UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA

GRADUATE COLLEGE

PURISM, PRESCRIPTIVISM, AND PRIVILEGE: CHOCTAW LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND THEIR IMPACT ON TEACHING AND LEARNING

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE FACULTY

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the

Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

By

ELIZABETH A. KICKHAM
Norman, Oklahoma
2015

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PURISM, PRESCRIPTIVISM, AND PRIVILEGE:
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TEACHING AND LEARNING

A DISSERTATION APPROVED FOR THE
DEPARTMENT OF ANTHROPOLOGY

BY

_____
Dr. Sean O'Neill, Chair

_____
Dr. Gus Palmer

_____
Dr. Misha Klein

_____
Dr. Lesley Rankin-Hill

_____
Dr. Marcia Haag

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For: Jamey, Sean, Rheannon, and Aidan. Just keep swimming.

Acknowledgements

As no work is completed in isolation, several entities and individuals deserve recognition for their support of this research. First, and foremost, I would like to thank the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma and the Choctaw Language Department, specifically, for graciously allowing me to conduct this research. I want to specifically thank Joy Culbreath, Executive Director of Education at Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, and James Parrish, Director of the Choctaw Language Department, for their consideration and support throughout the research process.

I would also like to acknowledge the National Science Foundation and Documenting Endangered Languages for supporting this work through a Dissertation Improvement Grant (1061588), which funded the fieldwork process. The University of Oklahoma Department of Anthropology also deserves appreciation for supporting preliminary research through the Bell Research Grant and later conference travel to present and refine findings and analysis through the Opler Memorial Travel Grant. The University of Oklahoma Women's and Gender Studies Department supported the preliminary research for this dissertation through an Alice Mary Robertson scholarship. Granddaughter of a missionary to the Cherokee and daughter of missionaries to the Creeks, Alice Mary Robertson was not only the second female U.S. congressperson and the first Oklahoma female congressperson, but was instrumental in documenting and preserving the Mvskoke Creek language. I am honored to continue her tradition of language work.

I would also like to express deep gratitude to the members of my committee, who generously shared many hours of their time to discuss issues concerning negotiating working with consultants, understanding theory, and interpreting interactions. Each member contributed significantly to this project in unique ways, from enhancing my understanding of the dynamics of working within a community, to discussing the intricacies of ethnicity theory, to teaching me to embrace narrative and simply exhorting me to persevere. This committee taught me to think critically, challenge my own assumptions, and to view obstacles as opportunities.

Thanks are also due to the friends, colleagues, and family who supported me during this process. The University of Oklahoma Writing Center provided early guidance on the writing process and, through their innovative program "Camp Completion" gave me the final push needed to move from drafting to completed draft. Moira Ozias, my writing consultant and Lisa Bradley, friend and librarian, are owed a debt of gratitude for their generously and selflessly listening to me think through issues and theory, reviewing several drafts of this work, and providing valuable editing services when I was too close to the product to see my own errors. My family are also to be thanked, not only for putting up with a dissertation writer, but for their encouragement and tolerance during my years of education.

Finally, I would like to thank the many consultants without whom this work would have been impossible. First, Dannielle Brannam, Coordinator of the Choctaw

Nation of Oklahoma Institutional Review Board proved instrumental during the editorial review process. The University of Oklahoma Choctaw teachers were generous with their time in allowing me to visit and survey their classes. Several of these university teachers also served as key consultants, helping me to better understand class dynamics, teaching choices, and Choctaw cultural and speech norms. Leroy Sealy, in particular, helped me to understand the nature of Choctaw narrative and how to engage in the community in a meaningful and respectful manner.

The Choctaw community class teachers and students openly welcomed me into their community, taught me to sing, fed me, and on occasion, even housed me. Teachers and students were not only open with their time, but showed sincere interest in the project and its goals, and referred me to other community resources. Among these teachers, a few became close mentors who were essential as collaborators, reviewing writing, suggesting revisions or refinement, and providing deeper understanding. Most of the teachers and students who helped with this project remain anonymous by request, but one deserves specific recognition by name. Richard Adams, former Assistant Director of the Choctaw Language Department, is a man I am honored to call mentor and a friend. Richard is a treasure to the Choctaw language community and was invaluable in collaborating in the design and management of this project. Under his considerable, yet gentle guidance, this project developed into a community-focused, dialogic ethnography,

not just about teaching and learning the Choctaw languages, but about understanding what and why Choctaw learning is.

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Abstract

Oklahoma Choctaw, a Muskogean language originally spoken in the American southeast, is currently the focus of language revitalization efforts by the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma. The School of Choctaw Language, which has hosted community language classes since 1997 faces significant challenges in attempting to produce fluent speakers, chief among them language ideologies that may be impacting the teaching and learning context. Using a collaborative, community-based ethnographic design and discourse analysis, this research describes an interrelated set of three language ideologies affecting the Choctaw language teaching and learning community: purism, prescriptivism and valorization of literacy. Essentialist/purist linguistic and ethnic ideologies prevalent among Choctaw Language Community Class members, though rooted and fixed in an immediately post-contact era, frame contemporary linguistic performance, linguistic meta-discourse, and language revitalization work to alienate some Choctaws while simultaneously providing motivation for language learners. Two competing discourses, prescriptivism and pluralism, are strategically employed by Choctaw community class members to authenticate speaker's status and to resist discourses and covert policies privileging one dialect. Ideologies of purism, correctness, and valorization of literacy, as well as valorization of expert linguistic knowledge further impact community classes by a) reducing class effectiveness through a focus on grammatical analysis and literacy and b) creating an atmosphere of ethno-linguistic risk which inhibits speaker performance. Teachers' ideological

awareness may enable mitigation of the potential negative effects of the purist and prescriptivist ideologies and strategically employment in motivating learners.

Chapter 1

Chahta Kil anumpali: Let's Speak Choctaw

Panaklo: Questions

On a bright spring afternoon in 2004, during the post-lunch lull in the café of the museum where I worked, I had my first real meeting with the Director of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Language Department's community classes. We had been introduced a few weeks previously, during the Native American Youth Language Fair, an event at the Sam Noble Oklahoma Museum of Natural History that promoted and recognized the use of American Indian languages by pre-school through high school students. Young students of several of the Choctaw Nation community classes had participated in the Fair. Amid the noise of visitors viewing student-created books and posters about their heritage languages and children performing stories and songs, we chatted briefly about the Choctaw community class program. The community class director had some concerns about the program and wanted to discuss the classes in greater depth, so we agreed to meet again in a quieter spot. Later that week, over multiple coffees, I listened to him speak about his 30 years working with the language, about the Language Department and its history, and the politics of language revitalization in the Choctaw Nation.

An elder Choctaw gentleman, he spoke softly, though forcefully, and at length about his passion for the language and his work with the community. He had been

overseeing the organization of the teaching classes for over 13 years. He felt that the classes were important to helping not just preserve the language, "like so many canned peaches," but to revitalizing it—getting people speaking. His goal, he said, was to help the younger generation, none of whom were learning Choctaw as their first language in the home. He wanted to hear Choctaw everywhere he went, not just from elder community members, but from everyone. He was worried, though, that in all as then 13 years of the program, no new speakers had emerged. He was also concerned about why those young people he knew could speak the language did not and that the teachers who were running community classes were getting older and that new, younger, teachers would be needed. The community class director wanted to find a way to encourage younger people to learn their language, but also to teach it. How should the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma best train them, he wondered, as most of them are second language learners of Choctaw or passively bilingual, understanding the spoken language, but not fluent speakers. This was my introduction to the concerns and challenges of the Choctaw Language Program.

We talked at length about his ideas for teaching the language in general, and Choctaw grammar specifically. We also talked about the different ideas, political and linguistic, that he saw as potentially harming the language learning of the students. There was at that time no standardized curriculum. Teachers used a variety of methods, few of which were similar to those used by the average foreign language teacher in a high school class. The dictionary committee was

tasked with creating an updated and expanded dictionary. The last full dictionary, created by the missionary Cyrus Byington, was published around 1909. The current dictionary project appeared to be stalling, he told me, because of committee politics, and there appeared to be a lack of focus and financial support, in the community class director's opinion, for "real language work". Though it would be several years before I could really begin significant research into teaching and learning in the Choctaw Nation classes, that conversation provided a framework for my initial thinking about the challenges of Choctaw language learning.

As I studied the language, I took Choctaw classes both at the University of Oklahoma and in the community. I had noticed that these classes differed significantly from my previous language classes at university. The teaching methods were not those with which I was familiar from having studied Spanish, French, and Russian. Though some methods were familiar, including vocabulary repetition and memorization, fill-in-the blank worksheets, and short writing exercises, most of the class time was spent talking about the culture. A few quizzes were given, but there was not much rigorous testing. What I noticed most was that the university class teacher spent a lot of time telling stories about growing up Choctaw, about the meanings of words, and about the history of the Choctaw people. The teachers did not do much classroom management using the Choctaw language, such as giving instructions to take out a piece of paper or turn to page x. In the community classes, there were no quizzes or tests, and most of

the time was spent talking about the language but not using the language. Though I would occasionally hear Choctaw spoken, it was usually in the form of a couple of elders joking quietly to themselves in the back of the room rather than during whole class activities.

My first reaction to this apparent lack of standard language teaching methods was critical. After some time and discussion with teachers, though, I understood that lack of formal assessment conformed to a cultural norm of fostering self-determination of meaning rather than objective measurement of progress. Through attendance at community events and language planning meetings, I also became aware that many teachers, students, and community members had strong ideas about how Choctaw should be taught and how it should be spoken. As I came to understanding Choctaw ways of learning, I continued to consider the community class director's questions.

Over the next two years, while I was working on learning Choctaw at the University of Oklahoma and researching Choctaw story performances, I met periodically with the language director. In addition to meetings in cafés or restaurants, we also met in professional settings, including the Choctaw Nation Language Department, where he gave me a tour of the closed-circuit and internet course delivery system supporting the Language Department's online and CCTV-delivered high school courses. We met at language conferences, including the Five Tribes Intertribal Language Meeting, at which Choctaw, Chickasaw,

Cherokee, Mvskoke Creek, and Seminole language administrators and teachers met to discuss language planning and revitalization work, where he invited me to present. We met at the Oklahoma Native Language Association annual meeting, at which we each presented and attended workshops, and at the first Choctaw Language Summit, held at the University of Oklahoma in 2009. It was shortly after this Summit that the community class director and I began planning in earnest the research for what would become this dissertation project.
At the Summit, it became clear that there existed a multiplicity of perspectives on what was right for the language.

One experience clearly illustrated the lack of consensus. Given my coursework in second language acquisition and instructional design, I was called in at quite the last minute, with only 30 minutes warning, to facilitate a workshop on curriculum design. Because I was unprepared to lead a workshop on such short notice, I viewed my role as one of asking questions to generate discussion. I was even more unprepared for just how contentious a subject curriculum design would be. I assumed that, most workshop attendees being active language teachers or administrators, they would share a core set of assumptions about language teaching and learning. I found, though, a group with a polyphony of voices and attitudes and no shortage of ideas focusing on who should learn, what should be taught, and how the language should be spoken. In discussing what content should be taught in a proposed fourth phase, to build on the existing three 16-week-long phases of community classes, there was little consensus on what

should be being taught in the current three phases. A primary area of contention was over teaching "real Choctaw". Concerns over which dialect or which spelling were articulated as well as whether the real setting for teaching should be in the church or in the community class, an issue which I would later learn stemmed from the history of Choctaw early adoption of Christianity and western education.

It was during this workshop that I first heard the word "Choclish". Choclish refers to code-mixing Choctaw and English. Several teachers and one preacher espoused the view that the young people were speaking bad Choctaw because they could not speak pure and perfect Choctaw. Others were happy to hear them speaking any Choctaw at all. These arguments suggested a plurality of language ideologies, ways of thinking about issues of utility, authority, ownership and identity as related to language (see Kroskrity, 1993, 2004; Silverstein, 1985; Woolard, 1992, 1998), that were at work in the Choctaw Language teaching and learning community. These language ideologies would persist throughout my fieldwork and instrumentally inform my research.

I began to notice that the multiplicity of ideas surrounding the Choctaw language within the Choctaw language was not just present in metalinguistic discussions such as took place at language summits or planning committees, but that these ideas were often the topic of discussion at the community class I attended and at almost any informal gathering of Choctaw speakers and non-speakers. In my

meetings with the community class director, he also discussed how the Choctaw Nation determined who was or was not a good enough speaker to teach, how teachers were trained, how the curriculum was being developed, and how well the dictionary update project was progressing. He explained that disagreements over dialect and pronunciation were slowing progress in many of the Language Department's efforts. Though the community classes have produced some novice speakers, the community class director was most concerned, however, with his perception that the Language Department community classes had not yet produced any fluent speakers. Though most researchers assert that it takes five to seven years for a language program to produce fluent speakers under ideal conditions, and many students in the community classes do not persist for that length of time, the community class director still felt that, as the program had been in place since 1997, some fluent speakers should have emerged by then. I began to wonder whether the language ideologies I was noticing might not be affecting classroom practices, student motivation, and, ultimately, student learning outcomes. Language ideology is a system of "ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests." (Irvine 1989:255) The ideologies community members hold concerning a language often impact language performance (see King, 1999, 2014; Kroskrity, 2000; Wyman, McCarty and Nicholas, 2013), such as choices of which languages to speak in specific situations and whether to speak at all (see Hill, 1986; Kroskrity, 2000, 2009, 2010; Muehlmann, 2008).

Over the course of our meetings to discuss the development of my research project, the community class director kept returning to the question of why the program had not yet produced any fluent speakers. There were several obvious responses to this question: challenges finding qualified first language teachers and second language learners, challenges finding and motivating students, a focus on formal education rather than the more effective home or family-based education methods that have worked well in Hawaii and New Zealand (Fishman, 1996; King, 2001), and the simple fact of English language dominance in economic life are all real obstacles to language revitalization. However, the community class director felt there was some deeper issue impacting the program's success. When it came time to develop this research project, I asked his help in developing a research project that would address his concerns. He and I were able to synthesize his primary concerns into three questions:

- Why has the Choctaw Language Department's program not yet produced fluent speakers?
- How might the program best train second language learners to teach?
- Why do those individuals who can speak choose not to?

These three questions frame this research. The goals here are to determine how the language program can shape its future to encourage more young people to learn and to speak Choctaw, and hopefully, even to become teachers to future generations. To address these goals it is necessary to examine ideas about the Choctaw language.

In listening to discussions about the language at language planning meetings,

conferences, and in language classes, I have come to understand that there is no general consensus concerning how to teach, what to teach, who should teach, and who should learn or speak Choctaw. Teachers use a variety of different teaching methods. Many teachers are resistant to traditional western language teaching techniques proposed by linguists and educators, whereas others welcome assistance in any form. Instructors and administrators are divided over whether and which linguists should be involved in language planning, curriculum development, or language teaching development. In previous collaboration with a Choctaw language teacher, we found that the methods used in Choctaw classes often differ from those of many other languages, such as in Spanish or German classes, and that the ideas a teacher has about the language strongly influence the choice of teaching methods and the content taught (Kickham and Sealy, 2008).

These questions appear related to issues of language ideology, as ideas of language purity, the value of a language, the identity connotations of a language, and ideas about who should learn, teach, or speak a language all potentially influence the motivation of learners, the selection of teaching methods, and the effectiveness of teaching methods. Language revitalization events are often "sites" in which ideologies emerge (Kroskrity, 2009) and are related to social and political motivations (Kroskrity, 2010). For example, among the Tewa, ideologies of appropriateness and proper form have resulted in the speaking of Tewa being limited to specific ceremonial or discourse domains (Kroskrity 1993, 2009, 2014). Tewa ideologies view Kiva speech as more authoritative and closely

linked to authentic ethnic identity, resulting in an ideology of language purism (Kroskrity, 1993). Even given a context of extended contact and multilingualism, Tewa speakers have resisted incorporating loanwords from Spanish and neighboring Hopi. Limitation of Tewa Kiva speech to speakers with traditional social authority has also limited the number of younger people acquiring and using the language. Recently, as elders appreciate the limitations placed on younger speakers and the changing social context within their village, they understand the need for more formal educational methods, while still blaming youths for not actively pursuing avenues to traditional intergenerational transmission (Kroskrity, 2014). Though younger speakers have less limited access to the language, they find new ways to perform an ethno-linguistic identity, by indexing traditional narrative forms even while performing in English (Kroskrity, 2009). The Tewa context illustrates how language ideologies and practices are multiple and often conflicting. The Choctaw language learning community appears to be experiencing similar tensions, displaying multiple conflicting ideologies that potentially impact speaker language performance and teaching and learning effectiveness.

This research describes prevailing and multiple ideologies circulating throughout the Choctaw language teaching and learning communities toward they type of "ideological clarification" necessary for successful language work (Kroskrity, 2009) and in support of the Language Program's future success. My approach to addressing these questions has been to examine the impact of language ideology

on teaching method choice, student motivation, and speaker performance or lack thereof.

To better understand the environment in which these language ideologies interact with learning and teaching, it is first necessary to understand the historic and cultural context within which the learners and teachers are situated and, second, to understand the theoretical context informing this research, and finally, the need for an ethnography of language, ideology, teaching and learning, given the limited research conducted in this new field, especially for languages of the American Southeast. The speakers of Southeastern American languages share a common history of early European contact and colonization, missionization, forced removal and, after removal, persistence within a politically conservative, monolingual dominant cultural context. Understanding these experiences as they shape language ideologies within the Oklahoma Choctaw community as well as the impacts of those ideologies within this context may aid in understanding similar ideological impacts in other languages of the American Southeast as well as contribute to a broader understanding of language ideology in Native American languages more generally.

Language, Performance, and Ideology in Native Language Revitalization

Language ideology is most commonly discussed in terms of being a system of beliefs about the utility, purpose, or norms about language (Silverstein, 1979). Building on Silverstein's (1979) definition of ideology as a "set of beliefs" about

language, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) refine understanding of this term to focus on language as a social process, much as performance-based research does currently, with language ideologies as a process to "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology" (55- 56). Language ideologies occur within and among speakers and within communities. Often individuals and groups can hold multiple, even conflicting ideologies. For example, Navajo youth often simultaneously view their heritage language as a source of pride and of shame (McCarty et al., 2006). Ideologies also may contradict actual practice, as in the case of trilingual Tewa speakers who code switch but denounce that practice (Kroskrity, 1998). Ideologies are not independent of language practice, as ideologies both influence linguistic performance and are performed through language. Language ideologies develop within social and historical context and impact how language is used through interaction to communicate political meanings and speaker and group identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2007).

Few studies of Southeastern languages have investigated the role of ideology in shaping performance. Though researchers are discussing the appropriateness of second language acquisition (SLA) methods in teaching Native Languages (Cantoni, 1999; Littlebear and Martinez, 1996; Mellow, 2000; White, 2006) and others are investigating the influence of teaching method on student ideology (Needham, 2003), the interaction between language ideology and performance remains understudied for the American Southeast, with the notable exception of

Bender's (2002) study of the influence of ideologies concerning orthography in gendering the use of writing systems in Cherokee language revitalization work, in which she finds that female teachers tend to use an alphabetic writing system whereas male teachers tend to use the syllabary, due to perceptions of some Christian Cherokees that the syllabary has an association with traditional medicine or power, the domain of men. As the speakers of the languages of the American Southeast experienced early European contact, missionization, and in many cases, early acculturation to western norms, such as education and politics, the impact of Christian mores on the teaching of language is not surprising. This shared history and especially the impact of the missionaries on education, literacy, and language standardization informs the context in which the contemporary language ideologies impacting Choctaw nation emerged and persist and understanding of how they currently impact language revitalization, teaching, and learning.

The role of language ideology in language teaching contexts has recently received attention in the second language acquisition and learning literature. Most of this research focuses on the impact of language ideologies on teacher choices and classroom interactions (see Needham, 2003; Razfar, 2012). Research on Native American language education contexts, while touching on issues related to ideology, generally does not specifically focus on ideology. Much of this research focuses on the utility of incorporating indigenous epistemologies and content in the classroom and the appropriateness of teaching methods (Cantoni,

1999; Littlebear and Martinez, 1996; McAlpine and Eriks-Brophy, 1996; McCarty, 2003; Mellow, 2000; Nespor, 1987). McCarty (2003), for example, descries the labeling of Native American speaking children as "limited proficiency", encouraging instruction through the heritage language as a remedy. Benjamin, Pecos, and Little (1996) discuss the challenges in transitioning from an oral to a literate language within a western-controlled educational system for Cochiti learners. Even when discussing language-teaching methods, however, researchers do not always agree. For example, whereas Cantoni (1999) advocates the use of Total Physical Response storytelling in the Native American classroom, Mellow (2000) argues that western methods of teaching "foreign languages" are linguistically and culturally inappropriate to the Native American language-learning context.

Language ideology in the indigenous and immigrant languages of the American Southwest is well studied in non-educational contexts, with analyses of the relationship of ethnic and linguistic purist ideologies to language choice, identity, and silence (Bailey, 2006; Hill, 1985; Kroskrity, 2009; McCarty et al., 2006). Hill (1985) described the impact of education and ethnic stigmatization on Mexicano production among in Tlaxcala and Puebla, Mexico, where both inhibit language production and retention. Kroskrity (2001, 2009) found that Tewa speech is compartmentalized, kept ideologically separate from other languages spoken in the Pueblo area, seen as a marker of identity to be kept pure. McCarty et al. (2006) find that, even though they view their language as an authentic

identity marker, Navajo youth who understand Navajo choose not to speak it due to a conflicting ideology of Navajo as indexing being backward and uneducated.

As yet, no research on the role of ideology in Choctaw language teaching and learning has been conducted, but language ideologies appear to be influencing Choctaw teacher choices as well as student performance; teachers and young Choctaws who choose not to speak Choctaw in the community or in the classroom may actually be adhering to discourse norms by refraining from speaking Choclish, a commonly used community term for the mixing of Choctaw and English. Purist ideology holds that the language should remain free from outside linguistic influence. Further, a prescriptivist ideology, that is, speakers' belief that there is one correct form of the language, is closely related to standardization of the language and literacy. Given the almost 200-year tradition of Choctaw literacy, and the common emergence of prescriptivism in response to literacy and language standardization (see Anderson, 1983; Jaffe, 1999), it would not be surprising to find prescriptivist ideologies at work within the language learning community.

The purpose of this research is to examine the impacts of language ideologies within the Oklahoma Choctaw language teaching and learning community on the effectiveness of language education efforts. To understand the ideologies that may be impacting the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's language revitalization efforts, it is first necessary to understand the historical and current contexts

informing these efforts.

Choctaw Language Education: Historical Context, Current Vitality, and Revitalization

At time of first contact, the Choctaw tribal homelands extended over much of what would become southern Mississippi and into portions of Alabama and Louisiana. Due in part to early contact, and to their history of trade with other indigenous communities, the Choctaw were among the first tribes to work cooperatively with the Europeans, intermarrying, adopting new dress, and converting to Christianity. Recognizing the value of formal education to their own needs, the Choctaw ceded part of their lands to the U.S. government in exchange for funding to start Choctaw public schools, which taught in the Choctaw language. The Choctaw have experienced a long tradition of literacy, dating back to Byington's first dictionary, written sometime around 1823 (Haag and Willis, 2003). *A Beginner's Grammar of Choctaw* was introduced in the mid 1800's as the basic text for teaching Choctaw children literacy. While it would appear the Choctaw were off to a good start in maintaining their language, removal splintered the speech community, creating two paths to language decline, one slow and one rapid.

The early 19th century saw an ostensibly voluntary removal of the Choctaw to the Oklahoma territories, with the signing of the Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek in 1830. A few Choctaw remained in the Mississippi area, forming the Mississippi

Band Choctaw (MBC). By 1910, there were 1253 enrolled Choctaw left in Mississippi. The Mississippi Band was condensed onto reservations and retained many of their cultural ways, including beadwork, drum making, dancing, and playing stickball (Mississippi Choctaw Language Program Homepage, 2015). Despite a relatively low population, the linguistic community remained healthy until the late 20th century. Their community was a closed one until the 1970's when the tribal government recognized the need to create jobs for the growing community and created the Choctaw Enterprise, an entrepreneurial agency designed to encourage economic development and which recruited businesses such as Packard Electric.

At this time, bilingual schools modeled on the Navajo teacher's aide programs were established on the Choctaw reservations (Littlejohn, 1971). These schools were aimed towards teaching previously monolingual Choctaw-speaking children English skills needed for work in industry, while simultaneously maintaining the students' Choctaw identity (York and Scott, 1976). An English-speaking teacher accompanied by a Choctaw aide conducted instruction. Literacy was taught through Choctaw, while English was gradually introduced. The increased contact with the English-speaking community was further intensified with the creation of gaming facilities in the 1990's and the opening of the Pearl River resort, near Pearl River, Mississippi, in 2000. A tribal language program was created in the 1990's "to halt the rapid decline of the Choctaw Language among our young

Choctaw children," (Mississippi Choctaw Language Program, 2015) caused by increased exposure to English.

Meanwhile, the Choctaw in Oklahoma experienced language loss at a much quicker rate. Most of the tribal enrollees were relocated to Indian territory, which would later become part of the state of Oklahoma. The Oklahoma Choctaw were quickly organized under the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) into a government modeled on the U.S. government. Choctaw schools similar to those in Mississippi were quickly established in Oklahoma, teaching in the Choctaw language. Despite the language of instruction being Choctaw, the Oklahoma Choctaw experienced rapid missionization and eventually adopted Christianity and western economic and cultural norms. The failure of the BIA imposed government in the early 1906, coupled with Oklahoma statehood in 1907 meant the closure of the Choctaw schools (Haag and Willis, 2003). Implementation of mandatory boarding school attendance and English-only education precipitated the rapid decline of Choctaw language use among the Oklahoma Choctaw.

In 1972, a new, more traditional Choctaw Nation government was formed, entailing a powerful elected Chief (Haag and Coston, 2002, para 12). Bilingual schools similar to those in Mississippi were implemented in four schools in Southeastern Oklahoma in partnership with Southeastern State College in 1973 (Choctaw Bilingual Education Program, 1973, pp. 4-8). The purpose of these schools was to enable students with limited English-proficiency to gain ability in

both their own native language and in English. Secondary goals of the program included training teacher's aides to teach in a manner reflecting an equal emphasis on both languages and to eventually train these Choctaw speaking aides towards completion of accredited teaching certification at the College. However, these schools eventually gave way to the Oklahoma public schools and English only instruction, when grant funding expired. In 1997, recognizing the central nature of the Choctaw language to cultural identity, and the precariously low number of speakers, especially children, Chief Gregory Pyle, created the Choctaw Language Program.

