before the development of sociolinguistics as a distinct field of study, linguists had realized that language, culture, and society were intertwined (Sapir 1921:3-4, 147-150, 192-196; Bloomfield 1933:29-54). Although the ways in which language, culture, and society were thought to influence each other varied, depending on the theoretical focus.

Bloomfield's (1933:29-54) definition and discussion of the speech community concept, was one of the first attempts to work through some of the problems inherent in the concept. Bloomfield noted many of the problems relevant to current usage of the concept. Bloomfield suggested that the frequency of interaction between members could be used to define the subgroups within a speech community exhibiting different linguistic usages. He was not explicit about the frequency of interaction necessary to differentiate among the subgroups. He also noted that deciding exactly what constitutes the "same system of speech signals" and deciding where to draw the line between speech communities were problems, and they have not been successfully resolved (Bloomfield 1933:53-54).

Bloomfield's concern with variation and the need to consider the effects of social relations on language were discarded by most academic linguists after Chomsky (1957; 1965). The primary goal of linguistics, under Chomsky's theory, was to discover universal rules governing language. To this end, linguists had to move away from considering language in social context to analysis of language as a system outside society and/or culture. Linguists were to uncover the linguistic rules known to "ideal speakers/ hearers" of a language and were not to worry about linguistic variation unless it pointed to different rules.

When sociolinguistics was developed in the 1960s, one of its tenets was to move beyond the scope of Chomskian theory, to rediscover the imperfect speaker/hearer as he or she operates in the real world. To do this, linguists again were faced with the challenge of identifying units for study, so as to be able to consider social and cultural factors in their analysis of language use variation. Once again, the concept of speech community was raised, though it was found to be as problematic as before.

Social and Linguistic Criteria

As pointed out in chapter two, Gumperz, Hymes, and others have struggled to arrive at a satisfactory definition of speech community. In all cases, the speech

community is based on both social and linguistic criteria (Dorian 1982:30-31; Dua 1981:89-117; Gumperz and Hymes 1972:16; Hymes 1964:385-387, 1974:47). In order to be considered a speech community member, one must be able to interact appropriately both in a social and linguistic manner. However, because the social and linguistic criteria used to delimit one speech community from another or have never been codified, comparative analyses are suspect. Internal analyses of speech communities also are suspect because the means of deciding who is and who is not a member appears to be rather arbitrary.

Sociolinguistic works generally do not discuss the ambiguity of the social and linguistic variables used to define the speech community. Studies of large-scale, heterogeneous groups tend to focus on social criteria as the primary means of defining the speech community, under the assumption that distinctive linguistic criteria will reflect the socially bounded group (e.g., Jahangiri and Hudson (1982) who correlated the use of ten liguistic variables with education, age, and gender in Tehran). This strategy is problematic because many social criteria are "fuzzy"; individuals may promote or drop ethnic and cultural identities, for example, depending upon the situation. Another problem arises when we realize that sociolinguists assert that those who belong to the

delimited social unit are expected to share a set of linguistic codes and rules governing their use. With this assumption, we become incapable, indeed, we are forced not to, deal with heterogeneity in our speech community.

Those who study smaller groups tend to focus on a particular linguistic variable or small set of variables (e.g., Russell's (1982) investigation of the use of two phonological features in a network of twenty-four Mombasan Swahili speakers). Those who exhibit these variables are considered to be part of the speech community, while those who do not exhibit them are outside the speech community's boundaries. Speech communities defined according to linguistic variables tend to be rather small and the amount of variation must be, by definition, limited. This solves the problem of heterogeneity, but it creates another uncertainty: Whether the findings from a speech community of this size, are generalizable to a larger, more heterogeneous population. Generally, this problem is not dealt with, for people who perform these kinds of studies often do not try to generalize beyond the social variables they identified in their sample (e.g., the Milroys' (1992) work in Belfast).

What I have tried to do in this work is to find a way to resolve these problems, to make speech community a more useful analytical concept for sociolinguists. In doing so

I have retained the most basic principal, that both social and linguistic criteria must be used to define a speech community. However, my investigation of a number of speech communities among the Muskogee stompdance population has shown that the linguistic and social criteria used to define the speech community affect the kind of information we gain. The ways in which various orders of speech communities were found and defined within the Muskogee stompdance population now will be summarized, as will their utility for socioliguistic research.

Establish Speech Community Existence

One basic, innovative, proposal in this work is that sociolinguists must prove the existence of a speech community before beginning an analysis. While I chose my research population according to a cultural practice they hold in common (their religious system), I did not assume that this population was a single speech community. The cultural factor served only to differentiate this population from others in the overall Muskogee population, without implying that linguistic differences should follow. The act of discerning speech communities was still to be performed.

After choosing the research population, it was necessary to discern what, if any, social divisions

stompdancers recognize. This was done because stompdancers might draw divisions according to linguistic differences. Even when they did not offer linguistic differences as reasons for separating social groups, variation in interactional patterns and linguistic behaviors could be present. Muskogee stompdancers cited four types of social identities available to people in their population: individual ground, tribal, national, and general stompdance identities. Each of these, because it had been identified by the stompdancers themselves, needed examination to determine whether linguistic distinctions followed the social distinctions. Where linguistic differences were not associated with social differences a speech community was not considered to exist. The reverse also was true. Thus, speech communities exist when linguistic differences and social differences were coterminous.

Speech Community Ranking and Nesting

The size and complexity of each putative speech community was considered before the existence of each was explored. From this, a rank-order system was proposed. The smallest, most homogeneous speech community is considered to be the lowest order and the largest, most heterogeneous speech community is considered to be the highest order. This arrangement allows for the "nesting"

of speech communities. Noting how speech communities fit within each other should enable us to study "verbal repertoire and the problems involved in its acquisition, use, function and changes in terms of sociolinguistic constructs at different degrees of abstraction at micro and macro levels" (Dua 1981:88).

The speech communities found within the Muskogee stompdance population do, indeed, nest and provide information about various sociolinguistic constructs. The individual stompgrounds are the lowest-order speech communities. At this micro level, structural differences are paramount in discerning the speech communities. The differences this work explored concerned the ways in which the English and Mvskoke or Yuchi languages are used at the grounds, the types of speech events in which members take part, and attitudes about speech events and language use. It also would have been possible to map use of particular linguistic variables at this level of speech community (e.g., phonological or morphological variables). The linguistic information was combined with interactional and relational data (cohesion and multiplexity/uniplexity tables). Speech communities of this order are defined by both discrete linguistic criteria and frequency of interaction. In effect, Bloomfield's definition of speech community fits this lowest order.

It is necessary to point out, however, that different lowest-order speech communities were not proven to exist until they had been compared with another speech community of the same order for their linguistic and interactional differences. Among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds examined in chapter three, all were found to differ both in linguistic and interactive patterns. The Yuchi grounds, however, do not differ from one another according to linguistic measures, nor are their memberships' interactional patterns circumscribed by ground. For these reasons, the Yuchi grounds were not considered to be individual speech communities, but the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds were.

Use as Comparative Units

This points out a second, vital theme of this work: Speech communities offer us a valuable unit for comparison. Because the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds differ both in linguistic and social ways, we can investigate discrete linguistic variables at each of these grounds. It would then be permissable to hypothesize about how social factors affecting each ground also affect the linguistic variables and their distribution. Among the Yuchi, however, one would not be able to limit one's research on a linguistic variable to the membership of one ground without

inviting criticism of the size of one's sample. It also would be invalid to discuss how social factors affecting each Yuchi ground also affect distribution of the linguistic variables. Because the Yuchi grounds have been shown not to be distinct speech communities, linguistic variables must be investigated across a larger group of people and hypotheses about the impact of social factors must consider the impact on the larger group. As a corollary, one cannot take findings from a single Mvskoke (Creek) ground and compare them with the Yuchis because they are speech communities of different orders.

At the macro level, the linguistic criteria for membership in the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community becomes more ideological and less behavioral. Interaction remains a factor for speech community membership, but frequency of interaction is almost impossible to chart. Instead, one must establish that the means for interaction exist and allow most members to interact with one another fairly frequently. These criteria are satisfied by the Muskogee stompdance population and were tentatively identified as a speech community.

Remembering the tenet that speech communities must show distinctive characteristics, the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community appeared not to exist.

When compared with four other high-order speech communities, the Muskogee stompdance speech community did not appear to differ significantly in regard to language ideology. (It should be pointed out that the comparison was less than complete, and the findings resulting from this comparison should be read with some caution). Because the social differentiation did not occur in tandem with linguistic differentiation, it was not possible to consider the Muskogee stompdance speech community as a separate speech community. If further analysis reveals social and linguistic differences among these putative high-order speech communities, then the existence of distinct speech communities will have been established.

Penultimate-Order Speech Communities

In moving from the lowest- to higher-order speech communities, it was necessary to propose the existence of a new type of speech community--the penultimate-order speech community. This speech community is discerned by examining the interactional patterns of lowest-order speech communities. Where lowest-order speech communities are found to form clusters, we next investigate the language use behaviors and attitudes of the constituent speech communities. If language use is similar among these frequently interacting speech communities, a penultimate-

order speech community has been indicated.

This order of speech community is a useful addition to our repertoire. Penultimate-order speech communities make possible movement from the lowest-order to higher-order speech communities. Penultimate-order speech communities thus provide the bridge between the fine-grained analyses generally produced in analyses of lowest-order speech communities and the coarser, more general analyses of higher-order speech communities. They provide the connection by offering us an incremental step from the lowest orders to higher orders. Instead of losing sight of the variation discovered in the lowest orders, we can see how that variation is managed at higher orders. Variation discovered at lower orders also can influence the numbers of speech communities we might hypothesize in the population under study.

In exploring management of variation, we noted that some of the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds shown to be lowest-order speech communities had differing ideas about the semantic category of "angry words" and the kinds of activities that should be pursued to maintain the Mvskoke language. At the penultimate order, members of the grounds exhibiting these different behaviors and attitudes must contend with the attitudinal and behavioral expectations of other grounds' members. It was found that when people from

differing grounds interact, they recognized and accommodated behavioral and attitudinal differences. For instance, Osten ground's apparent lack of interest in incorporating Mvskoke language retention strategies differs from the other two grounds in their penultimate-order speech community, both of which actively encourage use of Mvskoke by younger members. The other grounds are willing to take Osten's *mekko*'s statement that the ground may begin language classes as proof that Osten has the same view about language retention even though they have not instituted a retention program.

Penultimate-order speech communities also were useful in integrating the Yuchi grounds into the analysis. When the lowest-order speech communities were investigated, it was found that the Yuchi grounds did not form separate speech communities. At that point, it was impossible to compare the language use behaviors and attitudes with the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds simply because these units differed in scale. The penultimate-order speech communities among the Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole grounds offered units that were equivalent to that of the Yuchis. In this way, the Yuchis could be considered as analysis turned to even higher orders of speech communities. Concluding that the Yuchi grounds are equivalent in scale to Mvskoke (Creek) and Seminole penultimate-order speech

communities also allows us to investigate this situation's origins and maintenance rather than simply classifying the Yuchi grounds as an anomaly.

The existence of penultimate-order speech communities allow us to investigate whether the variation found among the lowest-order speech communities is maintained or relinquished at the next higher order. Discovery of the penultimate-order communities also allows us to formulate reasons for the spread, retention and abandonment of variation. At the scale of the penultimate-order speech community, we are working with speech communities small enough to enable us to consider many of the variables influencing individuals' language use. At the same time, we are working with communities large enough to permit us to generalize our findings to a speech community of higher orders.

Focus on Variation

As mentioned above, both social and linguistic variation are necessary to prove the existence of distinct speech communities. Exploration of speech communities of increasing orders provides us with a means of examining how the speech community deals with variation. This brings up a third point about this work. It is necessary in working up from the lowest speech community orders to higher orders

to first chart variation and then discover whether and how the variation is managed. If the linguistic variation continues at the higher order and causes such differences in linguistic behavior or attitudes that it makes interaction across lower-order speech community boundaries impossible, then the variation is not dealt with at a higher order and no higher-order speech community exists. When that variation is accommodated, a higher-order speech community may exist. Then it is necessary to show that the proposed higher-order speech community contrasts with some other same-scale speech community.

An ability to note and then explore variation, followed by an emphasis on comparison allow sociolinguists to deal with heterogeneity in the speech community. As a case in point, two speech communities were proposed after the lowest-order speech communities were explored, one set based on generational language use differences, another based on gender language use differences. When these proposed speech communities were explored, the gender- and age-based language use variation evident in the individual grounds was found to be pertinent at higher levels. However, after comparison of the same-scale speech communities (three in the case of age-based speech communities, two in the case of gender-based speech communities), it was determined that the proposed speech

communities did not differ significantly. In fact, comparison of the interactional patterns and language use behaviors and attitudes of the three hypothetical age-based speech communities demonstrated that the three were on a continuum, and no clear division in interactional patterns separated the age-based groups. In examining language use, the youngest and oldest generations displayed the behaviors and attitudes that determined the endpoints, and the middle generation's behaviors and attitudes spanned between these points. Because this population is large, variations of this sort are to be expected and, thanks to the knowledge about each group's language use behaviors and attitudes supplied by analysis of lower-order speech communities, it was found not to be clearly divisible.