Current Language Vitality and Revitalization

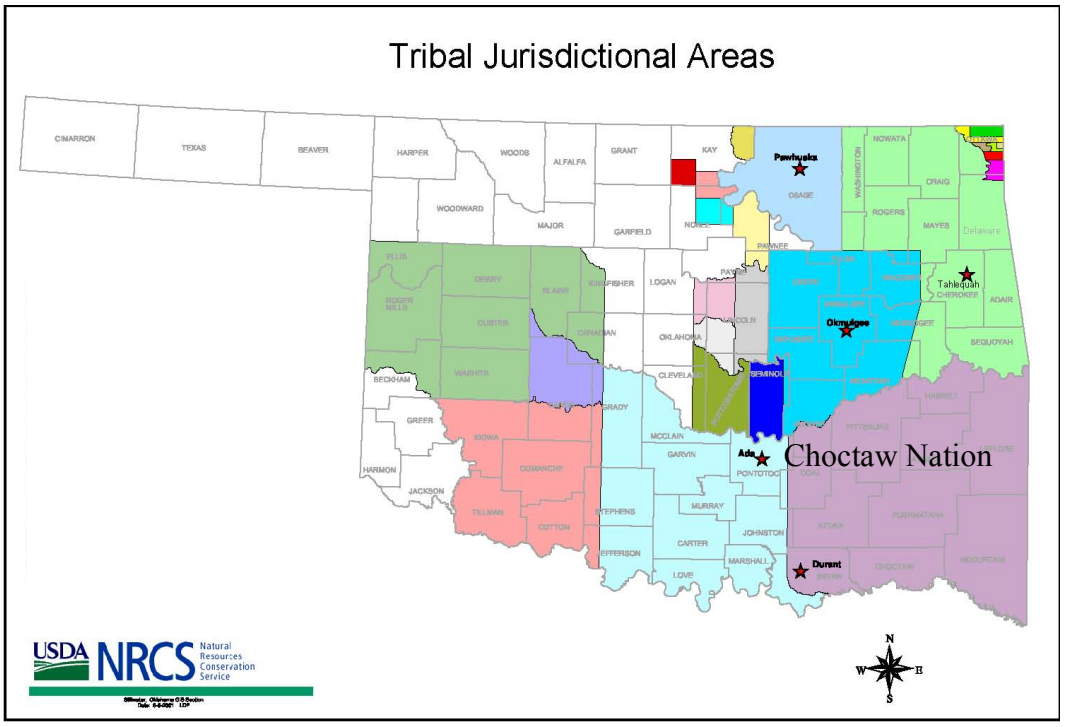
Choctaw, a Muskogean language related to Chickasaw, Creek, Seminole, and Mikasuki, is currently spoken in Mississippi, Louisiana, and Oklahoma. In Oklahoma, the Choctaw Nation, home to most of the elder, fluent speakers, is located in Southeastern Oklahoma, covering 10,864 square miles, as indicated by the largest area, shaded purple in the Tribal Jurisdictional Area map below (Figure 1). The tribal headquarters and seat of government is located in Durant, as are the Choctaw Nation Language Department offices.

Golla (2007: 7-14) counts the Oklahoma Choctaw ethnic population in 2007 at 20,000 with at least 4,000 speakers[1], indicating that the majority of Choctaws do not speak the language. No Choctaws under 50 years of age speak the Choctaw

[1] The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Language Department counted 111,400 ethnic members in 1998 (Paul, 2009). The 2010 U.S Census numbered 10,400 self-identified Choctaws.

as their first language and there are very few monolingual speakers at this point, even among the elder community.

Figure 1: Map of Oklahoma Tribal Jurisdictional Areas



Source: United States Department of Agriculture 2015

Choctaw language vitality ratings range from vulnerable to threatened. In Oklahoma, the language is classified as endangered, and moribund, meaning no children are learning the language as their first language from birth. Ironically, the language is rich in documentary resources—it has a several grammars, sketches and dictionaries--but is not being spoken in the home to children, a practice Fishman (1991) terms Inter-generational Mother Tongue Transfer (IGMTT).

Fishman (1991) describes an 8-stage typology for evaluating the status of a language, or how endangered it may be, in terms of domains of use and IGMTT. The Graded Implicational Disruption Scale (GIDS) is an implicational typology and a guide for revitalization planning efforts. Stages 8-6 indicate language stages ranging from a situation where a language needs to be described and reconstructed from the few elders who are the only speakers of the language (8) to IGMTT and stable domains of use among all age speakers (6). Stages 5-1 are more descriptive of the levels of Reversing Language Shift (RLS) activity and infiltration of the language into specific domains of use, ranging from strong community support for language use activities (5) to language use in power functions such as higher education and governmental activities (1).

Although the classification website, Ethnologue (Paul, 2013), lists Choctaw as being at stage 6b, threatened, given the presence of documentary resources and educational efforts, Oklahoma Choctaw, could be described as being at Stage 7, slipping to Stage 8, as there is no IGMTT, most users of Choctaw are beyond child-bearing age, and there are very few monolingual speakers, all elders. Literacy in Choctaw ranges from 10-50% (Paul, 2013).

Most activity in the Oklahoma Choctaw revitalization community occurs at Stage 4, in terms of formal education, with classes available at almost every age level, from pre-school through university through community classes available to all. Activity at Stage 4 includes the Oklahoma Choctaw Nation's Language Program's

classes for the community, both in real physical space and online, as well as some awareness activities in early education. Activities include formal public school classes at the high school level fulfilling the second-language requirement of Oklahoma Public Schools, offered in class and online to students in southeastern Oklahoma and language classes offered at several Oklahoma universities for college credit. The classes have a standardized curriculum accredited by the Oklahoma Board of Education. However, there exists no educational programming taught entirely in Choctaw. Informal community language classes are also offered at over 30 sites throughout Oklahoma, concentrated in the southeast of the state, in Choctaw Nation boundaries.

Stage 2 activities include symbolic language uses such as the signage on all Choctaw buildings and casinos, as well as some publication of Choctaw language news in the Nation's newspaper *Bishinik*, with a few articles translated into Choctaw each issue, and children's books in Choctaw published by the Choctaw Nation. There is no activity at Stage 3 of Fishman's GIDS: use of the indigenous language in the place of employment outside of the neighborhood or community. It would seem difficult, if not impossible to reintroduce the Choctaw language into spheres of work, given the need to earn money in an English-dominant dominant language culture.

In direct response to language loss, due in large part to removal and the boarding school experience, as well as current economic factors necessitating speaking

English, the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma initiated language revitalization activities focusing on language education and established The Choctaw Language Program in 1997. While the program does not have explicitly stated goals, Haag and Coston (2002) determined through discussion with program administrators that the language program's goals are threefold: increased language use, cultural solidarity, and perceived political effectiveness of the then-current chief. Language teachers from the Choctaw Nation meeting at The Five Tribes Intertribal Council on Language, June 2005, proclaimed that the Council supported the maintenance, documentation, and revitalization of tribal languages. The Choctaw Nation is attempting some revitalization efforts, mostly focused on education and publication. As yet, no systematic evaluation of student performance in the community classes has been conducted, and so the effectiveness of these programs has not been assessed.

At the time of this study, the program was taught in five colleges, 52 high schools via video, 14 Head Start centers, and two Internet classes, and hosted 40 community classes. The majority of these community classes are located in the southwest of Oklahoma, the northeast of Oklahoma, and in the Choctaw Nation, in southeastern Oklahoma. The community classes are organized into four phases, each lasting 16 weeks. Teachers in the community class programs often develop their own instructional methods, which often directly resist those suggested within the Second Language Acquisition (SLA) literature. In 2011-2012, the Language Department developed a standardized curriculum for these classes and extended

the curriculum of the high school and college classes. Despite this push toward language education, the number of fluent speakers continues to drop (Ethnologue, 2013).

The Choctaw Nation collaborates directly with the Mississippi Choctaw and the Coushatta of Louisiana in identifying and sharing teaching and program methods. They also communicate with other southeastern tribes during an annual language summit and as part of the Five-Tribes Intertribal Council. Choctaw Nation hosts storytelling festivals, removal reenactments, and numerous cultural events, at which language use often is demonstrated. This use is often of a ceremonial nature, spoken for greetings, prayers, and closing addresses. At such events, even when language is not the focus of the event, it is often a topic of conversation. As people discuss the language, ideas concerning the language, its utility, speaker status, and dialect often emerge. These language ideologies reveal complex attitudes toward the language that are likely impacting the language program, teacher choice and student motivation, and provide a basis for investigating the research questions outlined by the Choctaw Language Department administration.

The language program anticipates future growth, focusing on adding community classes and public school sites, training new teachers, and language building (Choctaw Nation Language Department, 2013). Current projects include use of a Community Class, publishing a curriculum for Choctaw III, taught at the university level, creating flashcards, creating video lessons for the Choctaw

Language Department's website, and writing a story titled, "Little Ant Helps the Turtle". They are also working on a hymnal project and a dictionary project. Understanding the ideologies held by teachers, learners, and community members should help language administrators better plan future activities, develop the program, and tailor practices to the needs of the community.

Investigating Language Ideology and Performance in the Choctaw Language Learning Community

To address the community class directors three questions about 1) why the program has not produced fluent speakers, 2) why young people who know the language choose not to speak it and 3) how to best train younger, less fluent, instructors, to teach using the language, I investigate how language ideologies may be negatively impacting the effectiveness of the Choctaw language program's efforts by influencing teaching methods and speaker performance.

Using discourse analysis techniques of data gained through participant observation in Choctaw community language classes, university classes, and community and language planning events over the course of three years from 2011 to 2014, this research examines the effects of language ideology on speaker, teacher, and learner performance. The research analyzes instruction methods, teacher language use, student language use, and community discourses to identify whether and what sort of ideologies indeed exist within the community and what effect they have on student and teacher language and instructional choice. This

research represents the ideologies existing and impacting the community language classes during this time period, though ideologies are generally slow to change and may persist beyond the research period. I find that these practices and the purist ideology did exist and were complicated by additional, unexpected ideas concerning literacy, the value of linguistic evidence, and an ideology of prescriptivism holding there is one correct form of the language. Additionally, I find that the impacts of the ideologies were themselves complex. Choctaw Nation community members have conflicting ideologies concerning the language, the writing system, dialects, and the role of language in identity. On the one hand, ideologies of purism, prescriptivism, the valorization of literacy over orality, and ideas of what is perceived to be *real* Choctaw all impact teacher and learner linguistic performance, at times inhibiting learners and fluent speakers. This impact in turn potentially negatively impacts language-learning outcomes. On the other hand, ideologies of purism and prescriptivism are strategically employed to perform identity and often positively impact learner motivation.

Significance of this Project

This project entails both practical and theoretical significance. First, this project is a practical application of theoretical concepts of ideology, performance, and discourse community norms toward informing the Choctaw Language Program's language education activities. Kroskrity (2015) argues that clarifying the ideologies held within communities can open a dialog among groups with differing stances and reduce tensions that may negatively impact language

revitalization efforts. By clarifying the ideologies at work in the language learning community and how they impact teacher and learner performance, this work may enable Language Program administrators to enhance their program's activities and more effectively address community needs.

Of theoretical significance, this research enhances understanding of the impact of ideology on linguistic and cultural performance by providing an example of this relationship in an under-studied linguistic area, while also extending the theory of ideology by examining its explanatory power concerning learner motivations, teacher choices, and learning outcomes. Examining the interactional, community-based, contextualized, and dialogic nature of narrative, non-narrative linguistic, and meta-linguistic performance leads to a further understanding of the social roles and expectations within specific communities. This in turn may aid development of culturally appropriate teaching materials and social contexts for language revival efforts for other heritage language groups.

Organization of Dissertation

This dissertation is organized into eight chapters. Following the current introduction, chapter two surveys the literature concerning theories of language and ethnicity, language ideology, second language acquisition research in the Native American context, and identifies a need for this current research, given the lack of investigation into language ideologies within the revitalization context for languages of the American Southeast. Chapter three frames the methodological

approach used and positions the researcher in relation to the Choctaw language learning community. Chapters four, five, and six describe the three main ideologies circulating within the Choctaw language revitalization community's discourses—purism, prescriptivism, and privileging of literacy—and describes their historical context and current implications for Choctaw language revitalization. Chapter seven addresses the research question concerning training of second language learners to be teachers by providing recommendations based on ideological awareness. Finally, chapter eight concludes the dissertation by addressing how the ideological findings inform each research question in turn and discussing the theoretical implications for second language learning and the relationship between language performance and language ideology.

Chapter 2: Language Ideology and Second Language Learning/Acquisition in the Native American Context

The purpose of this research is to examine the role of language ideology in shaping language performance within the Choctaw learning community in Oklahoma. Choctaw is a Native American language originally spoken in the Southeastern region of North America. Presenting a clearer picture of how language ideologies influence teacher, learner, and speaker behavior in the classroom should enable Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's Language Department in language revitalization efforts and provide a case study for other Native and indigenous heritage language revitalization programs. This research also draws on and speaks to literature in three interrelated broad topics: 1) the relationship of language and ethnicity, 2) language ideology and its relation to performance, and 3) second language acquisition in the Native American language context and then examines the historical context of linguistic and sociolinguistic work concerning languages of the American Southeast to illustrate the need for this current project. This chapter presents a review of the relevant literature in these fields as informs my broader research question of how language ideology impacts performance in the Choctaw Nation community language classes and identifies a need for research in this area and with this group, for which issues of language ideology remain unstudied.

Language and Ethnicity

The term 'ethnicity' came into popular use within the discipline of Anthropology during the 1960's at a time when the persistence of difference among groups was brought to the fore by changing global economic and political systems. Formerly colonized groups were engaged in nationalistic and independence movements around the globe. Anthropologists, and the Western nations from which they emerged, had for some time been in increasing contact with the exoticized other, due to the incorporation of these other peoples' homelands into the periphery of Western economic systems. In addition, anthropologists had begun to explore not just distant tribes, but the difference present in their own backyards (see Jenkins, 1999). Marxist anthropologists had expected the increasing globalization and resulting increased contact among groups to therefore increase tolerance and reduce group difference in response to the emergence of class consciousness (Allahar, 2001); however, rather than being overridden by class, social differentiation, or ethnicity, persisted, and even increased, prompting investigation into the nature of this puzzling identity construct ethnicity.

The first usages of ethnicity conceptualized this element of identity within a structuralist/functionalist paradigm, identifying ethnicity as a static entity that functions to separate groups. Ethnicity was treated as some elemental quality a person or group had, as an inherent characteristic. Further, ethnicity was termed 'primordial', a primary attachment grounded in locality, kinship, and culture (Geertz, 1973). In many ways, ethnicity was used synonymously with culture.

This conception of ethnicity was problematic; however, as it treated ethnic groups, and therefore cultures, as static, unchanging, and isolated. Rather, increased contact among groups often brings awareness of ethnic difference as a salient feature of identity to the foreground where it may not have previously been deemed noteworthy by the members of a particular group. This awareness of linguistic difference was evident among Choctaws at first European contact and continues today with the Choctaw ethnic and linguistic revival currently underway.

Ethnicity and Boundary

A rethinking of the persistence of ethnicity in situations of contact, lead to Barth's (1969) focus on the negotiation of boundaries as a key element in the process of ethnic construction. Barth reconceived ethnicity as a process whereby groups construct their identities in contrast with the other. Membership in a particular group is ascribed to an individual both by that individual him/herself and by members of other groups. Groups and individuals conceptualize the difference between their own group and the other in terms of cognitive boundaries (Barth, 2000). The boundaries themselves, though, are not static, concrete borders, but instead are negotiated through interaction. The boundaries imply a set of rules for interaction across these boundaries, agreed upon by members of each group involved. The cultural content of the ethnic groups is therefore a result of the dialogic interaction at the boundaries, rather than a primordial, primary feature of ethnicity. Barth's (1969) discussion of Pathan's movement illustrates this point,

as he finds that individuals can change ethnic affiliation when economic or political circumstances make such a change advantageous. The boundaries, though, persist even as individuals may move across them to change ethnic affiliation.

This situational changing of individuals' and families' ethnicity lead to a related theory of ethnicity: instrumentalism. Abner Cohen (1969) argues that individuals not only can change ethnicity as economic or political situations demand, but that ethnicity can be used at the collective level to affect economic and political recognition. Further, individual ethnicity is multiple, often nested, and can be strategically employed. Cohen (1979) notes that an individual or group may re-conceive their ethnic identities depending on the situation, where a group may differentiate itself from another group in one situation, but align with that group in opposition to another in a different situation. Therefore, more local identities can be nested within larger categories of identity. Just as individuals may have multiple identities, such as related to gender, social role, age, ethnicity, and nationality, so too may groups have multiple ethnic identities.

Instrumentally Employed Ethnicity

Ethnic instrumentalism is one means of explaining nationalism as well as resistance to nationalism. Consciousness of collective ethnicity, and the idea of shared community, was a driving force behind nationalistic movements. In Europe, nationalist movements often emerged through ideologies of unique

language as symbolic of unique culture, where language was equated with culture (Fishman, 1969). The middle class intelligentsia of 19th century Europe used language as a means to unite communities toward nationalist goals. In the Americas, however, shift to the colonizing language, meant that the creoles, and the indigenous peoples, shared a language with the dominating others. Instead of using language as a symbol of unique culture, Creole individuals and groups used a concept of the "new America", a new ethnicity, as a basis for nationalistic efforts (Anderson, 1983). Even in established nations, though, multiple and flexible ethnicities persist in the face of homogenizing nationalistic efforts. Verdery (1996) notes that the state often attempts to limit ethnic identity towards controlling the citizenry, as it is difficult to control individuals who perform multiple, situated identities. Barth (2000) also notes that we must consider the role of the state as an agent in shaping and limiting ethnicity in describing negotiated and situationally employed ethnicity. Hall (1996) notes, though, that ethnicity is constructed, not through primordial attachment, but through discourses of power, which can both be a source of limitation by and resistance to state ideologies.

The distinction between, ethnic cultural content and situational employment of ethnicity, between primordialism and instrumentalism, is often debated, with a number of anthropologists calling for a return to the idea of cultural content as an important feature of ethnicity. Cohen (1996) claims that some ethnic content is primary. He states that a focus on boundaries as negotiable overlooks the

commitment that some individuals and groups have in maintaining an ethnic identity even when not economically or politically advantageous. Further, he notes that self-ascription to a group is not always a reaction to the other, but may be achieved through positive association with symbols of ethnic content. Barth (1996) agrees somewhat, refining his earlier theory of ethnicity to include the use of cultural symbols and emblems in maintaining boundaries and noting that boundaries may serve to join as much as they separate. Allahar (2001) draws on the persistence of ethnicity in situations of contact, in contrast to the Marxist expectation that class would supersede ethnicity, as evidence of some soft-primordialism, a metaphoric kinship attachment.

The distinction between primordialism and instrumentalism, though, is deemed artificial by some anthropologists (e.g. Jenkins, 1999). Roosens (1994) critiques Barth's focus on boundaries as the primary characteristic of ethnicity, arguing that while boundaries may construct identities, they do not necessarily construct ethnic identities. For ethnic identity, he claims, the perception of some common origin, a metaphor of kinship, is also essential. Carter (1985), however, argues that Bourdieu's practice theory unites both primordialism and instrumentalism. Carter describes the enculturation of ethnicity as a process created in childhood through experience, creating habitus. This habitus, as it is largely unconscious, creates the illusion of primordial attachment. Later in life, specific situations cause different aspects of habitus to be foregrounded, resulting in instrumental employment of ethnicity. Hall (1996), in discussing the construction of ethnicity in relation to

discourses of power, also draws on Bourdieu's practice theory. Hall argues that the self, in the Foucauldian sense, internalizes the homogenizing state ideology through experience and habitus, though may resist the state ideology through active discourse in which ethnicity is employed situationally and politically. These authors therefore resolve the distinction between instrumentalism and primordialism through refocusing attention onto the interactional and dynamic nature of ethnicity as constructed.

The current theories of ethnicity all focus on this construction and of ethnicity as a process on both the individual and collective scale. If ethnic identity is constructed through negotiation of boundary and content, language is the means by which this negotiation takes place. Fishman (1980) notes that ethnicity is not just being, but doing, meaning ethnicity is performed through behavior. In addition to being performed through ritual and daily interaction, ethnicity is primarily performed through language use, in the form of song, riddle/joke, liturgy, and everyday speech. Language both reflects ethnic identity and is used to shape it, understand it, and perform it. Current research focuses on just this relationship between ethnicity and language, describing practices such as code-switching, narrative, signaling, and symbolic language use through "ethnographies of communication" (Hymes, 1964). Though study of language in use, contextualized in specific speech communities, and as performed in a dialogic process with audience (Bauman, 1977) does shed light on the ways in which individuals and groups perceive ethnic identity, issues persist in describing

linguistic performance of ethnicity, significant among them the idea of authenticity and ideologies of language use. The idea that speaking Choctaw is a significant marker of Choctaw ethnic identity is communicated widely among those currently engaged in learning Choctaw and has its roots in the history of colonialism and contact, as detailed later in chapter four. Similarly, Choctaws often perform their ethnic identities situationally, depending on the context and audience, including choosing when not to perform in the language.

Language Performance and Authenticity

Language is a primary means of constructing and negotiating ethnic and other identities, as well as maintaining boundaries. For example, Fuller (2000) describes language choice among bilingual children in an English language class to foreground one of each student's multiple social identities. The individuals, consisting of two girls and two boys, employed differing amounts of Spanish and English to display different identities. One of the boys used English in the classroom to identify himself as a good student, while the other used Spanish as a means of opposing the English language classroom. The two girls used English in the classroom, but Spanish to construct an identity of friendship and in-group status. Gumperz (1964) describes code switching among Norwegians as a way of maintaining ethnic boundaries; the local dialect is used with close friends and family, but the standard dialect is used with strangers.

In addition to being used to perform social roles, language is also used to perform ethnicity. Kroskrity (2000) argues that ethnicity is often displayed not just through language choice, but through communicative practice. Language choice, register choice, and phrasing may all be employed to foreground or suppress identities. Plotnicov and Silverman (1987) describe just such use of linguistic foregrounding in their analysis of Jewish ethnic signaling. Plotnicov and Silverman argue that Jewish individuals may signal, volitionally employ language to indicate their ethnic identity, when first meeting someone, when maintaining a relationship, or during times of stress. Individuals may use Yiddish or Hebrew words in conversation to elicit a response from a fellow-in-group member or to determine, by lack of appropriate response, the out-group status of their interlocutor. They may also signal, not just through code-switching, but through using communicative styles associated with their ethnicity, such as answering a question with a question, or formulaic responses, such as, "…and a healthy one!" in response to, "Have a good new year!", even when speaking only English or another dominant language.

Language may also be used not just to signal identity, but also to provide a context for interpretation of dominant language speech events. Ahlers (2004) describes two types of denotational as opposed to referential language use among California Native language speakers. Silverstein (1994) differentiates between referential and denotational speech, in which the former actually refers to speech content, but the latter denotes some context. Among California native language

speakers, denotations speech can take two forms: indexing identity and framing content. Speakers of different languages in a Breath of Life workshop engaged in greetings using their own languages, even when their addressee may not have been a speaker of the same language. In this case, the speaker was indexing both a specific ethnicity and a pan-ethnic association with the listener. Speakers may also frame an English language speech event, though, by bookending the English language event with Native language use. The introduction of a community speech event with a short Native language prayer or speech serves to identify a Native ethnic perspective and context for the English language speech. The English language speech is therefore interpreted from a Native ethnic perspective, as a speech within the context of Native experience and epistemologies, rather than as solely as an English speech event with a mainstream American context.

This dynamic process of constructing ethnicity is highlighted when considering the issue of authenticity in ethnic and linguistic performance. Authentic performance of ethnicity is at the core of Ganz's (1969) description of third and subsequent generation immigrants' symbolic ethnicity. Ganz describes the weakening of economic niches over time resulting in the ability of immigrants' children to engage in activities and behaviors outside of those previously ascribed to their ethnic category. Ganz questions the "third generation ethnic return", claiming that the nostalgia-induced ethnic reclamation of third and subsequent generations is symbolic at best, employing only symbols of ethnicity, rather than requiring any real engagement in ethnic behavior that might impact other areas of

these individuals' lives, for example economic activity. Kivisto and Nefzger (1993), however, surveyed members of a Jewish community as to their practices and found that a significant number of third and subsequent generation immigrants were in fact practicing ethnics, not just employing symbolic ethnicity. Ganz (1994) returned to the issue by differentiating between religio-ethnic groups and ethno-religious groups. The former, among whom he lists American Jewish individuals, Ganz argues, are more likely to be highly organized with formal active sub-groups, than are ethno-religious groups. Edwards (1985), however, used the term 'symbolism' to indicate closeness to rather than distance from authenticity. Edwards noted that, in the case of language, symbolism can be a powerful behavioral mode, that even when a language is no longer spoken for communicative purposes, it is still a significant cultural resource toward symbolically indexing ethnicity and identity. Symbolic language use can identify authentic in-group members.

Ideas surrounding who determines authenticity are also central to anthropological study of ethnic performance. Cohen (2000) notes that other ascription and self-ascription may entail very different criteria. Nero (2000) also notes this issue, claiming that other ascription is often according to static ideas of cultural content, whereas self-ascription is dynamic and responsive to situation. Nero provides an example of this difference between other-ascription and self-ascription criteria concerning language ideology. In cases of determining which language is primary, or whether a speaker is bilingual, Nero argues that the individual's ideas

may differ from the anthropologist's. The individual may consider him/herself bilingual even though he/she does not use one particular language in any specific social domains. In addition, an individual may consider the language they learned first to be a second language if a language they learned second has a primary role in their daily interactions.

Expression of identity through language, then, is a complex process of construction, reflecting not just the speaker's sense of self but also a potential process of resisting or corroborating outsider perception. Choctaws engaged in language teaching and learning also use the language to both perform and resist essentialized ethnic identities. The ways that ethnic identities are expressed through language are often reflective of speakers' language ideologies. To understand how these processes of identity construction are expressed through language, and specifically how this is accomplished within the Choctaw language learning community in Oklahoma, requires a more thorough examination of the concepts of ideology and performance their development within the research concerning ethnography of communication.

Language Ideology and Performance

The concept of performance emerged in the discipline of folkloristics during the 1960's as a way to reunite the story with its context through studying "folklore in practice" (Bauman, 1989). The concept was brought in to the field of linguistics in the following decade as part of an ongoing discussion of the diverging foci of

linguistics and anthropology. In response to the separation of linguistics from anthropology heralded by Chomsky's differentiation between competence and performance, Hymes (1964, 1971) argued for a more unified approach in the burgeoning field of sociolinguistics, "ethnography of communication". Chomsky (1956), in his development of Universal Grammar theory, had distinguished between a speaker's competence, deep level (unconscious) knowledge of language, and performance, as everything else entailed in speech. Chomsky directed linguistic study toward uncovering competence in the ideal speaker. Hymes (1971, 1972), however, argued that Chomsky's idea of competence was incomplete, as it failed to include communicative competence, the largely unconscious knowledge that speakers have regarding the patterns of language use in their communities, including rules for who speaks to whom and when. Hymes (1971) therefore argued for extending the concept of performance present in folklores studies to the field of sociolinguistics.

Though Hymes (1971) found no unified application or definition of the term performance in folklore studies, he did identify a basic understanding in that discipline of performance-based inquiry as movement focusing more on the event than the text. Hymes argues his model of ethnography of communication entails starting from the perspective not of the language but of the speech community, a community of speakers of multiple registers who all understand the same rules for communication. Performance, as it focused on the communicative event, would seem adaptable and applicable to the study of communication. Ethnography of

communication, he argued, enables the researcher to focus on that interaction between elements of the speech event, including the speaker, audience, situation, setting, content, and code (Hymes 1964, 1972). It is just such an interactive model of speech event that prompted the use of performance to extend to studying language in use.

Performance in Sociolinguistics

The first uses of performance in sociolinguistics or linguistic anthropology treated performance as encompassing the general situation of language in use, focusing on the interactional nature of the elements of speech events as identified by Hymes (1964, 1972) and refined by Bauman and Sherzer (1974) in their treatment of ethnography of speaking. Here, Bauman and Sherzer identify the elements of speech event as including the code (language), the speaker, the audience, the topic, the specific situation, the wider context, and the speech act, this latter the minimal unit of study. They further argue that the specific situation is different from the larger context, and that this larger context can shape the form of and impact the interpretation of a speech event. The speech event, therefore, is interactional and emergent (Bauman and Sherzer, 1974).

Though they might not have overtly discussed the concept of performance in their work, early ethnographers of speaking were in fact analyzing performance through interaction. Gumperz's (1964) analysis of code switching in Norway argued that community members used the more formal standard dialect when

speaking to a stranger, but the informal dialect with family and friends. Gumperz's analysis illustrates the interaction between code and context. Ervin-Tripp's (1964) study of the speech of Japanese brides of American soldiers, illustrates the interaction between code and topic, as when asked to speak to their friends in English instead of their usual Japanese, the women changed topics to more American conversation. Georges (1969) extended this understanding of the interactional nature of speech events to narrative events. Georges describes the interactions inherent in any storytelling event, as the speaker and listener interact and mutually create the content and performance of the story and the storytelling event is impacted by the specific situational context of that event.

This understanding of speech events as interactional lead to the development of a more narrow, yet nuanced definition of performance. Bauman (1977), in his work *Verbal Art as Performance*, defines performance as the display of communicative competence, responsible and responsive to an audience, and framed as a speech event by poetic narrative devices. Bauman states that, rather than being a vacuous form, poetics and narrative devices constitute performance. Babcock's (1977) description of metanarration as framing supports this assertion. Babcock identifies a number of practices that frame a narrative, including ritual openings, frame-breaking devices, metalinguistic commentary, poetics, and other practices that draw attention to the narrative genres, event, speaker, or audience. Therefore, framing, metanarration, and poetics are all aspects or tools in narrative performance.

This interactional nature of storytelling event further lead to the incorporation of Bakhtin's (1981) concept of dialogic interaction in the novel to the redefinition of performance. Bauman further argues that narrative performance in this sense is dialogic. The speaker responds to the audience, situation, and wider context in the performance. The audience responds to the performance and in turn shapes the performance and interprets it each from a unique perspective. Together, and within a historical context, the speaker(s) and audience engage in negotiation of meaning and form. An important distinction here is that not only the setting, but the wider historical and political context impact the performance and its interpretation. Framing devices that draw on historical description, formulaic opening, or appeal to elders/ancestor's authority through attribution all serve to connect the past with the present, in a type of intertextuality.

This definition of performance as a contextual, poetic, display of competence was used by a few researchers of narrative. Hymes (1977) revisited previously collected Clackamak texts to uncover their poetic forms. He found that if the researcher examined the form and language use of these narratives without preconceived Western notions as to what constituted poetry or that stories are prose, the poetic verse structure of these stories emerged. Hymes, as in earlier work, therefore called for analysis of emic themes, genres, structures rather than overlaying the "etic grid" of universals onto them. However, Hymes was still treating these stories as texts, as objects of study devoid of context. More recent work has turned to representing in textual form the oral nature of performance.

Tedlock (1983) developed a very comprehensive set of diacritics to mark pausing, stress, volume, body language, and other meta-linguistic performance devices for his study of Zuni narrative performance. In addition to focusing on accurate representation of these performance aspects, Tedlock also explored the dialogic process of understanding text with Mayans reading the Popol Vu, through which the readers brought the past stories to bear on present experience and interpreted the stories through personal experience. This intertextuality achieved in dialogic performance and interpretation was a motivation for the broadening of the concept of performance in the 1980s.

Performance in Native American Language Context

Though the understanding of poetics as performance still holds, the concept of performance has been broadened to better indicate the role of performance in the social construction of present reality, identity. As a means of constructing meaning from past events, story serves to bridge the past and the present (Kroskrity, 2009). Story performance can enable comment on individual behavior. Basso (1986) describes the use of story among the Western Apache, in which stories are named for and tied to place. The telling of a story, or the invoking of one by the mere mention of the place, can serve to relate the moral lesson inherent in the previous story to a present context or behavior issue. Basso notes that each telling of a story is a little different, as it is responsive to a particular present context, and may highlight or stress certain details. Therefore,

any individual person passing that place will remember a different telling, or many different tellings, but will also interpret those remembered telling not just in reflection of past misdeeds, but also as an opportunity to reflect on present context and their own moral development. In this case, the dialogic interpretation is not occurring between speaker and listener, but within the speaker as s/he remembers. This internal dialogic process reinforced Bakhtin's (1981) discussion of the dialogic experience of the reader of the novel.

Dialogic interpretation and reinterpretation of narrative performance also occurs in the form of anti-narrative, as social and political commentary. Briggs (1996) describes the treasure tale genre in a Mexican-American community in Mexicano, New Mexico. Elders use these tales of the downfall of past colonial treasure hunters to impart a moral lesson from the past to present understanding of youth behavior. Youth in this community do not engage in telling treasure tales, as they have a limited communicative competence repertoire. Certain genres of narrative are only accessible to elders as they achieve elder status. Attainment of these genres constitutes full communicative competence. Briggs, therefore, is presenting an analysis not only of the form and performance of stories, but the use of these stories to perform an identity, that of an accomplished elder with full communicative competence. In addition, Briggs is describing the relation of performance to ideologies of language use.

Language Ideology and Performance in Native American Language Revitalization

Analyses of narrative and speech performance often reveal this type of ideology concerning who has the authority to perform. Kroskrity (2009) similarly illustrates ideologies of language use among the Tewa. The Tewa preferred narrative style indexes the cultural and ethnic authority of the more conservative and sacred Kiva speech. Good speakers speak with a style that, though not identical to Kiva speech, alludes to it through archaic terminology and style. Kiva speech, in turn, is viewed as a pure form not to be corrupted by profanity or code switching to Hopi or English, the other languages in the verbal repertoire of most Tewa speakers. Kiva speech, and Tewa speech are kept pure by systems of regimentation and compartmentalization. Kiva speech is ritualistic; no variation is allowed. Tewa is spoken only among the Tewa for issues specific to Tewa life. When speaking about extra-village matters, Tewas will switch to Hopi. This compartmentalization is designed to protect the language from outsiders and influence from Hopi or English, illustrating an ideology of purism that affects performance.

These examples all illustrate that ideologies and identities are performed through narrative, but narrative or artful communication is not the only form of communication that constitutes performance. Though Bauman (1977) extended the work of folklorists to define performance as verbal communication in which the speaker is responsible for displaying communicative competence to an

audience, his use of the concept was still applied primarily to artful communication rather than building on Goffman's (1959) definition of performance as inclusive of any public interaction with others. Both authors, though, acknowledged that performance, whether artful or mundane, constitutes public negotiation of social identity. Most work on performance in North American languages, however, focuses primarily on the artful type of communication (Basso, 1986; Bauman, 1986; Briggs, 1996; Kroskrity, 2009; Mould, 2003; Tedlock, 1983). Though not using the term 'performance' per se, many linguistic anthropologists studying language ideology have indicated an understanding of the nature of language ideologies as performed in daily life. In the following section, I examine the relationship of language ideology to performance and authenticity.

Building on the 18th century philosophy literature defining ideology as the science of ideas, language ideology emerged in the late 20th century as a field of study within sociolinguistics (Woolard, 1998). Silverstein first defined language ideology as a system of beliefs about the utility, purpose, or norms about language (Silverstein, 1979). Building on Silverstein's definition of ideology as a "set of beliefs" about language, Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) refine the theory to incorporate understanding of language as a social process, and language ideologies which "envision and enact links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology (pp. 55- 56)." They further note that, despite the perception that studying language ideologies often

appears boundless, much recent literature focuses on the relation of language ideology to variation and linguistic structure. More recently, however, a new field concerning the relation of language ideology to Native Language revitalization has emerged (see Kroskrity, 2009, 2015; Shaul, 2014; McCarty et al., 2006).

Language ideologies occur within and among speakers and within communities. Often individuals and groups can hold multiple, even conflicting ideology (Kroskrity, 2009; McCarty et al., 2006). Ideologies are not independent of language practice, though, as ideologies both influence linguistic performance and are performed through language. Language ideologies develop within social and historical context and impact how language is used through interaction to communicate political meanings and speaker and group identities (Bucholtz and Hall, 2009). In effect language ideologies are contextualized and performed through lived experience and words. Often these ideologies develop within contexts of nationalism (Appadurai, 1996; Fishman, 1984) and language shift (Shaul, 2014).

Frequently occurring language ideologies express concern with language standardization, literacy, purism, and prescriptivism (Shaul, 2014; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) provide an in-depth discussion of these most commonly occurring language ideologies, often evidenced in European political debates. Issues concerning language

standardization often speak to issues of politics and power, as which variety becomes standardized is related to power and status within a group. Closely related to standardization, prescriptivism focuses attention on a stance in which language is viewed as having one correct form. Often ideas of correctness and standardization are naturalized within a group so that variation becomes viewed as abnormal compared to the standard. Ideologies of language purism focus attention on limiting the influence of outside languages, most often those perceived as a political or economic threat. Ideologies of standardization often impact orthography development and imbue orthographies with political and ethnic significance (see Neely and Palmer, 2009; Bender, 2002). Finally, ideologies concerning literacy can either valorize literacy, even to the point of perceiving it as superior to orality, or challenge it as an inauthentic form in previously only oral language communities. Each of these ideologies has been documented in at least one Native American language revitalization context (see Bender, 2000; Kroskrity, 2009; Neely and Palmer, 2009; McCarty et al., 2006) and appear to be evidenced in discourses surrounding Choctaw language revitalization in this work.

Language Ideology, Ethnicity, and Authenticity

Language ideologies concerning ethnic identity and authenticity are complex and often conflicting within a group or even within an individual. Ideas of what a language is good for and who is a speaker are central to processes of authentication in speech communities (Schieffelin, 2000). Ideologies of purism,

the idea that a language should be free from influence from outside languages, and of essentialized conflation of language and culture are common in Native language revitalization contexts.

Two examples from the American Southwest and Mexico illustrate ideologies of purism and their effect on speaker performance. Kroskrity (2009) describes the ideologies of purism and compartmentalization among the Tewa as a means of preserving their language as a marker of ethnicity. Tewa speakers may use English when conducting economic transactions with English speakers, or Hopi when talking with Hopi or when discussing extra-village issues, but will speak Tewa, with no code switching, when among other Tewa. By preserving Tewa for Tewas only, the boundary between the Tewa and the non-Tewa is maintained. Hill (1986) describes the tension between syncretic language use and purist ideologies among Mexicano (Nahuatl) speakers in central Mexico. The use of Spanish within Mexicano can both index the power of the dominant language group and be used to resist that power through parody; older males tend to use Spanish more than Mexicano to index power and authority, whereas younger males tend to use Spanish to parody the older males' attempt at authority and use pure Mexicano use indexes authentic ethnicity.

Language performance can also be used to resist essentialist ideologies conflating language and ethnic identity. Muehlmann (2008) describes the use of the indigenous language of the Cucapa youth as resistance to the idea of language

purism and the equation of language and ethnicity; when called upon by a Spanish language outsider to authenticate their Cucapa ethnicity through indigenous language use, the youth swear at the outsider in their language. All of these examples illustrate the continuing performance of ethnicity through negotiation of boundary and contextually situated, situationally employed performance of linguistic ethnicity.

In contrast to ideologies of purity, language mixing can also be a means to perform ethnic identity. Bailey's (2006) description of ethnic identity among Dominican Americans in New York provides an illustration of Cohen's (1979) description of multiple and nested ethnic identity, as well as the interaction of other-ascription and self-ascription to ethnic categories and of use of language to indicate a boundary between "us" and "them." Bailey finds that second generation Dominican Americans often use language in a nested fashion. Dominican Americans use Black English Vernacular (BEV) in their speech to differentiate themselves from whites, as they are ascribed to the non-white category by mainstream American ideas of ethnicity and race, where they had not been in the Dominican Republic. However, Dominican Americans also use Spanish in their speech to distinguish themselves from African Americans. Finally, second generation Dominican Americans differentiate themselves from first generation migrants through not using perfect Dominican Spanish, which they view to be a marker of less sophisticated "hick" immigrant status. Irvine and Gal (2000) describe the potential use of anti-language, in which phonological

features of a language may be exaggerated to create distance between that language and a dominant language. The Dominican Americans of Bailey's study seem to be performing both this form of anti-language and a different form of anti-language in employing multiple codes within their speech; in using BEV, they are resisting the dominant language group, though in using English in their Spanish, they are resisting association with a perceived lower language class.

Anthropologists and linguists may also inadvertently perpetuate the idea that language and cultural are essentially equated. Hill (2002) points out that the "expert rhetorics" employed by anthropologists and linguists may actually alienate the groups with which they work, as ideologies of enumeration, ownership, and valorization serve to reinforce the equation of language and culture. Bucholtz (2004) describes the sociolinguistic use of the term 'authenticity' as a type of other-ascription, in which linguists often determine the authentic speaker based on that speaker's being most representative of an isolated speech community. She suggests that the discipline move away from the concept of 'authenticity' and toward the concept of 'authentication.' More recently, Meek (2010) describes issues of institutional authority that often result from language revitalization efforts. Meek describes the disjunctures that arise within discourses surrounding language work in the Kaska community of the Yukon, finding that production of linguistic texts for use in language teaching can inadvertently result in distinctions among speakers and create power imbalances within a community related to authority to produce such texts. For many Kaska speakers, she argues,

reliance on experts, linguists especially, for production of materials can marginalize some speakers, especially younger speakers, and those who are positioned within the community as authorized to teach, resulting in what she terms the "stratification of the sociolinguistic field" (p. 134). The same reliance on linguistic expertise and specific speakers authorized to teach the language may similarly be impacting Choctaw Nation's revitalization efforts by similarly marginalizing some potential speakers while privileging others.

Sites of Ideology and Performance of Ethno-Linguistic Identity

Just as ethnic performance is a process grounded in dialogic negotiation of identity, so is language performance a process, grounded in dialogic negotiation of meaning. A primary means of constructing identity within language is through narrative. Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez (2002) note that story performance is primary to language socialization. Narratives are a means of constructing present identity while simultaneously drawing on a shared past to create closeness and in-group status with other members of their group. These authors note that narratives can reify the dominant ideology or essentialize an ethnic identity even when employed by members of that ethnic group to maintain an idea of primordial kinship through symbolic and emblematic use. They may also, however, be used, much as Hall (1996) describes, to engage in discourses of resistance. Narratives, though, do not necessarily have to be formally performed. Keating and Egbert (2007) point out that narratives often emerge within ordinary conversation. These

emergent narratives often illustrate processes of identity construction and resistance and reveal language ideologies that a speaker may hold.

Similarly, other communicative norms constituting performance are also avenues for performing language ideology and identity. Seemingly mundane conversation, as it is socially contextualized, also affords speakers a venue for performing identities, illustrating ideologies, and resisting authority (Keating and Egbert, 2007). Kroskrity (2009, 2015) argues that Native American language revitalization contexts are especially likely to be "sites" of ideological production, as they bring to the fore contentious and deep-seated ideas of language and they often prompt overt meta-linguistic discourse.

Narrative, language choice and communicative practice are all means of performing ethnicity through language. It is this focus on performance that indicates ethnicity is still a useful concept in explaining not just group difference, but also individual behavior and variation within groups. If ethnicity is simultaneously important to differentiating among groups, variable within a group, situationally employed by the individual, and multiple within the individual, ethnicity as a concept is a potentially powerful tool in explaining variation in individual behavior, the relationship between the individual and the collective and, especially, the relationship of language and identity performance. The Oklahoma Choctaw language learning community, then, provides a rich

sociolinguistic site for studying the interplay of language ideology, identity, and performance within a language revitalization context.

Second Language Acquisition/Learning in the Native American Context

As examination of heritage language learning within the Native American Context is a relatively young subfield at the intersection of Second Language Acquisition research and Anthropological Linguistics, there exist few works focusing specifically on this context. The major debate in this young field is the appropriateness of teaching methods within a Native or indigenous context. To understand the context in which this debate emerges, it is first necessary to review the development of Second Language Acquisition/Learning theories from the latter half of the 20th century onward.

Language Acquisition vs. Language Learning

Language learning is not the same as language acquisition (Krashen, 1978). Learning is conscious, often occurring in the classroom, whereas acquisition is unconscious and develops from exposure to natural language in context, as in infant language acquisition. Learning in the classroom, however, can approximate acquisition by using communicative methods. Interactive methods of learning are essential to language learning. Long (1981) builds on Vygotskian approaches to learning and Krashen's Input Hypothesis, in which Krashen (1978) argues that comprehensible input, that just beyond the current understanding of the student, is necessary for language learning. Long (1981) argues that

comprehensible alone is not sufficient, but that interaction using the language as a medium is essential to language learning. Vygotsky (1987) describes the role of language as a mediator for higher cognitive function, in which language serves to move the learner from other-regulation to self-regulation through use of private, and later, inner-speech. Vygotsky also identifies the optimal zone of proximal development for learning, in which the learner is given a task just beyond his/her ability, but is also provided with scaffolding, usually in the form of talk from a collaborator or instructor, that helps him/her grow cognitively toward accomplishing the task.

Leontiev and James (1981) build on Vygotsky's theories to introduce his own, activity theory, arguing that students approach activities with a set of expectations and experiences that inform their accomplishment of the activity. Long (1981) brings these concepts together in regards second language learning in his interaction theory. Interaction theory holds that interaction with non-native and native speakers of the second language enables scaffolding, communication management, and negotiation of meaning, this last being the crucial criteria for language learning (Long, 1996). Swain (1995) builds on Krashen's input hypothesis to argue that input alone is not sufficient, but that output is required for full attainment of grammar. Swain argues that output, and the resultant noticing and consciousness of form, reframe and reinforce language learning. Though employing interaction and opportunities for production in the classroom may adapt an unnatural language-learning environment toward being more

communicatively focused (Mellow, 2000), these interactions and production opportunities may meet with differing levels of participation from students.

Story-based instruction has been heralded as beneficial in all language learning environments (Andrews, 2009). Researchers advocate using stories as a means of providing comprehensible input (Cantoni, 1999), especially if the stories have a low content load, simple structure, repetition, and are engaging (Heredia and Francis, 1996). Narratives are even suggested as a means of bridging orality and literacy in Native American communities (Francis and Andrade, 1997). One method in particular, Total Physical Response Storytelling (TPRS), is advocated for use in second language learning, and especially for Native American language education. TPRS, developed by Ray in the early 1990's (Ray and Seely, 2008), was designed to extend Asher's (1977) Total Physical Response (TPRP) method to storytelling. In TPRS, the instructor invites students to act out scenes from a story through the use of imperative commands. Cantoni (1999) argues that using stories with TPRS in the second language classroom improves motivation and engagement, lower the affective filter, and provide opportunities for scaffolding. In addition, using stories in the second language classroom can provide opportunities for comprehensible output as described by Swain (1995) if students are able to create and orally perform their own stories.

Language Loyalty and Motivation

Since Fishman (1966) first wrote his book *Language Loyalty in the United States*,

the terms ‘language loyalty, ‘language maintenance,’ and ‘language retention’ have been widely used to address a number of issues related to the political use of, affective attachment to, ideology of, and efforts to preserve, revitalize, and teach language. From a survey of the literature, though, it appears that no two authors use these terms, ‘language loyalty’ and ‘language maintenance’ in quite the same way. Gumperz (2001) for example, confuses the definition of ‘loyalty’ by limiting it to literary and nationalistic contexts. Gumperz uses the term ‘loyalty’ to mean two potentially opposite activities: the uniting of disparate linguistic groups under a literary standard or a call for the standard code to reflect regional use. Gumperz is correct in attributing nationalistic movements to some form of language loyalty, but is not correct in identifying loyalty as an action, nor in limiting loyalty to literate societies. Loyalty can and does emerge in groups that have no history of nor desire to develop literacy (e.g. Tewa, Keres).

Though no clear definition has been proposed for the term ‘loyalty’, the term ‘maintenance’ is used in a very specific manner within the language revitalization and education literature; ‘maintenance’ means active community-wide attempts to foster Intergenerational Mother Tongue Transmission (IGMTT) through education and other community efforts (Fishman, 1999). In the loyalty literature, the terms ‘loyalty’ and ‘maintenance’ are often used interchangeably, synonymously and in confusion with ‘retention.’ Russinovich Sole (1995) uses ‘loyalty’ to indicate retention of the language by the Quechua of Peru. She often uses both ‘loyalty’ and ‘maintenance’ to mean the continued use of language. She

attributes this continued use of the language, however, to geographic, political, and economic isolation, not to any particular activity on the part of the Quechua. In addition, she notes that the Quechua have continued using their native language despite the devaluation by others and themselves of their ethnicity. I would argue that this continued use without any volitional act or consciousness on the part of the community constitutes 'retention', the passive continued use of a language. Jenkins (1999) similarly uses the term 'loyalty' to mean 'retention'. Interestingly, and confusingly, enough, he also uses the term 'retention' to mean continued IGMTT. This use of the term 'retention' is accurate in my view—retention is continued IGMTT. Language maintenance then, implies something more, a volitional act. 'Loyalty' however, implies something more than mere retention of the language, some awareness and attachment to the language, though perhaps something less active than 'maintenance'.

Fishman (1966) himself uses the term 'loyalty' to cover a variety of situations, including the development of nationalism in Europe, retention of language within the Mexican-American populations in the face of economic pressures to shift, and Jewish revitalization efforts. However, his repeated use of the term within a particular phrasing, related to the emergence of Nationalistic efforts in Europe, gives some clue to the difference of 'loyalty' from passive 'retention' to active 'maintenance.' Fishman (1966) frequently uses the phrase "language consciousness, language loyalty, and language maintenance" in his discussion of nationalism, implying that, indeed, loyalty is something more than a passive

action, as it first requires a consciousness of linguistic needs or motivations, akin to class consciousness. This phrasing also supports the definition of loyalty as something a bit less active than maintenance, as it is an intermediate stage in a process. Loyalty, therefore, appears to mean an emotional attachment to a language form strong enough to prompt action.

The link between ethnicity and language is a primary reason why language loyalty becomes such a powerful tool for political and maintenance movements. Fishman notes that though the first immigrant generation is bilingual, the next generation shifts to the dominant language, and the third experiences nostalgia for the 'diminished' ethnicity and language. This nostalgia prompts a renewed language loyalty among the third and later generations. Thus language often comes to symbolize ethnicity. McCarty (2003) describes the equation of language with ethnicity among the Navajo, among whom most of the older generation and many youths feel that speaking Navajo is essential to being ethnically Navajo. A similar equation of language speaking ability with ethnicity, and indeed often ideas of language purism, occur among the Tewa (Kroskrity, 2009), and Nahuatl speakers of the Mexican highlands (Hill, 1986). Hidalgo (1995) also describes a feeling of language loyalty among Mexicans living in Juarez. The Juarez community members most often identify the Spanish prestige dialect as that spoken in Mexico City rather than their own dialect in order to maintain a boundary between their Mexican ethnic identity and that of the Mexican American's just across the border in El Paso who code switch.

The equation of language with ethnicity is a significant motivator of language loyalty, often prompting community-based language efforts, education initiatives, and political movements (Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000; Hayden, 1966). Though ethnolinguistic attachment is one motivator for language loyalty, it is not the only motivator. The relationship between language loyalty and nationalist ideology is well established (Anderson, 1983; Fishman, 1969; Gumperz, 2001). Russinovich Sole (1995) includes in her cross-cultural comparison of language nationalism movements three motivations for these movements in her analysis of Cuban-Americans in Miami: affective, instrumental, and ethnolinguistic. Sole argues that young Cuban-Americans have an affective attachment to Cuban Spanish, as it is often associated with memories of childhood and family, and an instrumental motivation for loyalty, as they see the utility of the language for communicating with older relatives and expatriates in other countries. However, Sole finds that most Cuban-Americans do not necessarily feel that one must be a speaker of Cuban Spanish to be ethnically Cuban.

Many community members and scholars, however, view an integrative motivation for language loyalty to be the strongest and potentially most predictive of language retention. Fishman (1966) notes that in the absence of political, geographic, or economic isolation, language is likely to be retained at two levels: the sacred and the intimate. These retained domains and forms serve as reminders of ethnicity. However, Fishman (1999) also notes that this retained use is likely to be symbolic at best. These sentiments are also expressed by community members

as reasons for opposing formal language education (Kroskrity, 2009), as reasons for ideologies of purism (Hill, 1986), and for including native epistemologies in the native language classroom (McCarty et al., 2005; McCarty et al., 2006; Reyhner, 2000), but most commonly as a rationale for creating language education programs, most often bilingual programs.

More recently, investigation into language learning motivation among heritage language learners has focused on explaining how other motivations for language revitalization work. For example, King (2009) finds that Maori language learners are motivated not just by an ethnic identity, but also by a sense of duty to maintain the language for future generations. In addition, Davis (2015) argues that language workers who may not be fluent in Chickasaw can create an identity as language affiliates simply by engaging in language revitalization work. Choctaw language learners appear to also be motivated to learn the language to more closely identify with a Choctaw ethnic identity, and indeed many second language learners are performing just such an identity not by performing in the language, but by engaging in language work and asserting an identity more akin to that of Davis's language affiliate. Motivation in heritage language learning, then, may be more complex than those indicated by the instrumental/integrative dichotomy.