Age- and gender-based speech communities were not the only ones found not to exist. The analytically uninteresting Seminole Nation speech community consists of a single ground. There is no comparable Muskogee (Creek) nation speech community composed of the Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. Rejecting the existence of a Muskogee (Creek) Nation speech community was supported by the several differences in language use behaviors and attitudes among the Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) grounds.

Comparison of the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi language use patterns showed both similarities and differences. For

each group, use of their native language signals a tribal identity. However, the language (Yuchi or Mvskoke) used, the tribal identity, and the divisibility of the tribal identity all differ. Stories about the role of language in preserving tribal identity and heritage told by members of both tribal groups are similar, though reference to a historical basis is not claimed for the Yuchi version. The concept of angry words is common to both Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi ground members. The last, and perhaps most telling difference in language use attitude, concerns the use of the native language in the ceremonial arena. Mvskoke (Creek) ground members cannot conceive of ritual performance without Mvskoke. The Yuchi, however, do not view use of their language as central to the performance of their rituals.

Such overwhelming linguistic differences, which was first noted at a lower order and is maintained at this higher order, suggest that the Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) grounds do not hold out a common set of linguistic values. At the national level, then, the Yuchi and Mvskoke (Creek) have not established a means of managing the variation so that it does not hamper interaction. This is mirrored in members' views about the differences between the Mvskoke (Creek) and Yuchi grounds. Members of both sets of grounds note that their religious practices, interactional

patterns, and identities are somewhat separate. It is not until one reaches an even higher order that members begin to speak of being unified. At the higher order, however, language ideology and social ideology, not practice, become the important traits for comparison.

Examination of the tribally and nationally defined speech communities based on stompground members' identification of important social distinctions led to an examination of the existence of speech communities distinguished by the language spoken at the constituent grounds. This appeared necessary after noting that dividing the grounds according to tribal identity obscured some interesting language use similarities and differences. The ground clusters making up the speech communities differentiated by the language spoken are not recognized by the members of the Muskogee stompdance community. According to ground members, the language spoken at a ground and its tribal affiliation are the same. However, after having worked with members of the Mvskoke (Creek) grounds, I found that the Oklahoma Seminole dialect of Mvskoke is spoken at one of these grounds. This ground frequently interacts with the Seminole ground, a practice that appears to promote the use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect at this Mvskoke (Creek) ground. Without this type of knowledge and the concept of a language-based speech

community, it would be necessary to classify the use of Oklahoma Seminole at a Mvskoke (Creek) ground as an anomaly. By creating a language-based speech community, however, the reasons for this linguistic behavior can be shown and discussed.

Consider Both Emic and Etic Observations

Divisions were drawn for two types of speech communities, the penultimate-order and language-based speech communities, not suggested from members' observations. One speech community based on members' observations, that of the Muskogee (Creek) nation, was not found. These results should be regarded as a warning against putting too much faith in members' perceptions of community divisions when hypothesizing how speech communities can be differentiated. We should be warned against thinking that social divisions always will lead to speech communities as well, for neither gender- nor age-based speech communities could be discerned. Instead, the language use differences I had suspected would coordinate with separate speech communities were simply found to be different points on a continuum. Without careful evaluation, it would have been easy to conclude that linguistic differences denoted separate speech communities. This serves as another reminder that we cannot assume

speech communities exist because we think we see meaningful social or linguistic differences, we have to prove they are there.

Proving the existence of the speech communities we wish to investigate appears to be a great deal of work, and it is. Investigating all orders of speech communities within a population provides us with rich detail about the range of language use behaviors and how differences are ameliorated. Because we can draw from fine-grained analyses of the lowest orders as we concern ourselves with higher orders, we no longer need to explain away variation higher up. Instead, we can chart where the variation comes from, what it signifies, how and why it is maintained and, possibly, how it arose. We should take care to note the dynamics within the speech community and how the speech community is positioned in the wider world. In this way, our descriptions and interpretations will not be pat answers that seem to flow from our predetermined theoretical view.

Explicit Definitions of Speech Communities

Establishing and clearly stating what order speech community we are working with is another important step. Explicitly defining the criteria that differentiate the speech community orders in our study population is

essential to verifying the validity of comparisons across populations. As mentioned above, speech communities are useful as comparative units. But, to perform a valid comparison we must be certain that similar units are being contrasted.

Imprecision in definition and scaling might have allowed us to compare the Muskogee stompdance speech community with a single Muskogee church speech community. However, as shown in chapter five, the constituent social units in the Muskogee church speech community do not form a single, unified speech community. Thus, comparison of the largest religiously based speech communities would not have been valid if the grossest definition of religious differences had been used (Christian versus traditional). The two major denominations within the Christian population exhibited both linguistic and interactional differences, necessitating considering them to be two distinct highest-order speech communities. The resulting speech communities, Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist, were similar in structure and interactional pattern to the Muskogee stompdance speech community. Thus, the conclusions drawn after comparing these three communities are perhaps more valid than those that would have resulted from comparison of the Muskogee stompdance speech community with a general Muskogee church speech community.

This imprecision affects another aspect of sociolinguistic analyses, the need to compare different social and linguistic characteristics at different orders of speech community. It was found that lowest-order speech communities are useful for analysis of discrete linguistic behaviors and attitudes. Attitudes concerning particular speech acts (e.g., angry words) or speech styles (e.g., use of Mvskoke versus English) were investigated in the lowest-order speech communities. Analysis of the interactional frequency and strength at the individual grounds also was precise. Differences among grounds in both the linguistic and interactive spheres were indicative of separate speech communities. Movement to higher orders necessitated greater generalization in describing and analyzing members' attitudes and interactional patterns. Instead of attitudes concerning distinct speech acts, general attitudes about the symbolic character of the native languages and their use were investigated. At this order it was only necessary to show that members of the putative speech community had ample opportunity to interact with others, not to discern the exact frequency of the interaction. Higher orders of speech communities are useful primarily for comparison of language use attitudes, especially as these concern topics of a relatively general nature (i.e., what does the

language symbolize? Where is it appropriate and/or necessary?).

Utility of the Various Orders

This brings us to the last aspect of this work to be discussed, analysis of the utility of the various orders of speech communities. As mentioned above, lowest-order speech communities are the units that allow us to investigate particular linguistic variables. Analysis of several lowest-order speech communities provides us with rich detail, a view into the range of variation within a given population. The raw data afforded by the kind of micro analysis necessary to discern the lowest-order speech communities is beneficial in examining higher-order speech communities.