Second Language Teaching Methods and Appropriateness to the Heritage Language Context

Many authors working with and in Native American language learning communities criticize the SLA literature for its one-size approach to language teaching methods. Though many of the theories do appear to apply to most teaching situations, some researchers claim that the Native American communities are sufficiently different from both foreign language learners and heritage language learners to warrant new theory. For example, Cantoni (1999) advocates using Total Physical Response Storytelling in the Native American language classroom. However, as many communities have rules governing when a story may be told, who is permitted to tell a story, and which stories can be told by youths and elders, encouraging teachers to have students act out a story may be offensively inappropriate in some contexts. In addition, if the performance style within a community is one of solemnity, as is the case for elder talk, prophetic tales, origin myth, and historical narrative among the Mississippi Choctaw (Mould, 2003), acting out stories would not be acceptable, and would indeed be an alien concept.

Based on these understandings of cultural contexts, some Native American language revitalization workers criticize the use of Western style teaching methods in the heritage language classroom. Mellow (2000) argues that Western methods are incompatible with Native American social norms, as using TPR, for example, would be inconsistent with a cultural norm of respecting elders, as it

requires potentially younger teachers to request action of elders. Ghosn (2007) argues that teaching language using stories can be especially effective, but only when used in ways that are commensurate with language learners' social roles and norms. Therefore, instructors must choose methods carefully so as not to create conflict between teaching methods and the target language culture or the students' cultural backgrounds. Many Choctaw teachers appear to agree that Western teaching methods are not appropriate to the Choctaw language learning context, instead stating that they use a "natural method" (Kickham and Sealy, 2008). However, while Choctaw language teachers, for the most part, appear to verbally eschew these more western language teaching practices, the majority were, at the time of this fieldwork, still engaging in primarily literacy-based methods, as demonstrated in chapter six.

Language acquisition is firmly grounded in a specific cultural context (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995). To be relevant and effective, second language instructional content should also be grounded in the specific cultural context of the target language (Eder, 1996). Students' intrinsic motivation can be enhanced by extrinsically motivating methods (Noels, 2001). One method of extrinsically motivating students is to include cultural content into the language lessons. Providing content that bridges the students' individual experiences and backgrounds and the new material serves to enhance students' positive evaluation, not only of the novelty and enjoyment of an activity, but also of the relevance of the content to their own ideas of social norms and self-concept (Schumann, 2001).

In addition, language and cultural content provided in the second language classroom should be relevant to the social context of the learner and to the social context of the target language (McGroanty, 2001).

An understanding of the performance styles and genres of a community can serve to create a culturally appropriate methodology and resources set, as stories are often a primary traditional means of transmitting language and education youth in Native American communities. Littlebear (1999) for example, encourages the use of Native Navajo epistemologies in the Navajo language classroom. McCarty et al. (2005) encourages the incorporation of native literacies, including appropriate story as a pedagogical tool. Cultivating a performance-based understanding of narrative can assist communities engaged in community lead programs, which are often the most successful at language revitalization (McCarty et al., 2006).

Individual learners bring with them a variety of abilities and attitudes related to their past experience, specific cultural background, and motivations for learning the language. Gardner and McIntyre (2001) note that individual learner differences, such as age, gender, and aptitude, all affect a student's potential success in learning a second language. These authors further suggest that individual learner differences such as attitude and willingness to talk are inherent personality traits. Needham's (2003) ethnography of Cambodian students learning Khmer literacy in a California program, however, indicates that such traits as willingness to talk and attitudes toward language use and social roles are

grounded in the social ideologies of language use and appropriateness. Needham (2003) describes the role of attitudes toward language learning and of ideologies of language in affecting the form of classroom interaction. Students who view learning as a cooperative group goal rather than an individual effort may not interact in ways expected in the mainstream American classroom.

Peterson (1975) describes his learning experience when working with the Choctaw as a speech instructor. Peterson was surprised by the apparent non-responsiveness of his students and their unwillingness to engage in critique of each other's work until he discovered the general values among the Choctaw of politeness and non-competition. Peterson (1975) notes that, among the Choctaw, cooperative learning is the norm, names are only gained through third party introduction, and eye contact is viewed as impolite, as is criticism or correction. Hester (1997) notes that speech styles in English differ between Choctaws and non-Choctaws. Choctaws tend to leave the interpretation of a statement unspoken so that the listener can draw his/her own conclusions. These ethnographic studies suggest, therefore, that individual student attitudes and performance, rather than being inherent personality traits, may be intimately tied to a social context in second language learning, as is the case in first language acquisition (Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995).

The cultural background of a learner also affects that learner's motivations. Gardner and Lambert (2000) identify two main motivations for learning a second

language: instrumental and integrative motivations. Instrumental motivation is the motivation to learn a language for a specific purpose associated with the economic or social utility of the target language. Integrative motivation, however, is based on the learner's willingness or desire to engage with the community and culture of the target language. Dornyei and Csizer (2001) argue that the integrative motivation serves as part of an identity-forming process in which learners aim to become more like members of the target culture, to internalize their values, and to therefore incorporate aspects of that culture into their own identity. I would add to this list a third motivation, closely tied to integrative motivation, but slightly different from it: ethnolinguistic motivation. Though not explicitly limited to non-heritage second language learners, the integrative motivation is likely employed mostly by learners of a language that is foreign to them or that is not tied to an ethnic identity of a group to which the learner can claim membership. Ethnolinguistic motivation, then, is a more specific motivation in which the learner desires to learn a second language in order to reconnect with a heritage language or ethnic community.

History of Study of Languages of the American Southeast

The linguistic, sociolinguistic, and anthropological study of the languages of the American Southeast has a long history within American linguistics, beginning with DeSoto's brief ethnographic description of the Muskogean groups shortly after first contact, in the 1500s, and Pareda's more in-depth description and recording of these languages in the next century. The Southeast language group

consists of the Muskogean language family, including Choctaw, Chickasaw, Alabama, Koasati, Mikasuki, Hitchiti, Apalachee, Creek and Seminole, as well as at least one Iroquoian language, Cherokee, and one Algonquian, Shawnee. The area also includes a number of unclassified languages and isolates, including Natchez, Atakapa, Tunica, Chitimacha, Biloxi, and Yuchi. Many of these languages received only brief treatment, with a focus on documentation, due to the rapid rate of language loss (Mithun, 1999). The Muskogean groups and Cherokee received much more attention in both linguistic and ethnographic description in part due to their significant numbers, and in part due to their political position in early U.S. governmental negotiations and in wars with the French and English.

Throughout most of the history of investigation of the languages of this area, the focus has been on linguistic collection and description rather than any in-depth examination of the relationship of language and culture. Early work in this area, which began under the auspices of the Bureau of American Ethnology was built on Powell's assumption that stories and languages were a useful tool to classify cultures. This early work included the collection of texts, word lists, and the production of short grammar sketches (see Gatschet, 1895; Swanton, 1921; Sapir, 1913; Speck, 1926 for just a few examples), with the notable exception of Buckley's (1865) Creek dictionary and Byington's (1872) Choctaw dictionary. Much of this linguistic collection was aimed at classifying languages into language families and documenting the acculturation of the linguistic groups. A

few early works, though, did describe the relationship between language and culture, focusing on gendered speech (Haas, 1944) and the role of language in ritual (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1960).

Only very recently has there been significant attention paid to producing the kind of ethnography of communication called for in the mid-20th century by Hymes (1964) and that has been done for the American Southwest. The few ethnographic works of language and culture, of speech and communication in real life, exhibit some of the same themes of those produced in and about the American Southwest, for which there has been significantly more work in the areas of performance, as defined by Bauman (1977) and ideology as introduced by Silverstein (1979) in discussions of Navajo discourses of language and identity (McCarty et al., 2006), narrative and ritual speech performance (Kroskrity, 2009), and narrative and place (Basso, 1988). Recent work in the Southeast focuses on the role of language in reflecting ideologies of gender relations (Bell, 1999; Bender, 2002; Jackson, 2002), ideologies of language use and appropriateness (Bender, 2008, 2009; Hester, 1988; Mould, 2003), and performance of language and narrative (Jackson 2002; Mould 2002, 2003) in the groups of the Southeast. There is still a need, however, for more in-depth analysis of language and ideology performance in the languages of the Southeast.

Language Contact in the Southeast

The earliest collections of texts and vocabularies of languages of the Southeast supported investigation into contact among language speaking groups in this area. Building on the work of Alice Mary Robertson, the daughter of a missionary in Oklahoma in the 1800s, Swanton (1921, 1922, 1924) began comparing the languages he would classify as members of the Muskogean family. Gatschet and Speck continued this work into the early 20th century, with comparisons of texts and vocabulary lists of Chitimacha, Tunica, Atakapa, and Natchez, suggesting that these languages may have been members of the Muskogean family (Martin, 2004), a theory that has been supported (Haas 1956). Kinship terminology comparison proved another avenue for discovering relationships and the influence of areal contact in the Southeast. Haas (1939) examined Natchez kinship terms, finding them commensurate with Creek terms, and Speck (1916) and Eggan (1934) examine the impact of living among the Creek on Yuchi kinship terms. Voegelin and Voegelin (1935) provided a notable exception here, in linking the Shawnee naming practices and terminology in a fairly thorough description of the naming ceremony. However, the overwhelming focus of works during this time supported classifying cultures.

As grammar sketches became more comprehensive, scholars employed analysis of not just vocabulary, but also phonology and morphology to determine language family membership. In 1944, Haas described a unique feature of the Muskogean family: ablaut, or internal changes indicating tense/aspect. She went on to

describe a family tree in which Choctaw and Chickasaw were the first to split from the proto-Muskogean group, an argument that potentially entails political interpretation. In 1957, she further used phonological comparison to suggest that Natchez was a Muskogean language. Booker (1977) later confirmed Haas's family tree through comparison of phonology and ablaut through recent elicitation. However, Munro (1996) suggests through morphological analysis that the tree be reversed to indicate that Creek/Seminole is the oldest branch. This issue remains unresolved. As yet, the only significant areal study has been that of Brown (1985). Brown (1985) describes a reversal-marking shift in the Southeast, in which names for indigenous fruits were extended to introduced fruits and the indigenous fruits were later renamed. Brown argues that this reversal occurred throughout many Muskogean and non-Muskogean languages and that the Southeast can therefore be considered a linguistic area.

Contact and Acculturation

Later, in the mid-20th century, investigation turned to examining the effects of acculturation and English language contact in post-removal and remaining groups speaking languages of the Southeast. The early works concerned with the effects of acculturation focused on the new prominence of biblical themes and evidence of cultural evolution in narratives. Speck and Carr (1945) describe the Catawba "Wild Indians" stories, noting that they are fulfilling the same function of protecting children's safety even in urban settings, though they may be merging with narratives about the devil in order to control adult behavior as well.

Voegelin and Voegelin (1944) describe changes in production of the Shawnee female deity stories in which they claim the influence of Christianity is clearly obvious in the increasing prominence of males as instigators of creation in the narrative. Sturtevant (1963) describes changes in the Seminole origin of races stories revealing both the influence of biblical stories and as revealing the Seminole reordering of the hierarchy of races to reflect the "actual" ranking of races in U.S. culture. Though Saunt (2006) argues that these references to biblical events and appeals to theories of cultural evolution and civilized status may have been an astute political move on the part of Cherokee and Creek leaders to bridge the gap between the government agents and the native perspective, these early authors view these changes as uncritical on the part of the narrative tellers.

Despite this apparent wealth of analysis of acculturation in story and language form, no works are as yet engaging in the kind of examination of changing ideologies of language that are being conducted in the Southwest. One later work examining contact effects, aims at revealing these effects on speakers' linguistic production. Williams (1999) describes reduced fluency of Choctaw youth speakers compared with elders and notes that the switch-reference marker is used significantly less frequently by youth than elders. This last work approaches the type of sociolinguistic work already described earlier in this chapter for the Southwest (see Hill, 1985; Hill and Hill, 1985; McCarty et al., 2006). Though Williams does describe a shift process, he does not examine the ideological factors contributing to the shift.

Language and Gender in the Southeastern Language Groups

One area in which research in the Southeast may surpass that of the Southwest is in analysis of gender relations; beginning with Haas's (1944) examination of Koasati men's and women's speech, investigation into different registers and performance modes has proven a fruitful area for Southeastern linguists. Haas describes the differences in men's and women's phonology and vocabulary in Koasati, noting that men's speech has a more "ssssss" sound to it. Women's speech is viewed as more archaic or traditional than men's. Interestingly, though, Haas describes some performance aspects of narrative using these registers: when representing the voice of a speaker of the opposite gender, male and female narrators can each produce the speech forms of the other.

Later analyses of gendered speech in Southeastern language speakers are even more performance-focused than Haas's treatment of Koasati. Bell (1999) takes up this issue of gendered speech again in her analysis of Creek speakers. Bell analyses the ideology of gender in Creek origin narratives and speech forms, finding that, much like Eggan's (1945) analysis of gender symmetry in Yuchi, Creek symbolism equates bone and semen with maleness and blood and flesh with femaleness. Furthermore, she argues that these symbolisms represent an ideology of male need to control female production. Women are endogenously productive, Bell argues, in that they produce menstrual blood, birth, food, and gossip. This production, especially in the form of gossip, prompts male actions to control production or mitigate the circumstances of production. Finally, Bell

notes that Creek's believe that all infants are of a female quality until they can talk and walk, indicating they have grown bones and separated from their mothers.

This focus on gendered speech in the Southeast continues with Jackson's (2002) analysis of gender reciprocity among the Yuchi, which is somewhat similar to Tewa ideologies of ritual speech and narrative reproduction. Jackson argues that rather than a gender symmetry as argued by Eggan, the Yuchi system of male oratory and female dance is a reciprocal exchange of thanks, performance for ancestors, and recreation of the past. During certain Yuchi ceremonies, men make speeches in which they invoke the female through reference to the Mother Earth, and in which they draw on the authority of the past to complete a cycle of ritual reproduction of past ceremonies. After the men's oratory, women dance through the night. Their dance recreates the social order and reproduces the growth of the corn and of life. During this dancing, Jackson argues, women are thanking the men for their work while the men are praising the women for their renewal of the past. This ritual renewal is very similar to that described by Kroskrity for the Tewa (2009). The Tewa Kiva speech and narrative forms include an appeal to the past authority of previous speakers, much as do Creek orators, but also are a means to enact change in the world by supporting the growth of crops and children. Though in the Tewa communities, either men or women may tell stories, only elder men produce Kiva speech, the most formal

ritual speech. In either case, the Tewas are recreating the past and reproducing in the present.

This focus on gendered use of language is extended by Bender (2002) to analysis of gendered use of writing systems among the Cherokee, revealing yet another similarity with Tewa language ideology. Bender describes the use of the Cherokee syllabary in Cherokee language education programs and in production for tourism. She notes that in education women will teach the syllabary, though often use another orthography to promote accessibility. Male teachers will not usually use the syllabary. Bender also notes that in producing items for tourist consumption, women will use the syllabary, though men do not. She argues that this gendered use of the syllabary results from an attempt to simultaneously index an authentic identity for tourists but to maintain a boundary between the Cherokee and tourists by preventing meaningful access to medicine practices encoded in syllabary use. Significant use of the syllabary is limited to two domains: the church and traditional medicine practice. This compartmentalization is reminiscent of the compartmentalization of Tewa described by Kroskrity (2009). Kroskrity describes the multiple codes in the average Tewa speaker's repertoire as inclusive of Tewa, Hopi, the language of the larger community within which the Tewa have resided since removal in the 1800s, and English. The uses of each language, however, is compartmentalized into domains of use, with English spoken for trade, Hopi spoken with Hopi or when discussing intra-village matters, but Tewa only with other Tewas. Tewa stories, moreover, cannot be told in any

language but Tewa and do not permit code switching. This compartmentalization serves to protect Tewa from non-Tewa influence and to prevent non-Tewas from learning it, much as Cherokee use of the syllabary for actual reading/language use and not just as a symbol indexing identity protects Cherokee knowledge from non-Cherokees. Most Choctaws, on the other hand, appear to be very open regarding learning the language, instead arguing that non-Choctaws speaking Choctaw will aid in maintaining the language.

Language and Ideologies of Identity in the Southeastern Language Speakers

These ideologies of language as indexing identity are also revealed in several other Southeastern works, again expressing themes of language and ethnicity, and to a lesser degree, language purity, similar to those examined in Southwestern language groups. A difference in the past ideologies of language purity is seen in investigation of linguistic acculturation studies. Brown (1985) provides an analysis of lexical borrowing that includes both the Southeastern and Southwestern languages. One trend emerging from Brown's survey indicates that the speakers of Southeastern languages tended to borrow words from English and Spanish at a higher rate than did speakers of the languages of the Southwest. Navajo speakers in particular proved especially resistant to borrowing from English, preferring instead to create new words or extend old words. Though speakers of Southeastern languages did extend words, this occurrence tended to indicate a shift toward English (Brown 1983), rather than the retention of language purity that occurs in the Southwest. This apparently less rigid focus on

purity in the Southeastern languages may be changing, however, as revitalization movements are underway, indicating further investigation into this issue may be warranted.

In both the Southeastern and Southwestern speech communities, language use reveals ideologies of authenticity and ethnic identity. Bender (2008) describes the use of different handwriting scripts in using the syllabary among the Cherokee of North Carolina. The use of the more formal, official, syllabary style indexed the bible and a Christian identity, whereas a handwriting style of a more freeform syllabary indexed authenticity in traditional medicine practice. Jackson and Linn (2000) describe the changing performance of a Yuchi calling in ritual. Language students now speak the ritual opening and calling speeches in a fossilized fashion in order to index historical authenticity even though few in the audience can understand the meaning of the calls. This regimentation is similar to Kroskrity's (2009) description of the regimentation of Tewa Kiva speech. Kiva speech is considered the most polished high form of Tewa speech. Speakers disdain the use of slang, code switching, or other informal language use in the Kiva, instead preferring to maintain rigidly to the more archaic and traditional style of past speech, which is viewed as more authentic.

In addition to ideologies of authenticity, both the Southeastern and Southwestern speech communities' use of language is highly contextualized, grounded in shared historical understanding and experience. Hester (1997) compares the styles of

speaking and not speaking employed by the Choctaw with the direct style of mainstream American speech. The Choctaws, he argues, do not spell out the meaning of a story or statement, instead letting the interlocutor bring his/her own experience to the interpretation of the exchange. Tedlock (1983) also notes this type of open-ended intertextuality, or subtextuality among Zuni storytellers. Zuni storytellers would break frame to inform the ethnographer of some context that itself informed the interpretation of the story. They did not need to do this in telling to general Zuni audiences, though, as the Zuni all shared a similar cultural context. Like Tedlock's storyteller, Hester (1997) did explain some of the context for the non-Choctaw in his reading audience, but left some intertextual interpretation open ended. This performance style appears to occur in both regions, though perhaps for different purposes.

Performance Genres in the Southeastern Language Groups

More recent studies of performance genres and purposes among speakers of Southeastern languages also reveal some themes similar to those of the Southwest. One such similar theme is performance as social action. Bell (1980) describes the parallel structures of a Creek ritual designed to bring outsiders into the community. During this ritual, the orator describes past actions, foreshadows future actions, and then speaks present actions. While the orator makes statements about the reality of the world, such as "women and infants are brought inside," the participants in the ritual follow these actions, so that women with infants move to the interior of the ritual space. Bell argues that this form of

oratory, is, in fact, creating action through speech. Mould (2002, 2003) describes the merging of two Mississippi Choctaw genres, the riddle and the prophecy. In telling prophetic riddles, the narrator first draws on the authority of past-fulfilled prophecy by recounting the personal experience of having heard the prophecy before it was fulfilled followed by an explanation of how the prophecy was fulfilled. Then the narrator tells a new prophecy. Often, the fulfilled prophecy portion of the narrative is told in riddle form in which the narrator tells the prophecy in Choctaw but reveals the fulfillment in English.

Both of these types of ritual speech, in Creek and in Choctaw, exhibit the type of intertextuality Kroskrity (2009) describes for Tewa. In Tewa narrative, the narrator attributes the story to a person in the past, drawing on the authority of the past and bringing past experience to bear on present circumstance. Basso (1988) describes the same process for Western Apache speakers, who will reference a place name that invokes a moral narrative during normal conversation, evoking the memory of that story and inviting individual reflection on the applicability of that story to the present. Kroskrity implies that the act of speaking is an action, and that speaking causes action. This speaking as causing action is clearly seen in Bell's description of Creek ritual, as is the intertextuality inherent in evoking past authority and present recreation of that authority. This intertextuality is also evident in Mould's description of prophetic riddling genres in the Choctaw community.

Need for This Study: Supporting Native Language Education Through Investigation of Ideology and Performance of Narrative

Though the few works on Southeastern language communities that fall solidly within the linguistic anthropology framework do raise issues of ideology, authority, identity, and performance similar to those raised by sociolinguistic study of the Southwest, there are a number of areas in which study of Southeastern language communities falls behind those for Southwestern language communities. One of these areas concerns the study of native language revitalization movements and language education. Though there are several studies of the effectiveness of Cherokee immersion pre-schools and the history of Cherokee literacy, similar to the study produced by McCarty (2003) outlining the academic successes of students in Navajo immersion programs, there are few such studies for other languages of the Southeast.

There are also no studies of the type by Littlebear and Martinez (1996) calling for a reevaluation of the validity of using literacy-based teaching methods developed in a Western epistemological paradigm in a traditionally oral community. In addition, there are no studies examining the issue of language ideology and its effect on education efforts such as those produced by McCarty et al. (2006) concerning Navajo youth perceptions of the utility and value of their heritage language and that language's role in maintaining their ethnic identity. Finally, there are no studies examining the relationship of potential ideologies of purism and language education, as there are for the Tewa (Kroskrity, 2009).

This issue of the relationship of purism to language education efforts may be a useful place to begin investigation into Choctaw language education. Purist ideologies often emerge in times of stress or perceived threat. A comparison of Mississippi Choctaw and Oklahoma Choctaw shows a marked difference in the code switching and borrowing between the two groups (Broadwell, 2006). The Mississippi Choctaw, the community of speakers who remained in Mississippi after removal, are still speaking the language in the home, although that is quickly changing. As there are still high numbers of young speakers, their use of the language reveals creative incorporation of English and clipping and contraction of words. This is not a significant concern among language educators in Mississippi. In Oklahoma, though, the ideology appears to be one of purism. As the Oklahoma Choctaw population has undergone shift to English, concern for maintaining the language and educating in "proper" Choctaw rather than "Choclish," code mixing English and Choctaw, is prevalent. This purist ideology may have a few unexpected consequences. One consequence of a purist ideology could be that of inhibiting younger speakers' production, reducing the likelihood that they will actually become fluent speakers. An additional potential consequence is one of compartmentalizing Choctaw in Oklahoma to traditional domains of use, such as the Choctaw Baptist Church. The Choctaw educators in Oklahoma could find themselves facing the same issues as the Navajo educators; they could wind up attempting to teach and use the language with a student population that equates Choctaw use with backwardness.

Additional areas in need of investigation in Choctaw focus on narrative performance and stylistics and language use as identity marker. Though Mould (2003) does describe some performance ideologies of Choctaw narrative genres—differentiating elder talk, which includes prophetic tales, historical tales, origin stories, from hog talk, which includes joking, animal stories, and personal narrative—his focus is on the prophetic genre. No descriptions of the role of personal narrative in social construction have been conducted as yet. Neither have any studies focused on the use of personal narrative in performing individual identity, including ethnicity. One Choctaw language teacher has told me that among the Choctaw there are two types: cultural practitioners and non-practitioners (Sealy, p.c. October 2009). This teacher asserts that a key characteristic of a cultural practitioner is that they speak the language. This statement suggests that there may be varying degrees of Choctaw ethnic identity, with speakers of Choctaw being perceived as more Choctaw than non-speakers. Ideologies of language and ethnic identity often affect the outcomes of language maintenance and education goals, and as such are important areas of study.

Though Hymes called for "ethnography of speaking" in 1964, only recently has there been this type of research in the American Southeast. Through most of the linguistic history of this area, the focus has been on linguistic collection and description (see Buckley, 1865; Byington, 1872; Sapir, 1913; Speck, 1926; Swanton, 1922, 1924). Relatively few works in the Southeast investigating the relationship of language and culture, of speech and communication in life, focus

on the same themes as those for the Southwest: performance, as defined by Bauman (1977) and ideology as introduced by Silverstein (1979). Recent work in the Southeast focuses on the role of language in reflecting ideologies within traditional use contexts, specifically of gender relations (Bell, 1999; Bender, 2002; Jackson, 2002), of language use and appropriateness (Bender, 2008, 2009; Mould, 2003), and performance of language and narrative (Jackson, 2002; Mould, 2003). There is still a need, however, for more in-depth analysis of language ideologies and performance within revitalization contexts in the Southeast. The current situation in the Choctaw Language Program affords an opportunity to investigate the relationship between language ideologies and language performance within such a context.

Chapter 3: Humanizing Research:

Critical Discourse Analysis and Collaborative Ethnography

Are you going to tell it like it really is?

--Choctaw language teacher—May, 2013

The purpose of this research was not merely to conduct research useful to the fields of Linguistic Anthropology, Second Language Acquisition and Anthropology of Education, but to produce work relevant and meaningful to the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma language program. Not only did I ask for the then Community Class Director's help in designing this project with the goal of its direct utility to Choctaw Nation language planners, but I also asked for community members' help in analyzing the data, the words and actions of the participants who so graciously allowed me to visit with them. To ensure the findings in this research are valid and grounded in understanding of the community and culture, collaboration with key Choctaw consultants is a significant part of the project. Both the ethnographer's and the community participants' voices are represented in this work, through their words, stories, and ideas, but also through their guidance in interpreting experience.

Mould (2003) describes the educational purposes of three Choctaw narrative forms: histories, personal narratives, and "hog talk", this last being joke, trickster, or animal stories. Cultural limitations restrict who can tell which story, with

elders being responsible for histories and younger people's story performance limited to hog talk and personal narrative. Histories are restricted to those who have the authority and experience to tell them. As I am not an elder, I do not have the necessary authority to tell the story of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's language learning and teaching community on my own. I therefore borrow some authority from the speakers, teachers, and learners from whom I learned during the past few years. Further, as an attempt to frame this work within the Choctaw story genre, I use an integrated narrative presentation style, in which not only the narratives of Choctaw learners and teachers as emerged in class and interviews are presented, but so, too, are narratives of my own experience which frame the research. Hymes (1964) described framing as setting the context for a speech event. Genre styles, he argues, can be disassociated with a traditional context and employed in a distinct context to index the previous context, in other words to frame them. As the written product based on this research project is itself a speech event, a conversation with Choctaw community members and language planners, and as Choctaw discussions are inherently infused with story, this work uses a narrative style. The narratives include the words and stories of participants and collaborators, but also illustrate the context of my own position within this work and community.