Measures created by network analysts were used in the investigation of the lowest-order speech communities among the Muskogee stompdancers. When one of the network analysis measures, multiplexity/uniplexity (M/U) ratios, of several grounds were compared, an interesting pattern emerged. Higher M/U ratios correspond with higher unilingualism at the grounds, whether the language used was English or Mvskoke, and less differentiation in language use along generational and gender lines. Lower M/U ratios, on the other hand, correspond with higher multilingualism

at the grounds and a greater amount of difference in language use along generational and gender lines. Were network analysts and others who study lowest-order speech communities to compare their findings across speech community lines, correspondences like these might be discovered in a number of different social communities. This could offer some valuable insight into the reasons for linguistic variation within social groups, as well as provide reasons for variation across social groups. Unfortunately, conclusions drawn from lowest-order speech communities cannot immediately be projected onto the larger population. For that, we must move to higher orders of speech communities.

Penultimate-order speech communities allow us to move from the discrete analysis of the lowest-order speech communities to much higher orders. These penultimate-order speech communities are not units identified by ground members, nor are they differentiated according to easily specified social criteria. Instead, they were discerned by analyzing the social and linguistic connections between grounds.

Ground interaction and language use styles pattern in interesting ways. We found that the lowest-order speech community containing the Yuchi grounds is comparable to the penultimate-order speech communities among the Mvskoke

(Creek) and Seminole grounds. Ostvpaken, the sole Seminole ground, was found to interact frequently and share language use behaviors and attitudes with two Mvskoke (Creek) grounds. This discovery led to the examination of an intermediate-order speech community not based upon emically identified differences, but which provided a better fit with the data.

Penultimate-order speech communities also were useful in analyzing whether and how differences among the lowest-order speech communities were dealt with at higher orders. It was recognized that different language use behaviors and attitudes are accepted by members of the same penultimate-order speech community. Often these different views or behaviors are incorporated into the language use behaviors and attitudes of the penultimate-order community, as happened with the category of "angry words" among the members of the Hvmken, Lane, Cate, Epaken, and Holatte. Among these grounds, the category of angry words allows for Hvmken and Cate members' conceptualizations of this practice, each of which differs slightly from that of the other grounds' members. Allowance for these rather singular usages shapes the conceptualization of this linguistic behavior for the entire cluster of grounds, for their idea about this category differs from other penultimate-order speech communities' ideas. The point is,

however, that investigation of this order of speech community permits us to observe how differences are handled.

Examination of intermediate-order speech communities suggests that these larger speech communities are perhaps less useful than we had previously thought. Among the Muskogee, tribally based speech communities were found, but their utility was limited because they caused more analytic problems than they solved. The major problem--use of the Oklahoma Seminole dialect at a Mvskoke (Creek) ground--was not explained or acknowledged in the tribally based speech community. This problem was resolved, however, when speech communities were divided according to the language used at their constituent grounds. Etic observation was necessary to arrive at the resulting speech communities because ground members consider a ground's tribal identity and the language its members speak to be one and the same. Thus, a speech community based on the easily identifiable social criterion of tribal identity was found to obscure interesting linguistic variation.

The exploration of possible gender- and age-based speech communities also was intriguing. These speech communities are the kinds that most sociolinguists analyze--those that contain relatively large, heterogeneous populations. In order to discern the existence of age- and

gender-based speech communities, the language use and interactional patterns for both genders and three generations were examined. As each particular group was evaluated, it seemed to satisfy the criteria for a speech community. In each case, the target population showed shared linguistic attitudes or behaviors and events promoting interaction. According to these measures, the three generations and both genders should be considered speech communities. However, comparing both gender-based speech communities and comparing all three generational speech communities showed no distinct differences among them. In effect, there is not enough distance between them to merit considering them distinct speech communities.

A similar situation arose when the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community was examined. This was the most inclusive speech community proposed at the outset, expected to be made up of all grounds in the Muskogee (Creek) and Seminole Nations. Analysis of the most general language use behaviors and attitudes exhibited by members of all grounds and their interactional patterns suggested the existence of this speech community.

The utility of this order of speech community is circumscribed because the linguistic behaviors and attitudes used to define it are very general. The broad nature of the linguistic attributes necessary to conclude a

speech community of this order exists makes it useful only for very general analyses. Indeed, one cannot pursue fine-grained analysis at this level. The differences that are likely to arise under detailed analysis would suggest that the highest-order speech community does not exist (i.e., one is likely to find differentiation within the highest-order speech communities as well as between them).

A problem concerning the existence of the highest-order Muskogee stompdance speech community arose when it was compared with four other putative highest-order speech communities. Two of these, the Muskogee Baptist and Muskogee Methodist speech communities were suggested because of divisions within the Muskogee social community as identified by Muskogee people. In effect, Muskogee people view religious (social) differences to be meaningful and deep enough to be the bases for dividing their population according to religious lines.

Another set of highest-order speech communities was proposed for the Cherokee and Shawnee stompdance populations. These groups share the religious beliefs and practices of the Muskogee stompdance community. Members of each of these communities recognize that they differ according to tribal affiliation and the native language spoken at the grounds.

No significant differences in language use behaviors

and attitudes were found when comparing the Muskogee stompdance speech community with each of these four speech communities. The use of different native languages at these grounds was the only substantive difference among them--not a point of great sociolinguistic insight. Instead, their many commonalities made it logical to suggest that each of these "highest-order" speech communities was simply a socially divided part of even larger speech communities. In effect, these speech communities were not separate entities according to linguistic criteria once they were compared with other speech communities of the same order. It may be that speech communities of this sort, divided according to the most general social criteria, do exist in some cases. However, the fact that this was not found to be so when comparison of same-level speech communities was attempted among the Muskogee population should serve as a further warning that speech communities identified by social criteria, no matter how compelling, must be proven to exist before they can be used in sociolinguistic analyses.

This is not to suggest that analysis of language use patterns according to age, gender, or some other social criterion is not fruitful, because it pointed out some variations within the community. The variation was not found to be both socially and linguistically devisive,

however, and did not cause different speech communities to emerge. Exploration of those variations discovered in analysis of lower orders, while not producing different higher order speech communities, brought us closer to understanding how variation is located in the community and how it is moderated.

Summary

In general, this work is a call for greater definition and specificity in sociolinguistic use of speech communities. Assumptions about their existence and a lack of consideration of the limitations of these units can only serve to hamper our investigations of language use universals and differences. From the evidence gathered here, it seems that much of the research regarding language use in complex, heterogeneous populations is suspect, for we cannot be certain that the generalizations made about these populations' language use strategies are valid. Proving the existence of the speech communities before analysis and showing how differences among lower-order speech communities are or are not ameliorated, are steps toward more accurate and insightful analyses.