Rather than presenting my own interpretation of events as the single authority, in what Clifford (1983) described as common ethnographic practice of presenting a third person representation of what is essentially interpretation of interpretation, I

share the authority for this work with my consultants. If "ethnography is from beginning to end enmeshed in writing," (1983, p.120) I invite the community into the writing process. Though I am undoubtedly writing my own experience into textual form, I am guided in my interpretation and understanding of that experience by key members of the teaching and learning community within which this experience was gained. This project is not only about Choctaw teachers and learners, but is also for them and, in large part, guided by them. Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and reflexive, collaborative ethnography in researching language ideologies emerging within Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's Community Class program enables a more humanized analysis, supporting and representing the voice not just of this ethnographer, but of *many groups and individual members* of the language learning community.

Research Context

In performing reflexive collaborative sociolinguist ethnography, I must first situate this research within my own ideological framework and within the context of conducting research within the Oklahoma Choctaw community. Conducting research within and with the Oklahoma Choctaw language and teaching community requires sensitivity to the needs and political contexts of that program as well as protecting research participants. Toward this goal, I first worked with a Language Program administrator to frame the research and to ensure the project was responsive to the needs of the Program. Two Institutional Review Board approvals were required for this project (see Appendices A through D). The first

approval was from the University of Oklahoma. The second approval was required from the Choctaw Nation Institutional Review Board, which required layers of permissions and, rightly, editorial review of the final written product.

Clarifying the Ethnographer's Ideologies

Instrumental in framing my current thinking are the works of Kroskrity (2015), Bucholtz (2003) and Hill (2002). Bucholtz calls for a more reflexive practice of sociolinguistic research in which the ethnographer acknowledges her own ideologies and their impact on choice of subject, participant and context. Hill (2002) argues for a movement away from describing what constitutes an authentic speaker and towards describing the ways that speakers authenticate their identities. Finally, Kroskrity (2015) argues that linguists working with Native communities must consciously uncover the ideologies of the groups with which they work, but their own ideologies emerging from their positions and educations within the discipline so as not to revert to a stance of linguistic privilege. My own ideology concerning what constitutes authenticity, the authentic speaker, and authentic language shaped my early thinking in this project and the generation of research questions. When I first began fieldwork, I was subject to the same ideologies to which Bucholtz argues many linguists are. I believed that language and identity were inextricably intertwined; that to be an authentic ethnic Choctaw, one must speak Choctaw. This ideology, at first, framed my anticipation of what I would find. Through the fieldwork experience, though, and with the help of

Choctaw collaborators who asked some pointed questions, my original ideologies were challenged.

Research Questions

This research employs discourse analysis approach to uncover community, teacher, and student language ideologies that may be impacting teacher choice of teaching methods, student interactions in the classroom, and the overall success of the Choctaw Nation Language Department's revitalization efforts. The ethnographic methods employed include participant observation, direct observation of teaching and learning activities, informal and semi-structured interviews, and administration of questionnaires, at multiple community and university Choctaw classes and language planning events. The participants include Language Department administrators, teachers, and students and university teachers and students. Data were analyzed in an iterative process of narrative analysis and collaborative interpretation.

This research project addresses three questions articulated by an administrator of the Choctaw Nation Language Department

- Why is the program not producing any fluent speakers?
- Why do people who know the language choose not to speak it?
- How can Choctaw Nation train the younger, less fluent, second language learner instructors to teach the language?

In addition to examining practices as relate to these questions, the research process was designed to remained open to describing and analyzing other factors influencing the Language Program's success as they emerged.

To improve the reliability and internal validity of the study, I employed multiple methods in investigating the ideologies prevalent in the Choctaw language community. The primary method of research was participant observation within community class sessions at 12 different community class sites, followed by in-depth interviews of all teachers and at least one student in each class. To augment the observations and interviews, a short questionnaire to collect demographic and basic motivation or ideological perspective was administered to students in 10 of these community class sites. To better understand the wider context of the language program and to compare with other educational efforts, two university classes and three closed-circuit television high school classes were also observed. The instructors of these classes, as well as several students in the university classes were also interviewed. Collecting data from these additional sites permitted comparison of class methods in different venues and different communities as well as identification of themes emerging across venues through a grounded theory approach. Ethnographic findings were also discussed with administrators and select participants to ensure their accuracy.

Setting and Participants

During the three-year period beginning June 2011 through June 2014, I visited seven university classes, 12 community classes, five high school class sessions, one storytelling event, two Intertribal Language summits, three dictionary committee meetings, and two days of teacher certification meetings. Field sites and participants were chosen using a non-random, criterion sampling method.

The inclusionary criteria for participants were that they be either affiliated with, teaching or attending a Choctaw Nation Language Department sponsored community language class or high school class or teaching or attending a university Choctaw class. Community class field sites were specifically chosen to provide a sample representative of the demographics of community class teachers and the geographic region in which the community classes are taught.

Community Classes

The Choctaw Language Department currently sponsors 38 community classes, three semesters of courses taught at two Oklahoma universities, high school classes taught in 52 high schools via closed circuit television, and online Internet classes. The Department also teaches Choctaw in selected Head Start programs. In addition to these educational activities, the Choctaw Language Program engages in language planning within its own community. The Department holds quarterly curriculum development meetings, teacher workshops, and engages with the wider Native American language planning community throughout Oklahoma by participating in Five-Tribes Intertribal Council Meetings on Language and an annual Intertribal Language Summit.

The Choctaw Language Department and the School of Choctaw Language, which hosts the online and high school classes, are housed in prefabricated outbuildings on the grounds of the Tribal Headquarters in Durant, Oklahoma, a mid-sized community southeast of Oklahoma City near the Texas border. While most of the

high school teachers are based out of Durant, many are geographically dispersed throughout Oklahoma and only come to the School for meetings. Many language-related events may occur in areas outside of Durant. Intertribal Council Meetings, for example, rotate meeting places to be equally distributed throughout Indian Country. The annual Choctaw Storytelling Festival also changes locations each year to enable access to communities throughout southeastern Oklahoma.

The Oklahoma community classes range in distance between 7 and 200 miles from Oklahoma City and are held in diverse communities, from cities with populations over 100,000 to small towns with populations in the low thousands. Some community classes are held at libraries or at local Indian churches, but most are held in Choctaw Community Centers. These Centers are all similarly designed as long buildings with administrative offices. Most are used as senior citizen centers, meeting spaces, and a few house services such as Head Start or Food Supplement Programs such as Women, Infants, and Children (WIC), a government-sponsored program providing food vouchers to women who are pregnant or have children under 5 years of age. Community classes meet one night a week for 16 weeks at a run, with about a month break between classes. At any given time, different classes are in different phases of instruction, from Phase I, the beginner class, to Phase IV, the most advanced class. Many teachers describe their classes as being in maintenance, indicating that their students have completed all four phases and have begun the sequence again.

At the time of research, 38 teachers taught the Choctaw Nation community classes: 24 female and 14 male, ranging in age from 20-30 years to 70 plus years. Younger speakers, raised in households where a grandparent or parent spoke Choctaw as a first language, are rare, are often not confident in their fluency. Many of these younger speakers understand, but choose not to speak Choctaw. Most of the elder language instructors are fluent, many having been raised in the language. According to data provided by the Choctaw Nation Language Department administration, there were both first and second language status teachers in all age ranges for each gender, indicated in Table 1. There were four female teachers who were 2nd language Choctaw learners (L2) and 20 1st language speakers (L1). The L1 and L2 language female teachers spanned the age ranges from 40-50 through 70 plus. There were five 1st language Choctaw speakers as community class teachers and five 2nd language learners. Notably absent were any female instructors below the age of 40 and any L1 Choctaw instructors under the age of 40.

Table 1: Community Class Teacher Demographics

	L1=Choctaw		**L2=Choctaw**	
Age Range	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
20-39				2
40-49	2	1	1	1
50-59	3			1
60-69	9	4	2	
70+	6	4	1	1
Total	**20 (67%)**	**9 (31%)**	**4 (44.4%)**	**5 (55.6%)**

L1: First language speakers of Choctaw
L2: Second language learners of Choctaw

Of the community class teachers, 24 (63.2%) were female and 14 (36.8%) were male. Twenty-nine (76.3%) were L1 Choctaw speakers, while nine (23.7%) learned Choctaw as a second language (L2). Of the L1 Choctaw speakers, 20 were female and 9 male. Of the L2 Choctaw speakers, four were female and five male. Of the female L1 speakers, most (75%) are over age 60 as are most of the male L1 instructors (88%). Of the female L2 instructors, half are aged 60-69; one was in the 40-49 range, and the other aged 70 or over. Of the male L2 instructors, 40% were under age 40, while 60% were aged 40 and over.

I observed 12 community classes, nine (75%) having female instructors and three (25%) having male instructors, as indicated in Table 2. The sample included nine L1 Choctaw speakers and four L2 Choctaw speakers. The L1 speakers included six female instructors and two male instructors, while the L2 speakers included three female instructors and one male instructor.

Table 2: Representative Sampling of Community Teachers

	L1=Choctaw		**L2=Choctaw**	
Age Range	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**
20-39				1
40-49	1		2	
50-59	2	1	1	
60-69	2			
70+	1	1		
Total	**6 (75%)**	**2 (25%)**	**3 (75%)**	**1 (25%)**

L1: First language speakers of Choctaw
L2: Second language learners of Choctaw

Half of the female L1 instructors were aged 60 or over and both of the male L1 teachers were aged 50 or over. The one male L2 instructors was quite young, at almost 30. Though not identical to the overall demographics, these statistics show a sampling of teachers representative of the overall language status, age, and gender distribution of Choctaw community class teachers.

In addition to selecting a representative sample of community classes based on teacher demographics, I selected classes based on geographic similarity to the distribution of community classes held in the state of Oklahoma, making sure to include classes both within and without Choctaw Nation boundaries. At the time of research, the Choctaw Nation Language Department sponsored 48 classes, three of which were held outside of Oklahoma, two of those in California and one in Texas. Of the 35 classes held in Oklahoma, 18 were held inside of Choctaw Nation and 17 were held outside. The classes outside of Choctaw Nation were found in the Southwest quadrant of Oklahoma (5), Central/South Central (7), and Northeastern (5) regions of the state. No classes were taught in Northwestern Oklahoma or in the Oklahoma Panhandle.

For the purposes of this study and to ensure a representative geographic sample, and based on discussions with participants, I divided the Choctaw Nation into three regions that would reflect the relationship of locations to the boundaries of Choctaw Nation: North, West and East. The Northern and Eastern regions were theoretically likely to have teachers/students who I then thought might exhibit a

more central Choctaw identity, due to their historical rural nature and possibly reduced influence from other Native American languages, though all speakers are, of course, influenced by the dominant English context. The Northern and Western regions have class locations most likely to be at a border with other Oklahoma Native nation boundaries, the Choctaw Nation being bounded by the Chickasaw to the west, and Cherokee to the north. Choctaw speakers extend into the rural communities in Arkansas and Texas bordering the Eastern region. This region, therefore, would be most likely to experience the least interference from other languages and speech communities other than that of the dominant English speaking communities. The field sites selected included five classes outside of Choctaw Nation's boundaries, with one class in the Northeast of the state, one in the Southwest, one in the South Central portion of the state and two in the central Oklahoma City metropolitan area. Seven classes were within Choctaw Nation, with three in the Western region, two in the Northern region, and two in the Eastern region.

University Classes

The university classes were held at the University of Oklahoma, as part of the Native American Language Program within the department of Anthropology. Two classes were Choctaw Level I classes (1st semester), three were Level II classes and two were Level III classes. These classes are held in university classrooms in different buildings on campus, as space permits. All are arranged with seating in rows and columns of individual desks with attached chairs facing

the instructor, who stands at the head of the class, with a chalkboard/whiteboard at his head. All but one class was taught by male teachers, between the ages of 40 and 60, who identify ethnically as Choctaw and are a first language speaker of Choctaw. A speaker of Kiowa, an unrelated language, taught the remaining class, a beginning Choctaw I class, though the instructor had some Choctaw background and familiarity with the language.

The student population of these classes was somewhat ethnically diverse, though the majority identified as Caucasian. On an open survey demographics question asking for self-identified ethnicity, out of seven classes containing a total of 127 students, 4 students identified as Choctaw and 10 as Native American. Three students identified as Hispanic and 11 as African American. All students but one in the Level II classes were traditional-aged, with the remaining student being a woman in her 30s. Many students in the Level I and II classes were student athletes from the football, rowing, tennis, track, and baseball programs. Half the students in the Level III classes were athletes, from the rowing, tennis, track, and baseball programs. Based on interviews conducted with several students from each class, it appears that the high proportion of athletes in these classes may be due to academic advisors for the athletic programs steering students into Native American Language classes due to their perceived easiness compared to other languages taught at the University of Oklahoma.

Instrumentation

Community class, high school, and university class teachers, as well as several university students, were interviewed once each using a semi-structured interview schedule. The interview schedule contained a skeleton of 12 questions, but remained open to allow participants to focus more or less on specific aspects of their language experience. The first three questions concerned demographic information. The remaining questions focused on experience with the first and subsequent languages, language use in the home, ideas concerning teaching methods and learning, frequency of use of Choctaw, and goals in studying and teaching the language. Choctaw Nation Language Department administrators were also interviewed at least once, but often more than once. The first round of interviewing was semi-structured and consistent for all administrators. Subsequent interview topics focused on practices or issues observed in classes or events.

An 18-question survey was administered to all students in the participating community and university classes. The survey was designed to be accessible by English language readers of differing abilities and to be sensitive to the cultural context of the Choctaw community, in which ranking or direct comparison of ability is not valued (Haag and Coston, 2002). While the questions asking students to assess their own past and current Choctaw language ability in speaking, reading, writing, and understanding the language were formatted using a Likert-style model, these were modified to use words such as 'none', 'beginner',

'intermediate', and 'fluent', rather than a numerical scale, to facilitate ease of understanding. Most questions, however, were designed as open-response items, to conform to and encourage the narrative style of communication that is a norm for Choctaw community members (Mould, 2000). The questionnaire was tested with two key informants prior to finalizing the design.

Procedures

Contacting, Consenting, and Observation

Instructors were contacted by telephone at least two weeks prior to the first intended class visit to allow instructors time to discuss the project with their students. If the teachers agreed to participate, a description of the project was provided and all adult students and the teacher were consented. Community classes occur weekly for about two hours. Observations of these classes occurred over a period of four consecutive weeks. University classes, which met daily or Monday, Wednesdays, and Fridays, were attended for at least one full week. Class sessions were video-recorded for aid in transcription and detailed note-taking. All materials distributed to students were received and cataloged for each class session.

Interviewing

During weeks two and three of fieldwork at a site, a request was issued to the students for interviews. Interviews were conducted during weeks three and four of visits to each site. Instructor interviews were conducted during week four of

class field visits. As interviews were open-ended, the duration of each interview varied, with most lasting about an hour. Administrators were contacted for formal interviews by either phone or email. These interviews, which lasted approximately an hour each, occurred throughout the research period. When possible, and with consent of interviewees, all formal interviews were audio recorded to aid in transcription and to aid in maintaining fidelity. Multiple informal conversations with administrators and teachers also occurred once initial consent was given.

Questionnaire Administration

The questionnaire was administered during week four of class field visits and the last day of visit for university classes. The primary investigator administered the questionnaires, to be available to answer any questions, in all but one case. During one university class observation period, cancellation of the last class period during observation required the teacher to administer the questionnaire and return the completed forms to the investigator.

Survey Design

- Open Ended Questions
  - Demographic Information (age, gender, ethnicity)
  - Language Background (L1, L at school, past experience)
  - Length of Time in Classes/Number of Classes
  - Class activities and learning styles
  - Goals and Reasons for Studying Choctaw
- Closed questions
  - Frequency of Use of Choctaw in Daily Life
  - Perception of Ability in Reading/Writing/Speaking/Listening

General Event Observation

Attendance at language planning events, such as the ongoing Dictionary committee meetings, Intertribal council meetings on language and Teacher Certifications, was coordinated through Language Department administrators. At the Dictionary committee meetings, a series of meetings designed to review words to be added to or revised for an updated Choctaw-English dictionary, all participants were consented. At Teacher Certification events, only the administrator leading the open session was consented. All other events, including Intertribal Council Meetings and Language Summits, were public events where no expectation of privacy exists; therefore consent to observe was not required.

Data Analysis

This study uses a discourse analysis approach to understanding language ideologies and their role in teaching method choice, learner motivation and language choice, and overall community engagement in language revitalization and education. During observation, note-taking and transcription of class sessions and all other events, teaching method, student response to method, student and teacher interactions, and statements or behavior indicating language attitudes or ideologies were preliminarily flagged for coding. Dialogs between teachers and students, among students, and interview narratives were additionally analyzed to identify the prevalent ideologies revealed.

Questionnaire data were numerically and thematically coded to gain basic demographic statistics and to identify themes in ideology as well as specific statements of ideology. Open ended questions were transcribed word for word to aid in discourse micro-analysis, but also coded for themes in motivation and ideology to provide some basic statistics concerning the relationship between ethnic self-identification, language ability, motivation type, and ideologies of utility and value of the Choctaw language. For example, statements indicating the goal of learning Choctaw for its usefulness in a particular situation or for a particular purpose were coded as indicating instrumental motivation. Statements indicating the goal of learning Choctaw because of one's heritage or a desire to maintain or revitalize the language were coded as indicating ideological motivation.

Understanding that the ethnographic encounter is itself a performance situation (Paredes, 1977; Sarris, 1999; Tedlock, 1983) enables us, as ethnographers, to more fully engage in reflexive ethnography. During the analysis and writing process, I routinely took time to record and reflect on my own interactions with participants and my role in the fieldwork process. I collaborated with two key participants, a former teacher and administrator within the Choctaw Language Department and a university teacher who also teaches in community classes, to effect the type of collaborative ethnography described by McCarty, et al. (2006), in which participants are part of research process from design to the interpretation of findings, and to refine my own understanding of the data and assist in

interpretation of findings and themes. Further, I chose to use the words of the participants as much as possible, not just as data for discourse analysis, but also to represent their voice in the final written product. My goal in engaging in a type of reciprocal ethnography, in which the emergent dialogic process of the ethnographic process is transferred to written ethnography (Bauman and Briggs, 1990; Lawless 2000), was to ensure the validity of and dependability of the findings, but moreover, to produce a document that more faithfully represents the perspectives and ideologies of Choctaw community members. Though, this type of representation is still just that, a representation of another's entextualized narrative performance within the ethnographer's re-contextualization of events, it does represent a move toward sharing voice and authority as a way to engage more fully with the communities in meeting their own self-identified needs.

Limitations of the Research

The scope of this research limits the findings of the study, but not the overall utility to Choctaw Nation. This project is not focused on in-depth evaluation of teaching style or method of individual teachers or any particular teaching method. Further, this research is limited to those individuals who are teaching or currently enrolled in classes. While the focus and scope of this project did not permit contacting individuals who were not actively engaged in learning the language in the community classes, a more quantitative survey-based approach in future including information about this population could prove beneficial to the Language Department in expanding their class reach. The one non-attending

participant, who I was able to serendipitously interview, as she attended a class graduation, indicates this would be a worthy area of study.

An additional limitation concerns the ability to observe and gather data for every member of every class. Many students attend classes irregularly, sporadically, or take time off due to family needs or school activities. This fluctuation meant that not every student observed was available to take the questionnaire. Further, a few participants in certain classes chose not to be included in the data. However, the majority of students did participate and were quite open in sharing their perspectives. Finally, time and resource limitations, as well as instructor preference, prevented observing all community classes. Three classes were outside the state of Oklahoma and one teacher contacted chose not to participate.

Despite these limitations, the data were reliable and useful in addressing the research questions. Data saturation occurred early in the study, but data collection continued to ensure a representative sample and to enable confirmation of findings. The duration and repetition of visits to each class site reduced the initial impact of observer influence on behavior and ensured consistency and internal validity of data collected, as any individual feast or ceremonial class session did not comprise the entire observation; observing four class periods ensured that most class sessions represented typical instructional interactions. Finally, clarifying my findings with key participants enhanced the validity of findings, as

it reduced the likelihood of findings being limited to my own de-contextualized interpretations of events and experiences.

Presentation and Review of the Research

The presentation of this research attempts a more humanizing approach. By framing the events and analysis through narrative of my own experience, I am acknowledging the ethnographer's role in shaping questions and findings. By utilizing a critical discourse analysis, I am responsive to the ideologies that I perceived, but also to the perceptions of the participants, reflected in their practices, words, and narratives. I was also responsible in my analysis to "tell it like it is," as I was instructed to by several interviewees. This meant that not only did I collaborate with two key consultants, but also with several additional teachers, during the writing and revision stages. I was responsible for reporting their concerns interpretation of events as contextualized by Choctaw Nation's history, the Language Department's history, and community perceptions of identity and power.

The final project was shared first with consultants to ensure it reflected an accurate portrayal of events and findings, next shared with the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's Language Department Director for feedback, and finally, reviewed by Choctaw Nation Institutional Review Board. While any analysis written from an outsider/academic perspective is by its nature incomplete, collaborating with

stakeholders at multiple levels of engagement in language revitalization has greatly enhanced the experience and the product.

Chapter 4: No Elephants or Choclish Here: Language Purism, Identity, and Strategically Employed Ethnicity

Early during my fieldwork, in the fall of 2011, while sitting in a Mexican restaurant in northern central Choctaw Nation in the southeastern region of Oklahoma, I struggled to hear the words of a middle aged, female, community class teacher over the din of restaurant discussion and silverware clatter. She was talking about her motivations for learning the language—she considered herself a second language learner, as she "lost" the language spoken in her home when she started elementary school—along with her methods for teaching the language and her goals for class participants. Then she made an interesting comment that caught my ear. In discussing the importance of young people learning the language, she stated that it was important for the class members to learn the "real language, not this stuff that they are making up now." She went on to state that only the real language should be taught and that teachers had to avoid mixing up the language, using "Choclish" (code mixing English and Choctaw) and that people should not be talking about elephants. "There were no elephants in Choctaw country, so there should not be any word for elephants now." I listened politely, thinking to myself, from a then uncritical position of linguistic privilege, that neologisms, of course, were essential to language revitalization for the language to be relevant in modern domains of use and that any use of Choctaw, no matter how interspersed with English, was a good start. This was not the first

time I had heard a complaint about Choclish, but it was the first time I had heard someone denounce the creation of new words as not consistent with "real Choctaw". It was only later that I began to ponder why a reasonable teacher might hold such a position or why she would choose the word "elephant" on which to focus such attention.

In visiting Choctaw community language classes throughout Oklahoma, interviewing teachers, and listening to students talk, conversations often turned to teaching, learning, and using "real Choctaw", which often then lead to denouncement of code mixing and using any words that were not originally Choctaw. This interesting word kept cropping up in conversations—elephants. It seems that the two issues, that of code mixing and neologism creation have become conflated under the topic of "authenticity". Further, the word 'elephant' appears to have become emblematic of all attempts to modernize, or introduce new words and concepts into the language. The following excerpt (Example 4.1) illustrates the use of 'elephants' in just this way, in a conversation about neologism, creation of new words, and specifically the word *okchako,* a new word for 'blue' introduced within the past five years.

Example 4.1: Interview: Choctaw Language Teacher, Northeastern Oklahoma

EK: *What do you think about adding new words to the language?*

Teacher: *I ain't heard any new words. I've heard shortening and replacing, but there're no new words in Choctaw. Certain letters we don't have…they're made with borrowed sounds.*

EK: *What about* okchako*?*

Teacher: *I think of* okchako *as 'green'. We don't talk about elephants because there ain't no elephants around here. If we're going to get modern, it ruins the real thing. We need to keep Choctaw simple. Especially these linguists. Don't try to change it by changing letters or sounds.*

When asked about creating new words in the language, this community class teacher states that there are no new words in Choctaw, nor should there be, invoking the oft-referenced lack of elephants in Choctaw country and therefore no need for the word/concept to be coded in the language. The teacher invokes the lack of elephants in a comment following the discussion of the word *okchako*, ('blue' for most Oklahoma Choctaws).

Two interesting assertions are illustrated in this discussion. First, the teacher disregards the idea that *okchako* is a new word, simply defining it, even though that word did not exist until recently. The word was created to help learners who were often confused about the lack of distinction between 'blue' and 'green', both traditionally covered by one word: *okchamali*. Now, most speakers use *okchamali* for 'green' and *okchako* for 'blue'. This teacher, who does not reside or teach within Choctaw Nation boundaries, but who does preach there occasionally, has reversed the two. More interestingly in this case, though, is that the teacher swept aside the idea that *okchako* was a new word, instead moving onto a different rhetorical argument. This brings us to the second interesting assertion: the teacher references elephants.

Among language teachers and learners in Oklahoma, two concepts—new words and elephants—are logically connected. The assertion that elephants—the things and the word—have no place in Choctaw culture and language is a rhetorical device used to denounce all efforts to modernize the language. This idea that Choctaw should not be modernized, but should instead remain "pure" and "real" is widely espoused. In the same conversation, the community language teacher went on to discuss what he considers to be the source of the "real" Choctaw language (Example 4.2):

Example 4.2: Interview: Choctaw Language Teacher, Northeastern Oklahoma

Teacher: *People just want to speak Choctaw and learn Choctaw. We just use basic words, the dictionary, the New Testament and the Songbook. That's the Choctaw way.*

EK: *What is the Choctaw way?*

Teacher: *The full requirements, like being fullblood. Mixed people want to learn the real language…the Bible and songbook. The true language has flavor. The New Testament has the real language.*

As indicated in the statements above, many individuals in Choctaw Nation hold the idea that the "real", unadulterated language is that which is contained in texts produced in the late 19th century—the Byington dictionary[2] (Byington, 1915) and the new testament and hymns translated and created around the same time frame. To complicate matters, this "real" language is equated with "authentic" Choctaw

[2] Though I refer to this dictionary throughout this work as the 'Byington' dictionary, as the published document was based on fieldwork and notes produced by Cyrus Byington, a Presbyterian missionary working in Mississippi in the early 19th century, the dictionary was actually published posthumously, edited by Swanton.

culture, which is in turn equated with an idea of authentic ethnicity and bloodedness. This equation of blood with culture with language is not unique to Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, however, and is described widely for many communities in a post-colonial, national context (see Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1996). In a language-learning context, though, these ideas have the potential to affect learner participation. I argue here that the essentialist/purist linguistic and ethno-linguistic ideologies prevalent among Choctaw Language Community Class members, though rooted and fixed in an immediately post-contact era, frame contemporary linguistic performance, linguistic meta-discourse, and language revitalization work to alienate some Choctaws while simultaneously providing motivation for language learners.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter explores the relationship between ideologies of ethnic and linguistic purism and identity to processes of authentication. The relationship of language to ethnic identity is complicated, and no less so for Choctaw language learners and teachers. While the fields of anthropology and sociolinguistics were founded on essentialist interpretations of ethnic culture as entailing ideas, customs and practices resulting from some inherent essential, often biological, quality of groups, essentialist ideologies equating language and ethnicity have been reconsidered by most anthropologists in favor of an understanding of ethnic identity as constructed through performance. Essentialist ideologies, however, persist, not only in linguistic anthropologists' uncritical analysis of language shift

and culture loss, but also in communities engaging in language work and within the Oklahoma Choctaw language revitalization community. Here, I take an in-depth look at these ideologies and the approaches to the relationship of language and identity toward providing a framework for examining Choctaw language purism and its effects in the language learning community.