In order to reach this level of analytic assurance, it will be necessary to bridge the gap between studies of the lowest-order speech communities and studies of higher-order

speech communities. Consideration of penultimate-order speech communities is a means of achieving this end. In this work, we introduced and explored higher orders of speech communities, examining their utility as comparative units. Where social and linguistic differences were not found to be coterminous among proposed speech communities of the same order, it was not possible to support them as different speech communities. This is a novel approach, for we generally assume that once we have established that shared linguistic and interactive patterns converge we have discovered a speech community. However, until each putative speech community is compared with another of the same scale, we cannot be certain that we have a valid entity. Attention to these points and the results stemming from them in this work will enhance the future of sociolinguistics.

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Appendix I: Census Data

Rural Areas

	Hughes County BNA 9846	Hughes County BNA 9847	McIntosh County BNA 9799	Muskogee County Tract 11
All persons	714	405	431	507
Linguistically isolated households	23	14	27	0
Persons 5 years and older	651	367	389	455
Speak a language other than English	214	117	127	28
Do not speak English "very well"	74	40	68	0
In linguistically isolated households	24	20	30	0
Persons 25 years and older	380	208	231	219
Less than 9th grade education	85	28	59	35
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	112	29	40	33
High school graduate	101	80	107	60
Some college, no degree	46	46	8	29
Associate degree	20	13	7	15
Bachelor's degree	7	8	5	28
Graduate or professional degree	9	4	5	19
Persons 16 years and older	477	258	308	295
In labor force	234	130	131	177
Employed	183	116	91	144
Unemployed	51	14	40	33
Households	217	127	137	168
Less than $5,000	44	14	41	19
From $5,000 to $9,999	76	38	49	22
From $10,000 to $14,999	33	16	18	16
From $15,000 to $24,999	31	28	25	34
From $25,000 to $34,999	12	15	2	17
From $35,000 to $49,999	12	13	0	25
From $50,000 to $74,999	9	3	2	26
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	0	0	9
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	0	0
All Persons	759		468	511
Less than 5 years to 24 years	363		217	285
From 25 to 54 years	243		156	183
Older than 55 years	153		95	43

	Rural areas			
	Hughes County BNA 9846	Hughes County BNA 9847	McIntosh County BNA 9799	Muskogee County Tract 11
Employed persons 16 years, and older	183	116	91	144
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	6	0	0	16
Professional specialty occupations	24	6	7	18
Technicians and related support	6	14	0	0
Sales occupations	4	6	4	2
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	5	11	16	14
Private household occupations	0	0	0	1
Protective service occupations	6	4	5	0
Service occupations, except protective and household	87	44	32	14
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	5	4	5	14
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	15	10	8	16
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	14	12	2	29
Transportation and material moving occupations	6	5	0	15
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	5	0	12	5

Rural areas

	Muskogee County Tract 12	Okfuskee County BNA 9806	Okfuskee County BNA 9810	Okmulgee County Tract 7
All persons	478	642	723	450
Linguistically isolated households	0	9	7	0
Persons 5 years and older	409	587	658	395
Speak a language other than English	24	166	125	31
Do not speak English "very well"	0	50	34	10
In linguistically isolated households	0	9	17	0
Persons 25 years and older	225	297	352	215
Less than 9th grade education	22	57	32	14
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	41	73	100	43
High school graduate	84	79	123	80
Some college, no degree	35	43	40	23
Associate degree	27	2	31	33
Bachelor's degree	6	33	16	9
Graduate or professional degree	10	10	10	13
Persons 16 years and older	327	412	441	260
In labor force	178	229	211	182
Employed	158	205	184	152
Unemployed	20	24	27	28
Households	97	182	180	131
Less than $5,000	13	23	30	13
From $5,000 to $9,999	6	52	34	19
From $10,000 to $14,999	4	15	41	31
From $15,000 to $24,999	22	31	45	26
From $25,000 to $34,999	11	26	5	14
From $35,000 to $49,999	25	8	21	10
From $50,000 to $74,999	16	27	0	18
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	0	0	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	4	0
All Persons	476	649	684	450
Less than 5 years to 24 years	215	330	345	245
From 25 to 54 years	214	222	219	155
Older than 55 years	47	97	120	50

Rural Areas

	Muskogee County Tract 12	Okfuskee County BNA 9806	Okfuskee County BNA 9810	Okmulgee County Tract 7
Employed persons 16 years, and older	158	205	184	152
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	9	24	10	7
Professional specialty occupations	2	27	21	21
Technicians and related support	11	0	9	2
Sales occupations	26	13	13	20
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	27	11	13	25
Private household occupations	0	0	0	0
Protective service occupations	14	8	6	0
Service occupations, except protective and household	15	28	58	15
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	0	37	4	13
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	39	13	15	36
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	7	31	17	8
Transportation and material moving occupations	4	0	9	5
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	4	13	9	0

Rural Areas

	Okmulgee County Tract 8	Seminole County BNA 9832	Seminole County BNA 9838	Seminole County BNA 9839
All persons	426	461	578	582
Linguistically isolated households	7	0	2	5
Persons 5 years and older	390	444	486	513
Speak a language other than English	72	31	119	178
Do not speak English "very well"	16	0	49	53
In linguistically isolated households	14	0	5	14
Persons 25 years and older	234	201	278	307
Less than 9th grade education	31	26	79	75
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	63	48	75	58
High school graduate	68	45	80	84
Some college, no degree	54	34	25	61
Associate degree	11	17	15	14
Bachelor's degree	7	19	2	15
Graduate or professional degree	0	12	2	0
Persons 16 years and older	284	289	356	396
In labor force	169	179	175	218
Employed	148	133	145	138
Unemployed	21	46	30	79
Households	124	106	140	150
Less than $5,000	8	0	12	17
From $5,000 to $9,999	11	0	43	40
From $10,000 to $14,999	23	36	18	34
From $15,000 to $24,999	14	16	46	40
From $25,000 to $34,999	42	41	9	9
From $35,000 to $49,999	15	8	9	10
From $50,000 to $74,999	9	0	3	0
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	0	0	0
Earning $100,000 or more	2	5	0	0
All Persons	437	429	600	538
Less than 5 years to 24 years	207	226	305	256
From 25 to 54 years	171	134	198	189
Older than 55 years	59	69	97	93

Rural Areas

	Okmulgee County Tract 8	Seminole County BNA 9832	Seminole County BNA 9838	Seminole County BNA 9839
Employed persons 16 years, and older	148	133	145	138
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	14	17	8	9
Professional specialty occupations	10	17	13	19
Technicians and related support	4	0	3	7
Sales occupations	4	8	0	4
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	11	9	10	19
Private household occupations	0	0	0	3
Protective service occupations	0	5	0	0
Service occupations, except protective and household	24	5	45	20
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	0	16	1	0
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	21	23	12	14
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	25	10	39	29
Transportation and material moving occupations	26	10	14	13
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	9	13	0	1