Essentialism, Identity, and Language

The relationship of language to identity is often viewed in terms of equation or of the former being essential to the latter. Early conceptions of identity tended to reduce identity to a set of characteristics deemed inherent to a homogenous group. The culture of a group was viewed as primordial (Geertz, 1973). Appadurai (1996) defines primordialism as a "we-ness" based on, "ideas of collective identity based on shared claim to blood, soil or language…" (p. 140), which he argues is incomplete to explain ethnic tensions in modernity. This idea of an essentialist/primordialist identity as existing a priori, as a characteristic of a people, was often used to justify nation building throughout 19th century Europe (Anderson, 1983) and was transported with colonialism to new peoples to ascribe ethnicity to often-disparate peoples. These peoples in turn, during their own post-colonialist nation building projects appropriated these primordialist ideas of ethnicity in justifying assertions of their own sovereignty. This essentialist, primordial nature of identity was extended to equate language as an essential element of ethnic identity (Fishman, 1972, 1991). Later conceptions of identity

argued that it was rooted not in some inherent character of a group, but in the practice of individuals, though constrained by cultural parameters (Bourdieu, 1977) and in relation to other groups (Barth 1969).

As essentialism has been criticized as a tool for disempowering potential group members and reifying colonialist power dynamics, and even deauthenticating those groups who are dislocated from their heritage languages (Bucholtz, 2003), most anthropologists currently do not subscribe to a primordialist ideology of ethnicity, preferring to describe the processes by which people perform their ethnicities as situated in historical and contemporary contexts. More recently, anthropologists have described identity as strategically employed by individuals to enact one of several situated identities, constructed in performance (Bauman, 1977; Lutz and Abu Lughod, 1990) and by engaging in activities affiliating them with specific groups (Lave, 1991). In this way, identities are not merely reflective of primordial, essential characteristics of a group, but rather constructed through daily linguistic performance and language ideology (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005).

Despite anthropologists' general current denouncement of essentialists equation of culture, language, and blood within their own understandings and representations of culture groups' ethnicities and of the use these ideologies by colonizing institutions to subjugate minority groups, anthropologists must not dismiss the utility of instrumental employment of essentialism by the groups themselves (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Spivak, 1988; Strong and Van Winkle,

1996,). Such strategic essentialism, the employment of essentialist ideologies of identity, especially of bloodedness, may function as a "necessary discourse of survival and solidarity" (Strong and Van Winkle, 1996) and the use of blood quantum as an index of ethnic identity due to its institutionalization by oppressors. Oppressed communities may also employ language ideologies reflecting the equation of language and culture and language purism to perform an "authentic" ethnic identity. What constitutes an "authentic" ethnic or identity, however, is problematic.

Authenticity and Authentication

Issues of authenticity may serve to unite or to divide a community engaged in language learning. Authenticity, a concept which Bucholtz (2003) contends remains "theoretically underdeveloped" (398), is a an "implicit theory of identity." Ideas of what constitutes authentic language are similarly underdeveloped and often ascribed by outsiders (see Fishman, 1966; Hill, 2002,), frequently linguist anthropologists, especially in contexts of language shift. Determinations of authenticity in language performance often relate to dynamics of power and access to power and status within a community of speakers. Bucholtz argues that "real language" is generally defined in sociolinguistic work as "authentic language", that which is "produced in authentic contexts by authentic speakers" (398). She further links this idea of authenticity to access to power and status within a community, noting, "…linguistic anthropologists as well as other kinds of sociolinguists working with minority language groups often

viewed speakers' shift away from their language of heritage as a shift away from an authentic past," a practice which, despite attempts of anthropologists to study the disempowered, "… often works to undermine this principle of designating some language users but not others as legitimate representatives of a given community," and often works to support essentialist ideas (Bucholtz, 2003, p. 400). Language shift and linguists reactions to it, then, often create a power dynamic in which some speakers are deemed "expert" and more "authentic" than others, which further results in a difference in perceived responsibility to control and direct future language work. Meek (2010) notes that within the Kaska language revitalization community, reliance on linguistic experts and literacy has resulted in some potentially being marginalized. She writes:

> How linguistic authority is constructed and conceptualized can impinge upon the vitality of a language and the willingness of an entire community to use their heritage language. Generally, researchers have assumed that revaluing heritage languages and their speakers will always have a positive effect on revitalization efforts. But in the case of Kaska, the opposite appears to be true. The goal of trying to re-create Kaska as a legitimate, revitalized language has led to the emergence of specialized roles marked by linguistic experise, thus restricting the production of Kaska to those select few—in particular, university trained linguists and bureacrats—who are authorized to manufacture it. (p. 134)

Rather than focusing on authenticity as a characteristic, anthropologists have advocated turning the research focus to the methods by which community members authenticate their identities (Hill, 2002) and to recognize the ideologies that influence anthropologists' own positions and words in addition to those of the people studied (Bucholtz, 2003). A focus on authentication as a process rather than authenticity as a quality enables a richer understanding of the role of

language ideologies in effecting individual and group identities, as language practices, through performance, effect construction of sameness and differentiation (Irvine, 1989).

Linguistic form and practice is not just referential, denoting objects, or indexical, indicating social groups and statuses, but also commodities within communities (Irvine, 1989). Verbal skills or access to languages, usually second languages and dominant/standard language forms viewed as scarce resources, are economic resources. It is not just dominant or standard language forms, then, that can be economic resources, but so can highly valued non-dominant languages, especially indigenous language forms that have taken on value as markers of authentic identity (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Irvine, 1989; Shaul, 2014). Cultural gatekeepers may control access to language as a means to control who can perform "authentic" identities. In the case of Choctaws, fullbloods may position themselves as experts in conferring statuses of authenticity. Discourses recycling language ideologies related to authenticity are then one means of controlling that access to a highly valued commodity, the Choctaw language as a marker of Choctaw identity.

Language Ideologies and Authentication

Language ideologies are performed within and by communities to construct ideas of sameness and to position a group or individual in opposition to an other as different (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). Even in

contexts of creation of an identity based on sameness, however, communities, often reduced to an ideal homogeneity toward nationalistic goals, exhibit heterogeneity. Further, identities of sameness may be employed to resist incorporation into a dominant group—to remain apart. Often, the ideologies used to create an idea of sameness within a group are those appropriated from colonial oppressors and are based in essentialism.

Groups may simultaneously employ essentialist and non-essentialist ideologies in both constructing an internal identity and resisting an other-ascribed identity. Further, groups may base a modern identity on ideologies of ideas of essential shared characteristics, appealing to tradition, blood, land, or language, while at the same time redefining what those characteristics look like in relation to the past, incorporating cultural change within a traditional framework. These apparently inconsistent ideologies may actually be consistent within a groups' cultural logic (Fisher 1999) and negotiation of the present through appeal to a shared past (Appadurai, 1981). Appadurai (1981) describes how ideas of shared pasts are used authenticate political identity among groups vying for rights and status within the context of a Hindu temple in Madras, India. Different groups will appeal to different aspects of their pasts in asserting their rights and authenticity, but all rely on five norms: the superiority of textual evidence, appeals to authentic historical figures, inclusiveness, continuity with other pasts, and the antiquity of the evidence (p. 204). He argues that such a normative framework enables negotiation of past culture in times of change and relation of the past to the

present and without which groups would be faced with two alternatives in times of change—collapse or radical change (p. 218). Rather, through negotiating shared pasts and present circumstance, groups can accommodate change into an idea of the past. Similarly, Fisher describes how groups can negotiate a challenging present by accommodating change into a modern identity through incorporating elements of change as consistent with past norms. In this way, group members can both hold essentialist, primordial understandings of ethnic identity and simultaneously construct through lived experience their ideas of what characteristics constitute that identity to incorporate new circumstances. In essence, ideologies of ethnicity can be multiple and conflicting and still serve to perform individual and group identity. The same is true of language ideologies.

The processes through which groups employ language ideologies to construct an identity of sameness or difference are similarly complex. Irvine and Gal (2000) outline three processes occurring in contexts of language change or contact through which language ideologies are used effect likeness or difference in identity: iconization, fractal recursivity, and erasure (Irvine and Gal, 2000). Iconization is a process through which linguistic features index group status. Fractal recursivity is a means by which individuals can enact identities and roles replicating dichotomous relations at one level of culture in other levels, such as in when a power difference at a supraordinate cultural level is reproduced in language and language ideologies. Erasure is a process of making some persons, groups, or activities less visible within a group. Though Irvin and Gal describe

these discursive practices in terms of their use in privileging some forms, dialects, or registers over others, in the case of the Choctaws, these practices are at work at the level of discourses concerning the language as perceived as whole.

While the concepts of shared past and cultural logic enable understanding of how modern cultural identity is shaped by appeal to a past idealized Choctaw identity, Irvin and Gal's model of linguistic differentiation through language ideology provides a useful framework for understanding the contemporary processes by which ideologies of Choctaw language purism serve to create sameness and difference within the Oklahoma Choctaw language learning community. The modern Choctaw identity is grounded in Choctaw national, ethnic, and religious history and employed through persistent language ideologies indexing this past and used to authenticate/deauthenticate language learners/speakers and to privilege some groups and marginalize others.

Origins of Choctaw Purist and Essentialist Language Ideologies

Purism, the idea that the language should remain free from influence of other languages or true to a historic form, is a common ideology emerging in contexts of language contact or threat. Purism often emerges in situations where a language (or more accurately a group of dialects or registers) undergoes standardization, the creation of a standard norm, and/or in the process of nation building (see Anderson, 1983; Appadurai, 1981; Shaul, 2014; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) place the origins of

essentialist language ideology in the nation building projects of 18th century Europe and note that, "ironically, movements to save minority languages are often structured around the same notions of language that have led to their oppression and/or suppression" by valorizing language varieties that index identity and political allegiance (p. 60-61). This very process is at work in the Oklahoma Choctaw language learning community.

The general ideology of an "authentic" Choctaw ethnic identity rooted in language knowledge or ability and related to nationalism, is illustrated in the interview responses of one former community class teacher, an elder male, as presented below (Example 4.3). In discussing the need for timely cultural and linguistic revitalization, this teacher equates speaker status with full ethnic Choctaw status in qualifying the term "speaker" with the term "fullblood".

Example 4.3: Interview: Choctaw Language Teacher, Durant Region

Teacher: To speak Choctaw to me is…that's my identity of who I am. If I say I'm a Choctaw, I should be able to know my language and my Choctaw way of life and it's like I say, you know, "Know about who you are, where they come from, how they got here, you'll appreciate all of that, being a Choctaw." It's like…powerful nation.

EK: Why is learning Choctaw important?

Teacher: Just like in the future, you know, if you gonna be a strong nation, you got to know who you are, learn about your history, everything about it. That we still…sometimes I say we still at war [laughs]. Ok, anything can come in and say, "Ok, this is what we gonna do." Ok, and if we're not prepared for these things…Ok, it's like right now, the language…is, to us, we're 200,000 membership and probably less than one percent is a

> *speaker, fullblood, and they can say when you apply for a grant that, "You mean you got 200,000 members and 5,000 speakers. Are you gonna be able to preserve that?" If we're not gonna do it, we're not gonna be able to do that. So, we have to tell each…and it comes from the top down, from the Chief…Chief put this program for us, so now it's up to us. If we want it, this can go, you know. But, it's up to the individual. Don't be doing it when we lose everything [laughs]. 'Cause, you know, it probably won't…it's not gonna happen again.*

This ideology conflating ethnicity, blood, and language, is common within the Choctaw language learning community. However, additional ideologies of what constitute "authentic" Choctaw language are situated in an idealized past, though perhaps not the past one might expect. Rather than appealing to a pre-European contact past as authentic, as might be expected by many non-Choctaws, many modern Choctaws engaged in language work appeal instead to an authentic Choctaw identity by appealing to 19th century texts, Christianity, and bloodedness, referencing the 19th century era of nation-building and missionization.

Christianity and Language

Almost every community language class I visited had two practices in common: the recitation of the Lord's Prayer in Choctaw and Choctaw hymn singing. The use of religious texts to grammatically analyze the language was also a common class exercise in several sites. It appears that for many Choctaws, as is the case for some Chickasaws in Oklahoma (Davis, 2015), Christian beliefs and practice are viewed as essentially Choctaw and tied to language proficiency and ethnic identity. Davis describes the role of Christian hymn singing and text recitation and study in Chickasaw community language classes. The primary existing

Chickasaw texts were those developed by 18th century missionaries turned "lay linguists" with the goal of promoting religious conversion and eventual transition to the dominant language, English. These texts are now employed to preserve the language classes and, consequently, community classes provide a space for many Chickasaws to practice their Christianity. Choctaw community language classes similarly provide a place to practice a Christian identity and to use Christian texts to practice language revitalization.

A conversation that occurred in a Southeastern Oklahoma community class illustrates this linking of Christianity with Choctaw language and identity (Example 4.4).

Example 4.4: Class Discussion, Broken Bow Region

Student 1: *Culture has changed. There are people, speakers, from different world cultures.*

Teacher: *The Native American church*[3] *had a big influence on retention of the language. The church helped to pay for books and tuition for degrees.*

Student 2: *--the churches are going away—*

Teacher: *Church is like a home. Sometimes Choctaw Nation takes that away through offering more casinos and functions but does not support the Native American churches.*

Student 1: *93% of Choctaws don't attend church. This is because of the Casinos.*

[3] Here the Native American church referenced should not be confused with the pan-native 'traditionalist' church, but to a Choctaw Presbyterian religion, and later Choctaw Baptist church, emerging in Indian Territory after removal.

Student 3: Yeah! They are piling up in a bus and going to see Loretta Lynn. That's just not our culture.

Student 2: But the money is good for us.

Teacher: The Native American church is the beginning and the backbone of the culture.

Student 1: We lost our connection with the creator and then lost everything. This is why we have bad weather, tornadoes and fires.

The ideology conflating language and authentic Choctaw ethnic identity would appear to be inconsistent with an ideology that equates Christianity with authentic Choctaw identity and Christianity with language, at first glance, as Christianity would not readily appear to be a "traditional" or historically "authentic" Choctaw cultural practice, but an introduction by Europeans. However, when we view this in terms of appeal to an idealized past, located at the time when Choctaws were engaged in continued nation building and redefinition efforts in opposition to ongoing U.S. land-appropriation efforts, understanding the construction of 19th and early 20th Century Choctaw identity as "authentic" becomes easier. Though Appadurai's (1981) set of norms (appeal to text, antiquity, historical figures, consistency, and inclusion) is specific to the Hindu temple context, the appeals to textual authority and continuity with a past appear at work in the Choctaw language learning community. The appeal here is to a past occurring during a time when Choctaws were beginning to be viewed by others, and by themselves, as one people, when Choctaw literacy was emerging, they were engaged in codifying laws, and when most cultural descriptions of them as a group were

being written. In the case of the language classes, the oldest texts are religious texts, and therefore the most authoritative not just in linguistic, but also cultural terms.

Appadurai's (1981) discussion of the role of norms regulating appeals to a shared past as means to negotiate the present and Fisher's (1999) description of the role of cultural logic allows for simultaneous appeals to primordial, essentialist ethnicity and incorporation of new circumstances in conceiving characteristics of that ethnicity. It also enables understanding of how Choctaws can appeal to an essentialized ethnic identity rooted in shared Choctaw blood and language while also identifying Christianity as an inherent characteristic of contemporary Choctaw culture. Kidwell (2008) and Swanton (2001 [1931]) argue that during the era of Choctaw missionization, Choctaws who were converting found consonance between their previously traditional idea of the sun as a guiding force and an all-powerful creator, though many modern Choctaws would argue that the concept of a single creator predates Christian missionization. The roots of this consonance are found in relation to language. The missionaries, invited into Mississippi Choctaw country and invited to relocate to Indian Territory, were valued first for the desired benefit of education and literacy that came with their translations of religious texts and only later for their religious guidance (see Akers, 2004; Kidwell, 2008; Noley, 1992; Pesantubbee 1999). Eventually, though, through the schools set up in Indian Territory, youths converted to Christianity, which spread throughout Choctaw culture, with approximately 20%

of Choctaws in Indian Territory identifying as Christian by 1860 (Pesantubbee, 1999).

As Lambert (2007) notes, in the 1950s and later, many Choctaws living in what is now Oklahoma, were not necessarily opposed to acculturation and embraced Christianity, seeing a difference between cultural assimilation, for which they were in favor, and political assimilation, for which they were not. Christian churches were actually a means to maintain a "strong Choctaw identity" beyond being a place to share the Christian message, as women used camp meetings to practice sharing of food, a form of reciprocity, and maintain community ties and to maintain the Choctaw language, replacing traditional Choctaw religious ceremonies, such as the Green Corn ceremony, with gospel singing in the Choctaw language as a means to enact cultural identity and language persisting into the 1990s (Pesantubbee, 1999, p. 398). In fact, during my weeklong participation at Choctaw Bible Camp in deep southeastern Oklahoma during the summer of 2014, I experienced this same sense of community and participated in food sharing. I also heard the language used for not just formal sermons and hymn singing, but also informal communication. This week actually proved to me that the language is still very much alive in social contexts outside of formal language classes.

The introduction of Christianity early in Choctaw Nation's history could have negatively impacted language maintenance; however; church was actually

historically foundational in maintaining the heritage language, as sermons were often entirely in Choctaw. Even though now only a few churches provide Choctaw language services, the reliance on religious texts for language education, primarily due to scarcity of other Choctaw language materials, has resulted in a persistent ideological link between Christianity and language as essential to Choctaw identity. Current Choctaws find no inconsistency in holding that Christian beliefs are essential to Choctaw ethnicity and that the real language is encoded not in speech, but in translated religious texts.

As earlier examples illustrate, many Choctaw language teachers and learners argue that the language should remain pure, without the influence of English or new words. When asserting what the language should be, most learners and teachers appeal to the Byington dictionary (despite its inclusion of borrowed words and neologisms such as that for 'elephant'), the field notes for which were written in the early 19th century and based on work with one group of Mississippi Choctaws. In fact, repeated reference to real Choctaw language as 19th century-era missionized Choctaw language, solidified in the Byington dictionary and corresponding to "real" Choctaw culture of that era, abound among teachers and many students in the community classes. The speakers, teachers, and students appear generally to have fixed the language at this point in Choctaw history, which, interestingly, is after European contact, missionization, and mainstream cultural assimilation among most Oklahoma and Mississippi Choctaws. To a non-Choctaw, this fixing of the language in a post-contact Christian time might

appear to conflict with popular perceptions of a pre-European contact time as representing more "traditional" cultural and linguistic practice. However, for many contemporary Oklahoma Choctaws, there is no contradiction. Commonly heard community debates over what "real Choctaw culture" is like, in which cultural artistic practices which pre-date European contact, such as Choctaw social dancing and ritual medicine, are labeled not "traditional" or "real" further illustrate this idea that 19th Century, post-European contact, immediately pre-removal Choctaw culture is apparently considered most "authentic" by many contemporary Oklahoma Choctaws.

This fixing of the language and essentialized view of Choctaw culture as static, unchanging, and idealized in the past appears to adhere to a conception of ethnicity as primordial, grounded in locality, kinship, and culture, commonly employed among early anthropologists and linguists, and more recently problematized (see Appadurai, 1996). The primordial stance on ethnic identity is consistent with historical emergence of the Choctaws from a multi-ethnic confederacy (Galloway, 1994, 1998; Debo, 1975) based on ideas of fictive kin relations with neighboring groups, and moieties across villages as binding groups. The conception of ethnic identity as kinship and culture-bound, however, is further extended to a concept that Choctaw ethnicity is in the blood and that full-bloods are more Choctaw than those with mixed heritage. Why would Choctaws view this particular time and cultural identity as most authentic and, by extension, the documents produced during this era as more authoritative and representative

of Choctaw linguistic form? A potential answer to this question can be found in the complicated history of Oklahoma and Mississippi Choctaws in negotiating U.S government policies and treaties and even in the unintended consequences of linguistic efforts.

Essentialism/Purism and Bloodedness

At the time of European contact, the Choctaws were not a unified people, but were in the process of forming into a confederation of linguistically affiliated groups (Kidwell, 2008; Galloway, 1994, 1998). Several groups of peoples speaking similar, mutually intelligible dialects converged on the Mississippi area. These groups shared some cultural elements, most notably in terms of kinship, matrilineal descent, and exogamous moieties.

Eighteenth century reckonings of whether someone was Choctaw or non-Choctaw, were based primarily on kinship. Choctaw descent was traced matrilineally. Early intermarriage by White male trappers and colonial government representatives resulted in children who were considered by Choctaws not as mixed, but as Choctaws, with full rights and obligations, due to the Choctaw mothers (Krauthamer, 2013; Perdue, 2003; Whitt, 1994; Zissu, 2014). Wealth and power, such as position as Minko (chief) were passed not from father to son, but from maternal uncle to nephew.

Only later did ideas of shared blood and language as markers of ethnicity come to be meaningfully employed as a tool for nation building. The emergence of racial basis for discriminating among groups within Choctaw Nation developed alongside the development of racial ideology in the dominant European colonists. As the colonial ideologies shifted from one of enlightenment-thinking equality, in which Native Americans were deemed to be inferior "heathens" and "savages" only based on religious and cultural practices attributed to the influence of Satan or lack of opportunity, to racial biological ideologies justifying slavery and the supremacy of Whites as a group, so too did Choctaw ideas concerning inherent biological differences (Perdue, 2003; Zissu, 2014).

As Choctaws entered into the market economy and practiced slavery of African Americans, their ideas and practices concerning race and identity changed. Whereas previous Choctaw practices of warfare include the capture of men, women and children of non-Choctaw groups, like most peoples of the Southeast, the men were usually killed and the women and children adopted into the group, eventually to become full Choctaw citizens. As slavery became a somewhat common practice among the Choctaws, however, ideas discriminating Whites (non-Choctaws), Choctaws (including those of mixed European ancestry) and Blacks emerged not only to support the practice of slavery as a natural condition of biological inferiority, but also to support claims of Choctaws to sovereignty and land retention (ibid, Grinde and Taylor, 1984; Schreier, 2011).

Still, at this time, many Choctaws of European-Choctaw descent were both viewed by their kin and culture as Choctaws, not mixed, and by themselves the same. European-Choctaws own discourses enacted a Choctaw rather than white identity, as they used Choctaw ways of speaking (Whitt, 1994). Choctaw internal racial ideology did differentiate between Choctaws (culturally superior) and Whites. Whites were those interlopers to the Choctaw territory who were not the offspring of intermarriage. It was only as the U.S. government in the 19th Century began using the terminology of 'mixed-blood' and 'half breed' to indicate those Choctaw who were more acculturated as superior and to use those same distinctions as means to politically divide Choctaw's national interests that some Choctaws began to be divided along mixed/fullblood lines. Zissu (2014) and Perdue (2003), however, argue that a better distinction is made among progressives, who were pro-acculturation, and conservatives, those preferring not to acculturate fully, as both fullblood Choctaws and mixed European-Choctaws were active in both groups. The progressives, though, largely consisted of European-Choctaws and the conservatives of non-mixed Choctaws. This division resulted in a division in national politics, even resulting in a series of political assassinations between districts (Zissu, 2014). The dissolution of Choctaw sovereignty with Oklahoma statehood eventually lead to the entrenchment distinction between conservative fullblood and progressive mixed-Choctaws and, in large part, the acculturation of most Choctaws.

At the time of removal, there were several prominent European-Choctaw actors, including district chiefs and government liaisons (Galloway, 1994, 1998; Kidwell, 2008). The most economically wealthy families were those with mixed children, many of whose descendants would become Chiefs. It was only with the intercession of the U.S. federal government in creating the state of Oklahoma that blood quantum became a salient issue. The concept of bloodedness, or fullblood status, being a marker of Choctaw ethnic identity was employed in the U.S. government's efforts to identity who qualified for allotments under the Dawes Act, the1887 General Allotment Act, enacted to grant land to the previously removed and dispossessed Native Americans now in Indian Territory (Osburn, 2009). The Dawes Commission was a U.S. government agency established to allot lands previously held in common trust for the removed Choctaws to individual families in preparation for the eventual establishment of the state of Oklahoma. However, as Dawes commission officers struggled with how to determine who was and who was not Choctaw, references to bloodedness, being full blood or one-half Indian blood became criteria for allotment, based initially on genealogy. But as kinship records were often spotty, later on "eyeballing" phenotype, traditional clothing, and language performance became a means to identify Choctaw ethnicity[4]. The federal government, then, appears to have entrenched the conception of bloodedness as not only a qualification for being

[4] Choctaws still residing in Mississippi had not been allotted land in Mississippi as promised under Article 14 of the 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek and so sought to claim lands in what would become Oklahoma under the Dawes Commission. Their initial claim to the right to lands was based on an ethnic identity as Choctaws demonstrated through kinship or locality and previous treaty rights. 'Under the full-blood rule of evidence, therefore, if a candidate for enrollment in Mississippi spoke the Choctaw language (albeit reluctantly) and 'appeared' to be a 'full-blooded' Choctaw (as judged by phenotypes, clothing and decoration, and deportment), he or she would be enrolled as the rightful progeny of an Article 14 claimant (Osburn, 2009, p. 428)."

ethnically authentic Choctaw, but also of the association of language with ethnic identity among Choctaws.

In establishing the state of Oklahoma, the federal government removed sovereign election rights from the Choctaw, instead appointing Chiefs. At the same time, the government claimed Choctaw reservation lands held in common, instead allotting lands to Choctaw families. The Dawes Commission was established to determine who was Choctaw and would therefore receive an allotment of land. The Dawes Commission based enrollment on the rolls on phenotype and parentage and assigned approved Choctaws a blood quantum. Bloodedness and being a fullblood, then, became a commodity, a resource upon which individuals and families could draw to not only gain financially, in the form of land, but also a social resource to illustrate authentic identity. This concept of bloodedness and the equation of language with ethnic purity would later be appropriated by the Choctaws in their petition for renewed national recognition, and even encoded in the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's 1983 Constitution, which, rather than relying on matrilineal kinship to determine Choctaw citizenship, instead required proof of descent from an ancestor enrolled on the Dawes Rolls as "Choctaw by Blood". Not only did the federal government play a significant role in establishing bloodedness as an essential quality of Choctaw identity, but so too may have the linguistics who later worked with the Choctaw people of Oklahoma.