Town areas

	Hughes County BNA 9848	McIntosh County BNA 9797	McIntosh County BNA 9802	Okfuskee County BNA 9809
All persons	733	524	500	726
Linguistically isolated households	13	0	13	0
Persons 5 years and older	632	484	439	623
Speak a language other than English	215	16	37	104
Do not speak English "very well"	61	6	13	0
In linguistically isolated households	17	0	13	0
Persons 25 years and older	380	308	229	343
Less than 9th grade education	76	49	36	33
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	97	75	38	79
High school graduate	114	78	50	149
Some college, no degree	38	49	77	60
Associate degree	34	36	5	0
Bachelor's degree	17	21	23	0
Graduate or professional degree	4	0	0	22
Persons 16 years and older	453	355	303	405
In labor force	271	187	213	198
Employed	219	163	159	163
Unemployed	52	24	54	35
Households	174	176	160	203
Less than $5,000	20	7	13	53
From $5,000 to $9,999	10	43	50	27
From $10,000 to $14,999	51	33	28	29
From $15,000 to $24,999	65	56	20	43
From $25,000 to $34,999	14	31	22	41
From $35,000 to $49,999	10	0	21	10
From $50,000 to $74,999	0	0	6	0
From $75,000 to $99,999	4	6	0	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	0	0
All Persons	651	505	517	719
Less than 5 years to 24 years	331	234	285	391
From 25 to 54 years	220	158	139	230
Older than 55 years	100	113	93	98

	Town areas			
	Hughes County BNA 9848	McIntosh County BNA 9797	McIntosh County BNA 9802	Okfuskee County BNA 9809
Employed persons 16 years, and older	219	163	159	163
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	11	12	5	10
Professional specialty occupations	4	18	18	17
Technicians and related support	0	0	4	0
Sales occupations	11	30	17	0
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	21	14	8	15
Private household occupations	0	0	0	0
Protective service occupations	0	0	10	19
Service occupations, except protective and household	44	28	37	35
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	37	0	6	0
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	42	35	19	37
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	49	15	5	17
Transportation and material moving occupations	0	11	4	5
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	0	0	26	8

Town areas

	Okmulgee County Tract 9	Seminole County BNA 9834	Seminole County BNA 9836
All persons	941	750	939
Linguistically isolated households	0	0	1
Persons 5 years and older	837	663	844
Speak a language other than English	181	147	213
Do not speak English "very well"	50	25	88
In linguistically isolated households	0	0	7
Persons 25 years and older	447	367	491
Less than 9th grade education	65	70	90
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	68	72	124
High school graduate	129	84	113
Some college, no degree	121	102	75
Associate degree	31	21	36
Bachelor's degree	22	14	19
Graduate or professional degree	11	4	34
Persons 16 years and older	577	469	629
In labor force	355	275	289
Employed	317	246	239
Unemployed	38	29	50
Households	285	183	277
Less than $5,000	31	17	30
From $5,000 to $9,999	51	25	63
From $10,000 to $14,999	74	39	60
From $15,000 to $24,999	58	29	50
From $25,000 to $34,999	28	38	31
From $35,000 to $49,999	33	7	39
From $50,000 to $74,999	10	24	4
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	4	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	0
All Persons	932	618	977
Less than 5 years to 24 years	474	322	476
From 25 to 54 years	324	202	307
Older than 55 years	136	94	194

	Town areas		
	Okmulgee County Tract 9	Seminole County BNA 9834	Seminole County BNA 9836
Employed persons 16 years, and older	317	246	239
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	0	14	16
Professional specialty occupations	32	20	41
Technicians and related support	0	12	0
Sales occupations	15	26	30
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	33	28	21
Private household occupations	0	0	0
Protective service occupations	0	10	0
Service occupations, except protective and household	118	23	48
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	19	12	0
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	17	32	7
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	35	21	46
Transportation and material moving occupations	33	20	14
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	15	28	16

Urban Areas

	Creek County Tract 201	Creek County Tract 206	Creek County Tract 207.01	Muskogee County Tract 1
All persons	564	559	464	489
Linguistically isolated households	0	0	13	0
Persons 5 years and older	500	503	440	430
Speak a language other than English	11	72	32	8
Do not speak English "very well"	11	16	27	0
In linguistically isolated households	0	0	13	0
Persons 25 years and older	313	317	258	283
Less than 9th grade education	27	10	14	37
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	90	67	128	52
High school graduate	124	144	57	75
Some college, no degree	46	68	35	73
Associate degree	18	9	9	10
Bachelor's degree	0	19	9	36
Graduate or professional degree	8	0	6	0
Persons 16 years and older	350	382	306	338
In labor force	214	251	227	196
Employed	197	248	211	153
Unemployed	17	3	16	43
Households	136	182	182	190
Less than $5,000	21	6	0	8
From $5,000 to $9,999	20	12	33	21
From $10,000 to $14,999	45	29	21	44
From $15,000 to $24,999	25	43	9	68
From $25,000 to $34,999	0	32	46	39
From $35,000 to $49,999	0	30	58	6
From $50,000 to $74,999	25	30	11	4
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	0	4	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	0	0
All Persons	499	626	455	472
Less than 5 years to 24 years	245	270	235	192
From 25 to 54 years	204	251	178	158
Older than 55 years	50	105	42	122

Urban Areas

	Creek County Tract 201	Creek County Tract 206	Creek County Tract 207.01	Muskogee County Tract 1
Employed persons 16 years, and older	197	248	211	153
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	38	11	13	12
Professional specialty occupations	29	14	7	0
Technicians and related support	0	0	2	0
Sales occupations	18	20	34	10
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	25	55	26	17
Private household occupations	0	0	3	0
Protective service occupations	0	0	0	16
Service occupations, except protective and household	0	41	17	30
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	0	8	2	0
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	20	21	13	50
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	44	37	25	9
Transportation and material moving occupations	11	11	47	9
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	12	30	22	0

Urban Areas

	Muskogee County Tract 7	Muskogee County Tract 8	Muskogee County Tract 9	Muskogee County Tract 10
All persons	689	800	699	418
Linguistically isolated households	0	0	12	0
Persons 5 years and older	646	742	661	413
Speak a language other than English	24	40	75	7
Do not speak English "very well"	24	8	12	0
In linguistically isolated households	8	0	12	0
Persons 25 years and older	376	403	421	230
Less than 9th grade education	72	10	29	27
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	49	17	98	43
High school graduate	153	48	125	60
Some college, no degree	76	92	112	47
Associate degree	19	49	16	20
Bachelor's degree	7	106	27	28
Graduate or professional degree	0	81	14	5
Persons 16 years and older	452	548	493	297
In labor force	231	371	319	219
Employed	231	347	286	184
Unemployed	0	24	33	35
Households	198	236	234	126
Less than $5,000	22	26	16	9
From $5,000 to $9,999	50	24	52	7
From $10,000 to $14,999	63	16	44	26
From $15,000 to $24,999	39	15	35	20
From $25,000 to $34,999	14	41	13	42
From $35,000 to $49,999	10	49	43	5
From $50,000 to $74,999	0	57	22	12
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	8	9	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	0	5
All Persons	847	754	699	411
Less than 5 years to 24 years	429	367	298	198
From 25 to 54 years	281	263	257	156
Older than 55 years	137	124	144	57

Urban Areas

	Muskogee County Tract 7	Muskogee County Tract 8	Muskogee County Tract 9	Muskogee County Tract 10
Employed persons 16 years, and older	231	347	286	184
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	0	24	40	23
Professional specialty occupations	7	69	34	28
Technicians and related support	9	7	6	5
Sales occupations	29	85	29	12
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	32	75	62	20
Private household occupations	0	0	0	0
Protective service occupations	8	0	0	0
Service occupations, except protective and household	60	38	28	27
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	8	0	0	0
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	21	34	38	0
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	32	8	22	20
Transportation and material moving occupations	8	7	17	21
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	17	0	10	28

Urban Areas

	Okmulgee County Tract 2	Okmulgee County Tract 4	Okmulgee County Tract 6	Tulsa County Tract 48
All persons	548	511	452	420
Linguistically isolated households	0	0	0	0
Persons 5 years and older	480	446	418	397
Speak a language other than English	23	25	18	6
Do not speak English "very well"	3	21	9	0
In linguistically isolated households	0	0	0	0
Persons 25 years and older	257	275	273	244
Less than 9th grade education	29	14	16	17
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	64	45	58	89
High school graduate	103	69	106	95
Some college, no degree	29	73	73	32
Associate degree	20	47	10	11
Bachelor's degree	12	19	10	0
Graduate or professional degree	0	8	0	0
Persons 16 years and older	353	318	322	297
In labor force	217	175	193	144
Employed	190	149	172	131
Unemployed	17	26	21	13
Households	121	147	172	122
Less than $5,000	22	36	19	0
From $5,000 to $9,999	9	12	25	7
From $10,000 to $14,999	24	33	24	54
From $15,000 to $24,999	20	18	29	28
From $25,000 to $34,999	25	13	22	4
From $35,000 to $49,999	13	22	36	18
From $50,000 to $74,999	5	5	11	11
From $75,000 to $99,999	3	8	2	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	4	0
All Persons	509	512	458	427
Less than 5 years to 24 years	253	260	192	187
From 25 to 54 years	183	185	176	144
Older than 55 years	73	67	90	96

Urban Areas

	Okmulgee County Tract 2	Okmulgee County Tract 4	Okmulgee County Tract 6	Tulsa County Tract 48
Employed persons 16 years, and older	190	149	172	131
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	22	0	35	11
Professional specialty occupations	7	25	19	0
Technicians and related support	0	9	3	0
Sales occupations	2	25	13	32
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	24	15	24	10
Private household occupations	0	0	2	0
Protective service occupations	0	0	0	5
Service occupations, except protective and household	74	14	24	16
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	0	21	0	13
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	27	28	25	26
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	12	12	12	12
Transportation and material moving occupations	12	0	5	0
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	10	0	0	6

Urban Areas

	Tulsa County Tract 77.02	Tulsa County Tract 94	Wagoner County Tract 301	Wagoner County Tract 306.02
All persons	714	538	993	900
Linguistically isolated households	0	0	0	0
Persons 5 years and older	631	478	919	840
Speak a language other than English	5	8	43	53
Do not speak English "very well"	0	8	6	15
In linguistically isolated households	0	0	0	0
Persons 25 years and older	336	282	467	446
Less than 9th grade education	44	15	53	25
Ninth to 12th grade, no diploma	41	71	117	94
High school graduate	170	103	118	214
Some college, no degree	53	37	121	94
Associate degree	6	16	23	0
Bachelor's degree	22	10	26	19
Graduate or professional degree	0	30	9	0
Persons 16 years and older	415	351	641	537
In labor force	252	199	351	397
Employed	235	188	312	364
Unemployed	17	11	39	33
Households	217	188	265	278
Less than $5,000	22	29	30	30
From $5,000 to $9,999	30	0	55	10
From $10,000 to $14,999	44	19	22	43
From $15,000 to $24,999	43	26	70	72
From $25,000 to $34,999	16	40	30	41
From $35,000 to $49,999	43	45	19	47
From $50,000 to $74,999	19	17	29	35
From $75,000 to $99,999	0	12	0	0
Earning $100,000 or more	0	0	10	0
All Persons	731	574	960	810
Less than 5 years to 24 years	398	284	493	430
From 25 to 54 years	269	249	331	291
Older than 55 years	64	41	136	89

Urban Areas

	Tulsa County Tract 77.02	Tulsa County Tract 94	Wagoner County Tract 301	Wagoner County Tract 306.02
Employed persons 16 years, and older	235	188	312	364
Executive, administrative, and managerial occupations	16	23	28	10
Professional specialty occupations	14	12	15	36
Technicians and related support	14	18	11	0
Sales occupations	15	28	43	38
Administrative support occupations, including clerical	57	30	30	31
Private household occupations	0	0	0	9
Protective service occupations	0	0	0	5
Service occupations, except protective and household	13	9	45	51
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	0	0	0	18
Precision production, craft, and repair occupations	40	45	55	65
Machine operators, assemblers, and inspectors	17	13	41	66
Transportation and material moving occupations	22	10	30	0
Handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers	27	0	14	35

Appendix II: Multiplex/Uniplex Relationships

	AG	KP	GP	AY	JY	VC	BC	TC	AS	YC	CS
KP	M										
GP	M	M									
AY	M	U	U								
JY	M	U	U	U							
VC	M	M	M	U	U						
BC	M	M	U	U	U	M					
TC	M	M	M	U	U	M	M				
AS	M	M	M	U	U	U	U	U			
YC	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	U		
CS	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	U	M	
GS	M	M	M	U	U	M	M	M	U	M	M
DC	M	M	M	U	U	M	M	M	U	M	M
JY	M	U	U	U	M	U	U	U	U	U	U
CR	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M	U	M	M
KY	M	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	M	M

	GS	DC	JY	CR
DC	M			
JY	U	U		
CR	M	M	M	
KY	M	M	U	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 72
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 120
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .600