Essentialist Metalinguistic Discourses

Not only has the dominant public tended to reduce Native Americans to essentialized stereotypes, but so too may have the linguists who worked with specific groups. Silverstein (1997) points out that, despite evidence to the contrary emerging from this same work, anthropological and linguistic work has often been based on the notion that "traditional Native American" language use reflects a monolingual cultural group rather than plurilingual practices (p. 127). Silverstein here challenges the common language equals culture ideology widely held within the linguistic community. Further, Silverstein problematizes the use of the term 'community' in anthropological linguistics, given its origins in the discipline's conception of North American culture groups as linguistically homogenous and monolingual, itself grounded in a European, primordial notion of linguistic nationalism. Native North American groups, he points out, were always "plurilingual", given contact with multiple other Native groups. In fact, several linguists have in recent years scrutinized the assumptions underlying the rhetorics and methodologies employed in working with endangered language groups as potentially damaging. Bucholtz (2003), too, argues that linguists often base research on assumptions of linguistic essentialism, though often strategically employ this ideology to define populations, to authenticate speech forms, or speech communities. Errington (2003, p. 723) also challenges linguists working with endangered languages to acknowledge and address this unstated stance of language as a biological construct and to consider that language loss is "bound up with broader issues of culture or identity." Not only is language loss bound up

with issues of culture and identity, but so too is the work of language revitalization, both within speech communities and within the linguistic community.

Linguists own ideologies and methodologies can also impact those held by the group with which they work. Hill (2002) examines the potential impacts of "hyperbolic valorization" of indigenous languages, which, she argues, places the language in the realm of a closed market where only elites have access to the language. Language therefore becomes in itself a commodity. She reports that just this ideology is also evident in communities' own discourses, usually when the language is no longer spoken in daily life, citing examples of Wasco-Wishram and Kaska (Meek, 2010; Moore, 1988). Whether these ideologies occur spontaneously within endangered language communities or are the result of discourses espoused within the linguistic community remains unclear. In the case of Choctaws, though, there appears to be a relationship between discourses valorizing language as a commodity for authenticating ethnic identity, which appears to have resulted from historical context of nation building and early missionary and linguistic work. The Choctaw language, therefore, has come to index Choctaw ethnic identity, illustrating the process of iconization as described by Irvin and Gal (2000). Though Irvin and Gal generally use the term to describe the process whereby one form of a language comes to index a membership in a group, in the case of Choctaw, it is any form of Choctaw that is used to index group membership.

White and Black Indians: Marginalized Choctaws and Ethno-linguistic Identity

The different acceptance of African-American-Choctaws compared to mixed Caucasian-American-Choctaws is documented by Collins (2002) in his dissertation "Listening to Grandmother." Collins relates the narratives and perspectives of four Oklahoma individuals of mixed Choctaw heritage, three of whom are of African-Choctaw heritage and one of White-Choctaw heritage who has relatives with have African-American ancestry. Though their experiences differ, they all relate experiencing questioning of their identity by others, both Choctaws and non-Choctaws. Faced with having the authenticity of their Choctaw identities challenged, the three individuals who identify as Black Choctaws employ different responses ranging from outspokenly embracing their Choctaw heritage to not acknowledging it at all in public. Younger Choctaws appear to tend toward the latter strategy, acquiescing to the erasure of part of their heritage and identity. It may simply be easier to comply with the dominant ideology that if one is in any part black, then that is all they are. This erasure might explain the scarcity of Black Choctaws in community language classes.

The complicated position of African-American-Choctaws in Oklahoma is linked not only to the history of racism in the U.S., but also to the specific history of African-Americans within the Choctaw tribe at the time of removal and the later Choctaw Nation. Prior to removal, several Choctaws, most frequently those with mixed White and Choctaw parentage (usually White fathers and Choctaw

mothers), owned slaves of African descent (Krauthamer, 2013). At the time of removal of most Choctaws from Mississippi to Indian Territory, their enslaved people were to relocate to Indian Territory along with the families that had purchased them, under the condition that they be freed once in the new territories (Douzart, 2013). Due to the relationships among owners had with their enslaved peoples, many African-Choctaws were born and, through kinship ties, accepted as Choctaws by most, even being enrolled on Choctaw censuses as half-Choctaw, though not fully accepted by others who sought to distance themselves from being included with a group deemed inferior by the dominant culture (Krauthamer, 2013; Perdue, 2003, Schreier, 2011; Zissu, 2014). The non-acceptance of African-Choctaws persisted even as acceptance of Euro-Choctaws was routine. As Krauthamer (2013) notes, "While Southern Indians may have dispersed with the aspects of the dominant American racial ideology that exalted white supremacy and posited Indian inferiority, they firmly embraced a racial hierarchy that degraded blackness and associated it exclusively with enslavement" (p. 32). In fact, the Choctaw Nation's Constitution of 1840 codified laws prohibiting African-Americans from owning property, intermarrying with Choctaws, become naturalized, and holding office (p. 35).

After the U.S. Civil War, during which many Choctaws supported the Confederacy, in 1883, the Freedmen were formally adopted into the Choctaw Nation as citizens, afforded "the rights, privileges, and immunities, including the right of suffrage of citizens of the Choctaw Nation, except in the annuities,

money, and the public domain of the Nation" (Debo, 1975). However, after the Choctaw Nation adopted their Freedmen, the Nation passed what Grinde and Taylor (1984) term a series of "Black Codes," restricting them from holding the office of district or principle Chief, and of becoming naturalized. Later, as the Dawes commission was enrolling Choctaws in preparation for allotment and Oklahoma statehood, commission officers enrolled individuals as either Choctaw by Blood, Intermarried Whites, or Freedmen. Despite many African-Choctaws being able to prove matrilineal descent and their communities' acknowledgment of them as Choctaw, and despite often-varied phenotypes, officers enrolled many as freedmen instead of Choctaw, often at the encouragement of Choctaws aiding the commission (Douzart, 2013; Krauthamer, 2013; Perdue, 2003; Schreier, 2011; Zissu, 2014,). With the construction of a new constitution in 1983, Choctaw Nation disenfranchised the descendants of the Freedmen by decreeing citizenship require proof of descent by blood, as indicated by ancestral registration on the Dawes Commission Rolls (Kidwell, 2008, p. 221). The Dawes Commission interviewers classified successful applicants as either "Choctaw by Blood" or "Choctaw Freedmen". The same was not true of individuals with White-Choctaw ancestry, who were classified as Choctaw and listed with a blood quantum percentage. The result of the 1983 legislation was that generations of families who had one year been Choctaws were now Freedmen only and no longer citizens of Choctaw Nation.

This complicated history concerning Freedmen is not unique to Choctaw Nation, but also occurred in several other Southeastern Native groups relocated to Indian Territory, including the Creeks and the Cherokees. Sturm (1998) describes the contentious history of forced inclusion of Cherokee Freedmen, former slaves of Cherokees, and their descendants, in the Cherokee Nation and later disenfranchisement through a process of erasure. She attributes this to a process by which, "…Cherokee citizens conflate blood, color, race, and culture to demarcate their sociopolitical community…[to] exclude multiracial individuals of Cherokee and African ancestry…(p. 231)". This same conflation of blood and culture is evident in contemporary Choctaw Nation and is illustrated in the language ideologies expressed by community class participants.

The disenfranchisement of Choctaw Freedmen not only illustrates the lesser status that African-American-Choctaws experienced throughout the history of Choctaw Nation, commensurate with the dominant culture's treatment of African-Americans and the privileging of Whites, but also informs current understanding of the position of Black Choctaws in contemporary Oklahoma Choctaw Nation and in the Choctaw language learning community. The history of enslaved Africans and Freedmen now carries over into the present, resulting in the marginalization of Choctaws "by blood" having African American heritage through more recent intermarriage. The language used to illustrate ideas of linguistic purism within the Oklahoma Choctaw language work community illustrates a fractal recursivity, whereby political practices at the highest level of a

group are displayed in all parts of the society, no less so in the language and ways of thinking and talking about the language (Irvine and Gal, 2009).

Who do these ideologies of the interrelation of bloodedness, Christianity, "authentic" language and identity benefit? In the landscape of Choctaw identity politics, given the history of dispossession, actual and perceived Choctaw posers (Kidwell, 2008) claiming land under the Dawes commission, and the contentious issue of the Choctaw Freedmen, ideologies of language authenticity may be, intentionally or otherwise, employed as a means of controlling who is viewed as "authentically Choctaw". Unlike for many native tribes in Oklahoma, enrollment in Choctaw Nation is not dependent upon blood quantum, but rather on ancestry. The Constitution of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, Article II – Membership, states that "The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma shall consist of all Choctaw Indians by blood whose names appear on the final rolls of the Choctaw Nation approved pursuant to Section 2 of the Act of April 26, 1906 (34 Stat. 136) and their lineal descendants," provided they are not member of another tribe. The result of this comparatively liberal enrollment policy is that Choctaw Nation members are not always recognizable as phenotypically Choctaw. Another is that there may be members with very low blood quantum. This ideology of the equation of bloodedness, language fluency, and identity, then serves to legitimize some Choctaws and marginalize others.

Even given the historical general acceptance of White Choctaws over Black Choctaws, however, many Choctaws with mixed Caucasian and Choctaw ancestry experience marginalization in contemporary Choctaw Nation and in Choctaw language classes. This is especially true for those White Choctaws who experienced a geographic dislocation from what they, and others, perceive to be traditional Choctaw culture. Given economic pressures during the 20th century, many Choctaws moved away from rural Oklahoma communities, toward metropolitan centers in Oklahoma and even out of state. The relocation of many Choctaws caused a perceived rift between those who stayed and those who moved away. I present here a rather long narrative told to me by, Carlene, a middle-aged woman who identifies as a "White Indian", one warm afternoon in Durant while we drank tea on her front porch. Her story (Example 4.7) illustrates her experience of rift between fullbloods and White Choctaws and the resulting feeling of marginalization rather poignantly.

Example 4.7: Interview: Language Class Student, Durant Region

> *As I grew up, I didn't think of any difference between anyone else even though I could tell in the neighborhood where we lived that there were people who were lighter complected than I was and in the summertime I would always get really, really dark, much darker than they ever did and we got nicknames and things, but I just never really gave it much thought until I moved to Oklahoma. And, I was born in California, and uh…my parents divorced and I moved back to Oklahoma. And, my mother, and grandmother and great-grandmother are from Oklahoma and they were born in Oklahoma and I learned a little more and a little more as the years went by, but the school that I went to…uh…was Harmony and Atoka high school and there weren't very many fullbloods. There were some and I was friends with them and there was always a distinction between fullbloods and those that were partial Indian. And, I didn't think about it until I became an adult. Uh…just…there were just people, just like me.*

And, I learned, as I got older, that there was a harshness that they had to deal with.

First, this woman situates herself as a Choctaw, by reference to skin color. Others in her California neighborhood were lighter complected than she was. She "tanned" in summer, illustrating that she was darker than other Whites and therefore Choctaw. She also uses the places she went to high school to illustrate her association with Choctaws through place. Finally, she discusses the distinction she experienced between fullblood Choctaws and mixed Choctaws, characterizing it as "a harshness" to be dealt with.

Later in her narrative (Example 4.8), she discussed the economic issues that lead to her dislocation from her Choctaw heritage and that subsequently lead her to attend language classes as a means to reconnect.

Example 4.8: Interview: Language Class Student, Durant Region

Now, of course, you could farm, but there weren't many….you could get food but not make any money from it, because even now farmers don't make any money from farming. And, that gave the family…it helped them out at that time, but it caused a lot of rift between her [grandmother] and her sister, because her sister still lived here in the Oklahoma area, and she married a man from Broken Bow and then she [my grandmother] went to California. So, it wasn't all that many years before my grandmother went to California. And…uh…that's probably how I ended up being from out in California. And, this is probably during the period of the dust bowl, and um…so, those people that…Indians, fullbloods, that stayed here in Oklahoma area…I sometimes feel like they feel uh like, "Well, we stayed here through the whole thing and we made it and we survived and so we're stronger and we're better." Uh…they may not really feel that way….I don't really know, but I feel that um….trying to make a connection with all those that are at the Seniors', the community building…through the years. Whenever I finally went to college, I played

baseball, or softball, with the Choctaw girls and they treated me like one of the others. Now, they laughed a lot. Maybe they made jokes about me. I don't know. Um…but, uh…when you don't know someone that's fullblood, they seem to think that maybe you haven't gone through the same things that they've gone through.

I think about fullbloods that have stayed within that nucleus, that family and not assimilated…if you don't have the right documentation, or are on Dawes roll, even if you have other documentation, you don't get accepted. People think all of them are dark, and some are, but not everyone is. That's how some were able to assimilate and not get on the Dawes roll. Back then, you didn't want to be on the roll. Some stayed and survived and some left and survived. My grandmother assimilated into the white man's ways, but she still respected and loved her family and her extended family, if they came to her…I know from the time that my great-grandmother was put on the rolls, that she was either a young child who was on the Trail of Tears or was born shortly after, so her parents survived the Trail of Tears. And, I don't know that much about that time period. I wish I did. I have heard many stories about that trip. I feel like we as the Choctaw Nation, or even Chickasaw, we need to publicize, write more books. We need to tell the stories.

I used to work for a doctor who would make comments about what the Choctaws have now, the privileges, that Whites don't. It hurts me more now than it did then, because I know. [crying] One day, I told him that I remembered my grandmother having to travel by buckboard to come to civilization, to this town, late in the day to do her shopping because she was too dark to shop in the morning with the White women. I think that's disgusting. I told him, "I don't want to hear any more of your innuendos or snide remarks." I know what it's like. I just think that the fullbloods don't understand what I've gone through…they don't understand because I'm so light. I just wish that they understood, that…the language class I go to, the Choctaw senior citizens [centers] that I go to, the respect that I show them, that they were willing to show the same respect to me.

Throughout this narrative, this "White Indian" articulates feelings of rejection by fullbloods due to her lighter skin and having not been born/raised in Oklahoma. At the same time, she authenticates her own Choctaw identity by her phrasing of dominant culture as the "white man's ways", by stating she can document "Choctaw by Blood" status according to enrollment on the Dawes Rolls, and

finally, by appealing to an ancestor who survived the period of removal to Indian Territory, the Trail of Tears. Further, in arguing for the need to keep the culture and history alive, she uses the pronoun "we", further identifying as Choctaw.

The student authenticates her Choctaw identity through expressing having experienced racist comments, as fullbloods must have done in their lives, and then appealing to her family's experiences of discrimination. She expresses both the challenges to her perceived authenticity as a Choctaw while simultaneously performing that identity through her words. Clearly, this woman's experience illustrates that not just Black Choctaws, but White Choctaws face challenges to their identities both from without and within Choctaw Nation. Finally, in expressing her wish for reciprocal respect, she mentions that she attends community events, such as Senior/Community Center events and language classes. Mentioning these places and activities also authenticates her identity, as it demonstrates not just her heritage, but also her active engagement in the Choctaw community.

Ideology, Loyalty, and Instrumentally Employed Identity (or Loyalty as Political Action)

The blood-culture ideology, culture-Christianity ideology, and culture-language ideology, and the resultant language purism, constitute a set of ideologies that together serves the purpose of authentication, the assertion of an authentic identity through practice (Bourdieu, 1991; Bucholtz 2003; Hill, 2002). Choctaw speakers

appeal to their phenotype, blood quantum, Christian practice, and language fluency to authenticate their status as Choctaws. In addition, this set of ideologies, and specifically the ideology of language purism, not only serves to authenticate some Choctaws and deauthenticate or marginalize others, but conversely, these purist and culture-language ideologies also serve to motivate others to engage in language work, including language learning (Fishman, 1966).

For language learners and many teachers, these ideologies motivate beginning or continued language learning as a means to authenticate Choctaw identity as language "affiliates". The equation of language with ethnicity is a significant motivator of language loyalty, especially in contexts of linguistic temporal or physical displacement (Fishman, 1966). In describing language learning motivation among U.S. immigrant populations, Fishman noted that though the first immigrant generation is bilingual, the next generation shifts to the dominant language, and the third experiences a nostalgia for the diminished ethnicity and language. This nostalgia prompts a renewed language loyalty among the third and previous generations, resulting in language shift away from the heritage language and toward the politically dominant language. Thus language often comes to symbolize ethnicity. Though Fishman has been criticized for himself employing an essentialist equation of language and culture, his description of language loyalty, the feeling of affinity for a heritage language, is well-supported by the literature concerning Native Language Revitalization. Loyalty often precipitates community-based language efforts, education initiatives, and political movements

(Clampitt-Dunlap, 2000). McCarty (2003) describes the equation of language with ethnicity among the Navajo, among whom most of the older generation and many youths feel that speaking Navajo is essential to being ethnically Navajo. The same types of equation of language speaking ability with ethnicity, and indeed often ideas of language purism, occur among the Tewa (Kroskrity, 2009), and Nahuatl speakers of the Mexican highlands (Hill, 1986).

Ethnolinguistic attachment is one motivator for language loyalty, but is not the only motivator. The relationship between language loyalty and nationalist ideology is well established (Anderson, 1983; Fishman, 1966). Russinovich Sole (1995), in a cross-cultural comparison of language nationalism movements, describes three motivations: affective, instrumental, and ethnolinguistic. Sole argues that young Cuban-Americans have an affective attachment to Cuban Spanish, often associated with memories of childhood and family. She argues, though, that they have an instrumental motivation for loyalty, based on communicative utility. However, Sole finds that, for most Cuban-Americans, Cuban ethnic identity is not dependent on Spanish language proficiency. Among the Choctaws engaged in language learning in Oklahoma, however, this idea of language as a marker of ethnic identity appears to motivate many second language learners. Their goals, however, do not always center on achieving fluency. Rather, it is simply by engaging in language learning that Choctaw language learners enact their ethnic identities.

Davis (2015) created the term "language affiliates" to describe individuals who demonstrate linguistic affiliation by participating in language work. Simply by engaging in language learning activity, some class members are self-investing with a heightened sense of Choctaw identity or "Choctawness". In fact, one university class teacher told his students that by virtue of taking the Choctaw classes, even though they were mostly Caucasian and African American and not enrolled Choctaw members, that they were becoming "just a little bit Choctaw" (Kickham and Sealy, 2008). Many class members, then, can be described as language affiliates. Despite limited-speaker status, they are demonstrating linguistic affiliation merely by attending classes. This participation enables them to demonstrate their own commitment to Choctaw language and to self-invest with more Choctawness. The interview segment below (Example 4.9) illustrates how language learning is a means to connect with a familial past or culture.

Example 4.9: Interview: Choctaw Language Student, Ardmore Region

Student: *I want to learn how to be able to understand it more. It's a hard language. I want to teach my daughter and granddaughter.*

EK: *Why do you want to learn?*

Student: *Because it's something my parents, my mother knew. If it didn't stay with me, it would be lost. Mom should have done more.*

Many community class members articulated their goals for the class as in terms of reconnecting with their culture. When asked why they wanted to learn or why it was important to learn the language, many class participants said that they wanted

to connect more fully with their culture, as indicated by the statements below (Example 4.10).

Example 4.10: Motivations for Learning Choctaw

1. *I want to be more Choctaw instead of in name only. Speaking the language helps me reach that goal.*
2. *It's my culture. This is my people's language.*
3. *I want to further my knowledge of my ancestry.*
4. *Respect and knowledge of Native American culture and language are important to me. My soul compels me.*
5. *It is important to me because it my Choctaw heritage. I'm Choctaw and very proud!*
6. *Because I'm a fullblood.*

These statements all indicate that for these class members, learning Choctaw is essential to their Choctaw identities. In fact, the last statement (6) listed implies that this class member believes that being a full blood entails an obligation to learn or speak the language. Learning Choctaw, or at least attending classes, then becomes an action that supports their conception of themselves as Choctaw. Additionally, community class members stated that they had an obligation to keep the language alive in terms of having a duty to the future, the culture, and the language, which I term an "ideological motivation". Some examples of statements that illustrate this ideological motivation for learning Choctaw are listed below (Example 4.11).

Example 4.11: Reasons for Attending Language Class

1. *I want to be a teacher, to have Choctaw language influence with future grandchildren.*

2. *I have known for many years the Choctaw language was being used less by younger Choctaws. I hope to be able to help young people keep my language alive.*

3. *I want to preserve culture, heritage, language in the originality before it gets shifted, adjusted, or mixed with any other language, dialect or modernism of language.*

4. *It is my native language, if we don't keep learning and teaching our children it will be lost. I am very proud to be Choctaw and I want my children to pass it on as well.*

5. *I want to be able to learn the language and to teach it to others--to leave this world a better place when I die.*

6. *I'm not sure. I just know it is! It feels like it may be the most important thing I do.*

These statements all illustrate a forward thinking duty to future generations, akin to that described for learners of Maori in New Zealand (King, 2009) as well as an obligation to not just future generations, but also to the language. Statement number three above also illustrates the purist ideology, as the class member suggests it is important to learn the language in its pure form before it gets "mixed with any other language, dialect, or modernization." These participants are interested in learning the language not just to communicate with others or to pass it down, but also because the language is endangered. Language class participants are motivated, therefore, by the essentialist language-culture ideology, and in some ways by ideologies of language purism, to engage in language work simply

by attending classes. These classes therefore can constitute "communities of practice" as described by Lave (1991).

Conclusion: Purism, Motivation, and Inclusion

Ideologies of purism are complex and do not perform the same functions across groups, at times resisting the influence of a threatening language, at others supporting an internal value system, and still others used to authenticate the identity of traditional speakers or, conversely, to authenticate the identity of marginalized speakers (Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). Choctaw language ideologies are similarly complex, situated in both an idealized past and a contemporary context, and appearing at times potentially contradictory. The Choctaw purist ideology illustrates the processes of iconization, erasure, and fractal recursivity, as described by Irvine and Gal (2000). Choctaw discourses of purism demonstrate iconization by equating the Choctaw language with Choctaw ethnicity. Further, purist ideology enables erasure, by attempting to remove words and language use practices, such as code mixing and creating neologisms, which index a complicated history of European colonialism and an equally complicated racial history. Finally, purist ideology illustrates fractal recursivity, as top-level (and dominant colonial) racial and religious norms are reflected in the language and in language practice.

These ideologies, though, fulfill several purposes. Among the Oklahoma Choctaws engaged in language learning, purist ideologies authenticate speakers viewed as more traditional (fullblood) and, paradoxically, to allow marginalized

White Choctaws to self-authenticate through language learning and language learning activities. Interestingly, both the authentication of speaker identities and the marginalization of White Choctaws leads to motivation among less fluent Choctaw speakers to engage in language learning work as a means to illustrate language affinity.

Chapter 5: That's not how my grandmother said it! Prescriptivism, Dialect, Geography, and Power in Oklahoma Choctaw

> *When I met my husband, we teased each other because we found out we spoke different dialects. Then we corrected each other and then we stopped. I just now started talking to him again. I tried to get him to come, but he said, "When would I ever use it." When he does come, he corrects their dialect.*
>
> - Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Community Language Class member

While visiting my first Choctaw community language class, in the southwestern area of Choctaw Nation, I observed that, after greetings and a few minutes spent in paired conversation practice, the topic turned to grammar, specifically sentence structure and the use of the demonstratives *illvpvt* 'this' and *yvmmvt* 'that'. Not too far into the instructor's lesson, one of the elder female participants interjected the phrase, "Wait! That's not how my grandmother said it." As others in the class weighed in with the forms with which they were more familiar, what had started out as a fairly sanguine class session quickly turned into discussion of which form, the short *pa* or *ma* or the longer forms, was correct, where it should go in the sentence, and even which form of the nouns in the sentence was correct. This debate continued for the remainder of the class session, taking up over an hour of class time, and even continued in the next class session. At several points, one or more class members, usually elders, made comments that we did not need to be learning "Mississippi Choctaw." I thought perhaps this type of discussion and reference to dialect, whether Mississippi or Chickasaw, was unique to this

class, but soon found out that the focus on form permeated most classes throughout Choctaw Nation and even beyond its borders.

As this experience and the quote introducing this chapter, spoken by a middle aged woman living in the central southern region of Oklahoma, illustrate, issues concerning dialect and correctness often prove contentious among Choctaw speakers and learners. Debates about which dialect is more authentic, which orthography (spelling system) is correct, or which word or pronunciation of a given word is proper, permeate discussions whenever language workers or learners congregate. In many ways, these ideas of which forms are more or less correct are related to the ideology of purism, as they are intertwined with language change over time, sense of Choctaw ethno-linguistic identity, and post-removal tribal politics. These debates over dialect and word choice, spelling, and pronunciation, which I will refer to collectively as "form", also speak to another set of ideologies at work in the Oklahoma Choctaw Language teaching and learning community—the tension between pluralism and prescriptivism.

These two ideologies appear to comprise a dichotomous set illustrating community tensions between variation and standardization. The first ideology in this set, pluralism, refers to ideas concerning the value of variety and speaker autonomy within the language community and within the language classes. The second, prescriptivism, or "correctness", within the Choctaw context, refers to the idea that there is a correct way to speak, spell, pronounce the language, based in

the idea that there is one most correct dialect, usually the speaker's. This prescriptivist ideology, then, becomes a means of Choctaw linguistic authentication, both by the speaker and by the interlocutor/listener. The interlocutory, conversely, can use prescriptivism, and challenges to 'perfect speech' to deauthenticate a speaker's or group's speaker or ethnic status. Pluralism, on the other hand, is primarily used as a means to authenticate most Choctaw speakers, but to deauthenticate specific groups. While both pluralism and prescriptivism are used to authenticate and deauthenticate speakers' abilities, elders, fluent speakers, and teachers often reflect prescriptivism more in the discourses of and. Both ideologies are also used in processes of resistance. These two competing discourses—prescriptivism and pluralism—are strategically employed by Choctaw community class members toward two purposes: a) to authenticate the speaker's status through valorization of one variety of Oklahoma Choctaw in relation to others, and b) to resist discourses and covert policies privileging one dialect.

Theoretical Frameworks

Language ideologies, sets of beliefs about languages (Kroskrity, 2004), not only illustrate individual and group feelings about languages, but also function to enact identities through performance (Irvin and Gal, 2000). Speakers, teachers, and language learners all use words not only to illustrate ideas about language, but also use those words to perform and oppose status of themselves and others, political structures, and historical ideologies. Speakers (here used to include

language learners and teachers) may also hold multiple and conflicting ideologies, exhibiting a type of ideological heteroglossia not just in language form, but in language ideology (Bakhtin, 1981). Traditionally, however, sociolinguistic work has neglected the variation evident within communities, instead focusing on processes that erase variation in favor of examining processes of unity.