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
MEMBERS OF OSTEN GROUND

	KY	TY	UA	SY	CT	SG	TC	XD	JS	VT	GT
TY	M										
UA	M	M									
SY	M	M	M								
CT	M	U	U	U							
SG	M	U	U	U	U						
TC	M	U	M	M	M	U					
XD	M	U	U	U	U	U	U				
JS	M	U	U	U	M	U	M	M			
VT	M	U	U	M	M	U	M	M	U		
GT	M	M	U	U	M	M	M	U	U	M	
MA	M	M	U	U	U	M	U	M	M	U	M
RA	M	M	U	U	U	M	U	M	M	U	M
UN	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M
CN	M	M	M	U	M	U	M	M	U	U	M
NY	M	M	U	M	U	M	U	U	U	M	U
AU	M	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	U	M	M

	MA	RA	UN	CN	NY
RA	M				
UN	M	M			
CN	M	M	M		
NY	M	U	M	U	
AU	M	U	M	U	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 82
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 136
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .603

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
HVMKEN GROUND MEMBERS

	RK	TK	SP	RP	KS	UC	GC	JP	SC	VA
TK	M									
SP	M	M								
RP	U	M	M							
KS	U	U	M	U						
UC	U	M	M	M	U					
GC	U	M	M	U	U	M				
JP	M	U	M	M	U	M	M			
SC	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M		
VA	U	U	M	U	U	U	M	M	U	
KA	U	U	M	U	M	U	U	M	M	M
VA	U	U	M	M	M	U	U	M	U	M
AK	M	M	M	U	M	U	M	U	M	U
JY	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	U

	KA	VA	AK
VA	M		
AK	M	U	
JY	U	U	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 53
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 91
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .582

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
TUTCENEN GROUND MEMBERS

	BS	KK	RD	UW	UG	XW	SD	CD	JW	AD
KK	M									
RD	M	M								
UW	U	M	M							
UG	U	M	U	U						
XW	M	M	U	M	M					
SD	M	M	M	U	M	M				
CD	M	M	M	U	U	U	M			
JW	U	M	M	M	U	M	M	M		
AD	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M	U	
TG	U	M	M	M	M	U	U	M	M	U

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 38
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 55
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .691

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
HOKKOLEN GROUND MEMBERS

	WX	RX	JX	DN	KN	YW	VW	UW	ZW	YN
RX	M									
JX	M	M								
DN	U	M	M							
KN	M	M	U	M						
YW	M	U	M	M	U					
VW	M	M	M	M	M	M				
UW	M	M	M	M	U	M	M			
ZW	M	M	U	U	U	M	M	M		
YN	M	U	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	
JX	M	M	M	U	U	M	M	M	M	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 44
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 55
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .800

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
CAHKEPEN GROUND MEMBERS

	RR	AN	UY	YY	TY	EY	RI	TN	AI	TG	FE
AN	M										
UY	M	U									
YY	M	M	M								
TY	M	M	M	M							
EY	M	U	M	M	M						
RI	M	U	U	M	U	M					
TN	M	M	M	U	M	M	U				
AI	M	M	M	M	U	U	M	U			
TG	M	M	U	U	U	U	M	M	M		
FE	M	M	U	U	M	M	U	M	M	M	
NE	M	M	U	U	M	U	U	U	M	M	M
VG	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	U	M	M
RE	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	U	U	U
KD	M	U	M	M	M	M	U	M	U	M	U
TI	M	U	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	U	U
YI	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	U	M
US	M	M	U	M	U	M	M	M	U	M	M
VS	M	M	U	U	U	U	M	M	U	M	M
ES	M	M	M	M	U	M	U	M	M	M	U
KS	M	M	M	U	U	M	U	M	M	M	M

	NE	VG	RE	KD	TI	YI	US	VS	ES
VG	U								
RE	M	M							
KD	M	M	U						
TI	M	U	M	M					
YI	M	M	M	M	M				
US	U	M	M	U	M	M			
VS	U	U	M	M	M	M	M		
ES	U	M	M	U	U	U	M	M	
KS	U	M	M	M	U	U	M	M	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 148
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 210
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .705

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
OSTVPAKEN GROUND MEMBERS

	JY	AC	TY	AX	KK	NN	EC	EX	TY	MY	TT
AC	M										
TY	M	M									
AX	M	M	M								
KK	M	U	M	U							
NN	M	M	M	M	U						
EC	M	M	M	M	M	M					
EX	M	M	M	M	M	M	M				
TY	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	M			
MY	U	U	M	M	U	M	M	M	M		
TT	U	U	M	U	M	U	M	M	M	M	
SY	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	M
AD	U	M	U	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	U
GN	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M	U	U
AS	U	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M	U	M
VJ	U	M	U	M	M	M	M	M	M	U	M
AS	M	M	U	M	U	M	M	M	U	M	U
RJ	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M	U	U

	SY	AD	GN	AS	VJ	AS
AD	M					
GN	M	M				
AS	U	M	M			
VJ	M	M	M	M		
AS	M	U	M	M	U	
RJ	M	M	M	M	M	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 115
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 153
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .752

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
HVSOSSV GROUND MEMBERS

	AS	DX	JC	RX	DI	EY	NK	AY	UU	GN	YI
DX	U										
JC	M	M									
RX	U	M	M								
DI	M	M	M	M							
EY	M	U	M	M	U						
NK	U	M	M	U	M	U					
AY	M	U	M	U	M	U	M				
UU	M	U	M	M	M	M	M	M			
GN	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M		
YI	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	M	
CS	U	M	M	U	U	M	M	M	M	M	M
UU	M	U	M	U	U	U	U	M	M	M	M
UC	U	U	M	M	M	M	U	U	M	U	M
MK	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	U	M
TJ	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	M	M	M	M
DJ	M	M	M	M	U	M	U	M	M	M	M
EC	M	M	M	M	U	M	M	U	M	U	M
UC	M	M	M	M	U	M	U	U	M	U	M
VC	M	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	M	U	U
IC	M	U	U	U	M	U	M	U	M	U	M

	CS	UU	UC	MK	TJ	DJ	EC	UC	VC
UU	M								
UC	U	M							
MK	U	U	M						
TJ	M	M	M	M					
DJ	M	M	M	M	M				
EC	M	M	M	M	M	M			
UC	U	U	M	M	M	M	M		
VC	U	U	U	M	U	M	M	M	
IC	U	M	U	M	M	U	M	M	M

(M = MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)
(U = UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIP)

TOTAL NUMBER OF MULTIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS: 145
TOTAL NUMBER OF RELATIONSHIPS: 210
MULTIPLEXITY RATIO: .690

MULTIPLEX AND UNIPLEX RELATIONSHIPS AMONG
HUNERA GROUND MEMBERS