Recent work has illustrated a focus on examining multiple ideologies within speech communities (see Kroskrity, 2009; Ochs and Capps, 1997). Irvine and Gal (2000) call for a shift in attention of linguistic work away from the processes that produce linguistic uniformity within communities and toward processes of linguistic differentiation and description of linguistic boundaries. They argue that, "…from the perspective of ordinary speakers, linguistic differences are understood through folk theories (ideologies) that often posit their inherent hierarchical, moral, aesthetic, or other properties within broader cultural systems that are themselves often contested and rarely univocal" (p. 78). Though they are referring specifically to multilingual or multi-register contexts, I argue that focusing on processes of creating difference as well as sameness can also aid understanding of the existence, uses, and effects of multiple language ideologies within a perceived monolingual community.

Similarly, Bucholtz (2003) argues for a shift away from a traditional sociolinguistic focus on speaker "authenticity", as it illustrates linguists own essentializing ideologies, and toward a focus on the processes of "authentication".

Bucholtz identifies three sets of oppositional processes used to authenticate/deauthenticate identity, which she terms "tactics of intersubjectivity" (2003, p. 409-410). The first set of tactics, adequation vs. distinction, concerns the construction of sameness or difference. The second set, authorization vs. illegitimization, concern claiming or denying power status. The third, authentication vs. denaturalization, concern the authenticity of speaker identity. All of these tactics, she argues, are historically and culturally situated. Rather than defining identity in terms of sameness to those considered in the same ethnic group, individuals often conceptualize the identities in terms of difference between their group and others in terms of cognitive boundaries, negotiated through interaction (Barth, 1969). Just as with performance of ethnic identity outside of language and through language, individuals may employ language ideologies that distinguish their own language form in relation to others as a means to perform an ethnic identity.

Speakers may also draw upon a type of "authoritative discourse" to assert the correctness of one form over another. Bakhtin (1981) identified the authoritative discourse as one through which speakers in appeal to a past, completed, and therefore superior idea beyond contradiction to support their argument and, conversely, often used to resist authority. An appeal to past, correct means of speaking can also be conceived of as drawing on authoritative discourse—the idea that the past form is the correct form. This chapter employs Bucholtz (2003) tactics of intersubjectivity to describe how Choctaw language learning community

members perform their multiple, contemporarily and historically situated language ideologies to create difference through appeals to both an authoritative discourse and to other linguistic groups, dialects, and orthographies.

Oklahoma Choctaw Geography, Variation, and Orthography

Two central ideologies concerning variation were evidenced during my fieldwork in Oklahoma Choctaw community language classes: pluralism and prescriptivism. An overwhelming focus on the latter is widely used to create distinction, to authorize and authenticate the speaker and to illegitimize and denaturalize/deauthenticate the interlocutor. Choctaw language teachers and students alike appeal to variations in spoken and written Choctaw, which they term 'dialect', when employing these tactics.

Broadwell (2006) identifies four Choctaw dialects, two of which are spoken in Oklahoma: Oklahoma Choctaw (OC) and Mississippi Choctaw of Oklahoma (MCO). Most Choctaw speakers in Oklahoma readily assert that there is a difference between Oklahoma Choctaw and MCO. Most speakers of OC also argue, however, that there are distinct dialects of OC, or at least variations meaningful enough to spark debate. Setting aside the linguistic assumptions about what makes a dialect, and without attempting a formal perceptual dialect study, which is beyond the scope of this work, it is worth noting that this perception of variation within OC has an impact within Oklahoma Choctaw teaching and learning communities. There are no community-recognized names

for different dialects within OC, nor are there distinct boundaries identified within the discourses I observed; however, most class members appeared to agree that there were several dialects.

This work does not attempt to argue for or against the existence of multiple Oklahoma Choctaw dialects, but instead to refrain from privileging professional linguistic knowledge over that of the community members themselves. The *idea* that differences exist is what is central to an understanding of the Oklahoma Choctaw ideologies of pluralism and prescriptivism, as it impacts processes of identity and speaker authentication, classroom practices, and reactions to language planning activities. The following extended interview excerpt, with a elder woman attending a class in Durant, the capital of Choctaw Nation, illustrates how these complex perceptions of dialect influence individual's understanding of and participation in community language classes.

Example 5.1: Interview: Choctaw Language Class Student, McAlester Area

1. Student: *When started school…1st grade, I still spoke Choctaw.*
2.
3. *They sent me home because I couldn't understand. I*
4. *didn't know English. They said I could go back when I*
5. *learned English. I was about 7 went back. I can't still*
6. *speak and understand Choctaw. I can read not a lot, but*
7. *understand what words they're saying.*
8. EK: *Why do you keep coming back to class?*
9.
10. *Student: I don't know. Because the way I speak Choctaw and*
11. *what we learn in class…they say that's Mississippi*
12. *Choctaw we learning, but Oklahoma Choctaw is all I*
13. *know, but this is new Mississippi Choctaw and I'm*

learning to read and write. Last night, one of the words was spelled okissa. Okisa *is the way Mom and Dad would say it. Like my Mom and Dad would say* nata, *not* nante [exaggerated /e/], and yʊmmʊt *not* yʊmma. *The difference is the reason why I come back. I want to learn to spell the words. When I grew up, we just had one language and that's what we spoke.*

EK: *How do you think you learn best?*

Student: *By listening. By how it is spoken to me.*

EK: *What makes a good teacher?*

Student: *If I was a Choctaw teacher, I would go to school to learn to read and write it where students can understand what. I'm saying She's a good teacher, but some of the words she pronounces…I have to stop and listen. Like [another teacher] is a Mississippi Choctaw. They cut theirs off,* like yʊmma ho*? The Choctaws in Broken Bow have different dialects. Like Lucy says, she can't learn the language because it's not how her father said it. Like in Chickasaw they say* oka ma ontapili*, 'turn the pan over', instead of* oka ma satabli*, 'pour out the water'.*

EK: *Why are these different dialects so important?*

Student: *I don't know. Maybe that's the right way to say it. In class, someone said* bokshato*, but her husband said, "No, that's not right." She said, "But it's in the dictionary." I don't say much because I just stay with what I have known. I'll try to learn it but it's taking a while. It's all new to me. Like, the teacher said, the new dictionary will not have any 'a's…they will all be those 'v's. I've been in the class for four or five years now. Five or six times. Through all four phases. I keep going back because by the time we learn, they come up with something else new. Whoever is in charge of overall is always coming up with something new.*

When asked why she continues to take the classes, attending even after completing the four phases, this class participant argues that repeated and continuous attendance is necessary to a) learn how to read and write in a dialect

not her own and b) to keep up with the changes made by Choctaw language teachers/administrators.

In lines 11-20, the speaker positions her childhood dialect of Choctaw as "Oklahoma Choctaw" and the Choctaw that is being taught in her class as "Mississippi Choctaw"[5]. In lines 31-32, she again refers to Mississippi Choctaw as that being taught, but by a different teacher. In lines 33-35, she now refers to another dialect of Choctaw spoken around Broken Bow, but does not label this dialect "Mississippi Choctaw".

This speaker's description of speech that does not conform to her own as non-Oklahoma Choctaw, either Chickasaw or Mississippi Choctaw illustrates not only that speakers tend to privilege their own linguistic form, but also that they are performing and authorizing their own ethno-linguistic identities as superior to a perceived other. I have personally observed and have interviewed the teacher to whom the interviewee refers in lines 11-13. The fact that the form he uses is not the exact form that this interviewee speaks appears to be enough for her to ascribe it status as "Mississippi Choctaw", not a different dialect of Oklahoma Choctaw. It appears that perhaps it is not the dialect itself that is objectionable, but instead

[5] It is unclear whether this speaker specifically means Choctaw as it is spoken in Mississippi or Mississippi Choctaw of Oklahoma (MCO). However, no participants during the time of this fieldwork ever referenced MCO, always referring to any Choctaw deemed non-Oklahoma to be 'Mississippi Choctaw'. The remainder of this research, therefore, assumes that the referent dialect is indeed Mississippi Choctaw.

that discussion of dialect is used to support one's own authenticity and, perhaps more to the point, to criticize others as less authoritative and less authentic[6].

They speak Mississippi Choctaw!

Dialect, Geography, and Orthography

Speakers illegitimize other speaker's forms and denaturalize/deauthenticate the speakers by privileging their own dialect of Oklahoma Choctaw, which I will describe in detail later in the chapter, and also by ascribing the speech of the other to the status of non-Oklahoma Choctaw. In other words, they accuse some speakers, and even the Choctaw Language Program administrators/teachers of not speaking Oklahoma Choctaw, but instead of speaking Mississippi Choctaw or Chickasaw. These appeals to a speaker's own form as more or less authentic illustrates an idea that there is one correct way to speak, a prescriptivist ideology. Speakers appear to assert that there is a correct dialect to be learning, even when they deauthenticate their own speech, as in illustrated in an class conversation between a student and teacher in a class in the Southwest of Choctaw Nation, near Coalgate, Oklahoma.

Example 5. 2: Community Class Conversation, Coalgate, Oklahoma Area

Teacher: *Even though there is no word for 'please', but I know a word for 'please'.* Hinaho. *Maybe my family just made it up, but I heard other Choctaw people say it. But, you*

[6] Though the Concise Oxford Dictionary of Linguistics (2014) defines dialect as "any distinct variety of a language, especially one spoken in a specific part of a country or other geographical area", there is no clear consensus on what separates a dialect from a language (National Science Foundation) or even what level of distinction separates a dialect from a local variation.

know, we really tear up Choctaw. We slang it. The further you get this way, that's what I hear. My Choctaw is probably very improper.

Student: *Is it because it's mixed in with Chickasaw?*

Teacher: *Yeah, the Chickasaws do it too.*

This tension between Oklahoma Choctaw, and not Mississippi Choctaw (or Chickasaw) as the authentic form for Oklahoma Choctaws is apparently long standing. A student in a class in the Ardmore area, in Southern Oklahoma, outside Choctaw Nation, told me the following story after one particularly heated class session spend debating whether the word *homakbi* meant pink, purple, or brown:

Example 5.3: Community Class Student, Ardmore, Oklahoma area

They've always argued about the words and how to say them. When they first started classes years ago, they invited the Mississippi to come. They were writing words on the board and kept fighting over words and saying "That's not how we say it." "What language are you speaking?" It got so bad one man threw an eraser at a Mississippi! That's when the Mississippis walked out.

Not all speakers agree on which form of the language is the most correct, however. Unlike English speakers in the U.S. who generally agree on what the standard language variety sounds like and where it is spoken (Labov, 2012), Choctaw language learning community members often present different opinions of which dialect or form is more correct, as illustrated by the following interview excerpt with an elder female class participant in the area of Wilburton, Oklahoma.

This community class member reported that she spoke only Choctaw until she started school at boarding school at about aged nine.

Example 5.4: Community Class Student, Okla Tannap region

Student: *Well, we started coming 2 years ago because our grandkids were talking some, but they were speaking a dialect, like making it more like Spanish or English, where you have to add. So, we wanted to be able to talk more like them. We still talk the old way, but the kids, we want to be able to talk to them…so that's why we started…so they can understand us. Cause those kids gonna be talking different, so we wanna keep up with them.*

EK: *And how do you think its different, what the kids are doing?*

Student: *Uh, they are learning what I call the English way, where you have to add the words in.*

EK: *Can you give me an example of that?*

Student: *Uh…where they say "*Hvtta nant*", we just say "*Nanta*". Or how the weather is outside, they want you to say "*Akucha yʊt nowa*", where we might say "*Hokshimi chi hikiyya*". Or they'll want you to say that it's doing it outside, where we just know that its not sprinkling inside the house, its just understood. They'll want you to say "<u>Kucha at hikshimi chi hikiyya</u>". But we'd just say it without the 'outside'. To me they want you to say it the English way, like "Outside, the weather is sprinkling." That just sounds English.*

EK: *So, it's maybe more complex or its just a longer form?*

Student: *It's just a longer form. We just keep it simple. They said they were wanting to teach it the old way, to keep the longer form. We're speaking, I guess, like Mississippi people speak it. But, I understand they don't want the Choctaws, no Choctaws talking that way.*

EK: *Who is it that doesn't want them talking that way?*

Student: *I don't know, I've just heard some say that when these teachers speak it they can't use the Mississippi way.*

EK: *And, what's the Mississippi way?*

Student: *Like we talk it…it's the old way.*

EK: *So, the Mississippi way is the old way?*

Student: *To me it is. That's the way we've always spoke it.*

This student expresses some frustration with the way that the language is being taught, in stating that they "add words in". She contrasts the way that the curriculum and community class teachers teach words and sentences as "the longer form" compared to her own speech. One language administrator pointed out that this teaching of the longer form, though it may be frustrating for some Choctaws with more fluency, is essential to teaching a language, much the same as written primers for English use more awkward or even simplified speech than texts for advanced readers. For example, an English text for new learners might use "do not" instead of the contraction "don't". Similarly, the "older form" to which the student refers in this interview excerpt is more akin to the un-contracted form that is more commonly found in spoken Choctaw. This more formal break-down of the language, the administrator argues, is necessary for learners to understand the root words and structure of the language before they can begin to use more conversational forms. What the student describes as the "newer" and "longer form" in comparison to her own "older form," is actually, according to the Language Department administrator, the older form. Interestingly, though the student's understanding is not grounded in knowledge of formal, written instructional materials vs. conversational speech, but instead reflects ideas concerning authentic and inauthentic language use.

Here, rather than overtly deauthenticating the language program's chosen dialect or the teacher's form as incorrect and non-Oklahoma Choctaw, this class participant instead asserts that her dialect is closer to Mississippi Choctaw and therefore more authentic. Here, the appeal is to an older form as more authentic than a form taught in class and perceived as more modern. This speaker's position was in the minority, though, as most speakers instead used reference to Mississippi Choctaw or Chickasaw to deauthenticate rather than authenticate speaker and form.

Using perceived ethno-linguistic boundaries, much as Barth (1969) described as ethnic groups do with geo-political boundaries, some Oklahoma Choctaws appear to define themselves in relation to an ascribed other and by extension, anything which is not inherently reflective of their own dialect, Oklahoma Choctaw is ascribed to the category "Mississippi Choctaw". Positioning "newer" Choctaw cultural elements and linguistic forms as authentic in opposition to the older traditional and cultural forms of the Mississippi Choctaw, who might be perceived by Westerners/dominant political powers as more authentic due to having resisted forced removal, therefore remaining in the Choctaw homeland. After removal, those Choctaws who stayed in Mississippi went into hiding, concentrating in rural areas and limiting contact with non-Choctaw communities. Despite research linking geographic isolation with higher levels of language maintenance (Chiswick and Miller, 1999; Clyne, 1994), and the fact that until recently, the Mississippi Choctaws experienced little shift, with children still speaking the

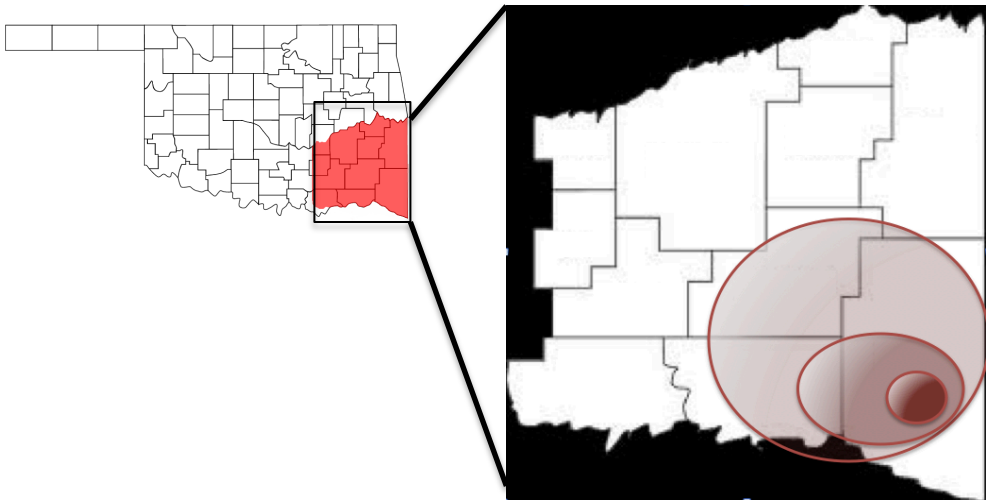
language in the home as of 2007 (Asher and Moseley, 2007), at least one CNO Language Department administrator asserts that the lack of schools and formal writing among the Mississippi Choctaw who resisted removal led to increased language shift. Others, however, appeal to just this perceived more authentic older form of Choctaw in performing their ethnic identities. As Bucholtz (2003) argues, issues of language ideology often reflect not just the modern, but also the historical context within which they are situated. That the speaker who more closely identified with Mississippi Choctaw than Oklahoma Choctaw was from a town in the Northern region of Choctaw Nation may provide some insight when this ideology of prescriptivism is viewed in historical context.

Where is the Real Choctaw Spoken? Dialect and Historical Context

While visiting with students throughout Southwestern Choctaw Nation, as I was introducing myself to a new class or after class was over, I frequently received unsolicited advice that if I wanted to hear "real Choctaw" spoken, I should go to Southeastern Choctaw Nation. When in Southeastern Choctaw Nation, I received further advice: if I wanted to hear "real Choctaw", I should go even further southeast. Finally, as I was deeper in the southeastern region, I was told I should go to the area around Broken Bow. Once I got there, I was told I should go "up the mountain", which I eventually did. The ideas of where many Southwestern and Southeastern Oklahoma Choctaw speakers/learners thought the most authentic Choctaw was spoken are illustrated in Figure 2, in which authenticated Choctaw varieties are shaded in increasing intensities.

To my ear, though there were slight variations in word choice, clipping or not, and use of grammatical particles, and given the limited use of Choctaw in the classroom setting, it all sounded like Choctaw, though perhaps my descriptivist leaning predisposed me to value all forms. I found this curious, especially given the lengths to which most language class participants, particularly elder fluent speakers, went to authorize their own fluent speaker status by appealing to the way their grandmother/family said it.

Figure 2: Map of Southern Choctaw Nation Communities Perception of Prestige Dialect



Why would people in a language class, many of whom were elders and fluent speakers readily turn around and then illegitimize their speech by appealing to a variety spoken elsewhere as more authentic? I wondered if it might be related to historic power differences or dialect privilege. As with any hegemonic system,

even one in which the power differential is debated, as described by Antonio Gramsci (1982), in which some individuals or groups wield power and some do not, many of those who are powerless nevertheless support the existing system through their words and actions. Many class participants who were not themselves members of the speaker group held up as the authentic model would reference that group in offering me suggestions on which classes to visit next. Not all class groups offered this advice, though. Class members in the Northern region of Choctaw Nation did not appeal to a Southeastern dialect as more authentic than their own, as illustrated in the statements of the teacher from the Wilburton area identifying his speech as more authentic because it was more like Mississippi Choctaw. An examination of the origins of literacy and Choctaw language texts offers some insight.

Okla Falaya, Okla Tannap, and Okla Hannali

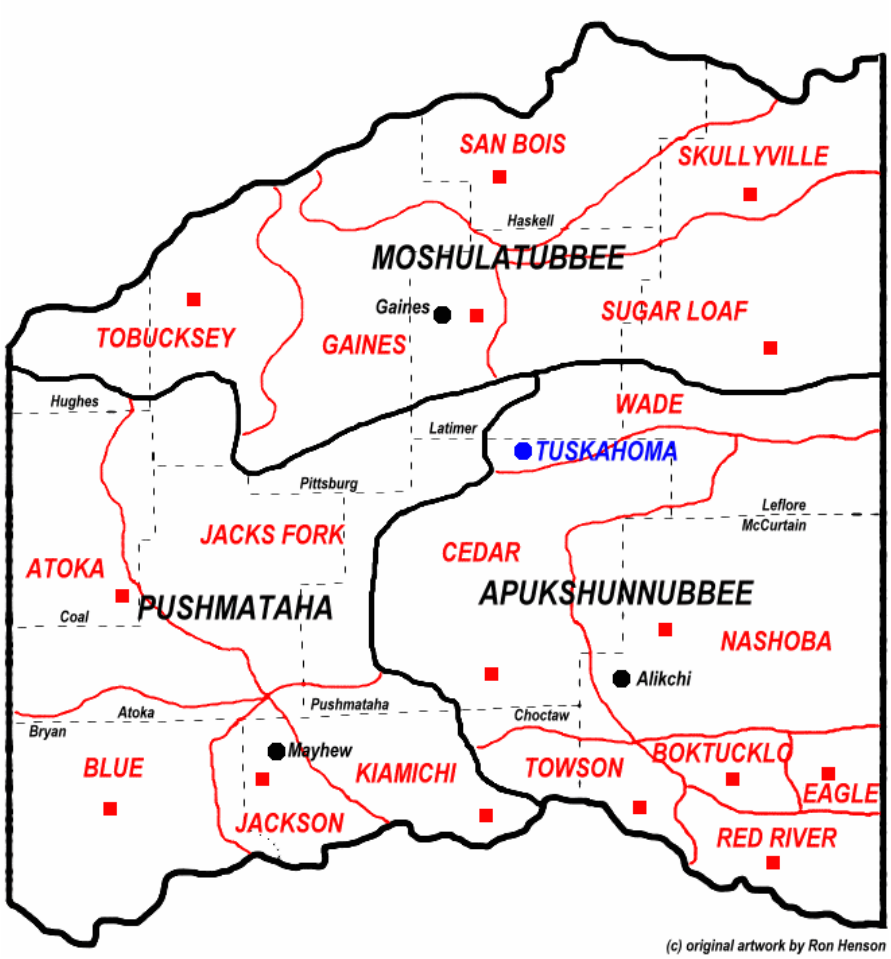
Shortly after contact with Europeans, the Choctaws, then a confederacy of several interrelated and linguistically related groups were divided into three primary regions located in what would become Mississippi: the Okla Falaya (Long People), Okla Tannap (Other side People), and the Okla Hannali (Six-Towns People) (Birchfield, 2007; Debo, 1934; Swanton, 2001 [1931]). These regions are often also referred to in terms of their regional Chiefs at the time of removal: Apuckshenubbee, Mushalatubbee, and Apushmataha, respectively (Drain, 1928) or the geographic region, Western, Eastern, and Southern (Debo, 1934; Swanton

2001)[7]. Political divisions also existed among the groups, with the Okla Tannap, considered the weaker group, allying with the French and the Okla Falaya with the English. In some descriptions, the Okla Falaya district was referred to as the "Big Party" and the Okla Tannap the "Little Party". The Okla Hannali were the more marginalized group, often "regarded with some show of contempt" by other Choctaw groups and by Anglos describing the groups in historical documents as they did not conform to the other groups in terms of dress and hairstyle and they tattooed the corners of their mouths (Swanton 2001[1931], p. 57).

At removal, these districts were mapped onto the Choctaw Indian Territory, with the Okla Tannap located in the Northern region, the Okla Falaya in the Eastern, and the Okla Hannali in the West, closest to where the Chickasaws would be located. The new districts were named for the Chiefs of the three original districts just prior to removal, so that the Northern district was named Mushalatubbee, the most conservative of the chiefs, the Southeastern Apuckshenubbee, and the Southwestern Apushmataha. It would be the Apuckshenubbee (Okla Falaya) district in Indian Territory in which lived the majority of wealthier Choctaws, those who farmed on a large scale, raised cattle, and acculturated to dominant social norms, while the Mushalatubbee (Okla Tannap) district that contained the most socially conservative of the Choctaws (Debo, 1934; Kidwell, 1995).

[7] Though several authors also describe one large additional region, Okla Chito, in the central region of the Mississippi Choctaw homeland, as well as several smaller groups, by the time of removal, only three political regions meaningfully existed (Debo, 1934; Swanton, 2001 [1931]).

Figure 3: Map of Choctaw Districts in Indian Territory at Removal



The Apuckshenubbee (Okla Falaya) district, with its wealthier Choctaws, would also be that which would produce the most principle Chiefs during the post-removal era and into the present (Whit, 1994).

The people in the original regions (Mississippi) spoke mutually intelligible languages, with the Okla Falaya and Okla Tannap dialects being closest to each other and the Okla Hannali least similar to the other two (Swanton, 2001 [1931]). In fact, the Okla Hannali speakers were often ridiculed as “backward”. As

missionaries in the region began working to translate the Bible and to create a dictionary, they used the Okla Falaya dialect as their model, eventually leading this dialect to become the standard for Choctaw (Birchfield, 2007; Debo, 1934; Swanton, 2001 [1931]). Birchfield (2007) writes in his tongue-in-cheek Choctaw history:

> It would be the Okla Falaya dialect of the Choctaw-Chickasaw language that the missionaries would present to the world, purporting that it was the 'Choctaw Language'…The 'standardization' process, one of attempting, even inadvertently, to make the Okla Falaya dialect the dominant dialect of the Choctaw language worked much the same way that it had when William Caxton 'standardized' the Anglish language from one of the Anglish dialects of London, beginning about 1475 by publishing books in that London dialect (p. 239).

Though there may no longer be official dialects spoken in these regions, Choctaw community class members appear to perceive a dialect difference. In his 2006 grammar of the language, Broadwell argues that, though Niklas (1974) argues for dialect variation in Oklahoma, and though he found some variation in form in Mississippi, he found no evidence for regional dialects, attributing variation to differences from family to family and even within a single speaker (p. 11). He writes:

> In my own fieldwork in Mississippi I spent some time trying to identify words that varied according to community, and often encountered situations like the following. I asked a speaker of Choctaw who lives in Pearl River the word for 'one', and she replied *achaffah*. When asked about the pronunciation *chaffah*, she said that this is what people say in Conehatta. The next day in Conehatta, I asked the word for 'one', and my consultant said *achaffah*. The pronunciation *chaffah*, he said is what people say in Pearl River. Clearly both speakers could not be right. After asking people in several communicates, I found that the pronunciations *chaffah* and *achaffah* are not correlated with community of residence at all, but are a matter of ideolectal variation. This sort of situation turned out to be extremely common. There is a tendency among Choctaw

> speakers to attribute any form they regard as unusual to some other community of speakers. But without going to that other community and confirming the facts, it is not possible to take individual speaker statements about dialect differences as reliable evidence (p. 11).

This same type of attribution of any form perceived to be non-standard to a political or geographic other is clearly evident in my own fieldwork in Oklahoma. Whether Oklahoma dialects currently exist corresponding to the historic three districts of Choctaw Indian Territory is beyond the scope of this work. However, the political implications of the perception of privilege of linguistic group or form, however, may be impacting Choctaw community class member ideologies, which do appear to vary by region. Though the three official districts in Choctaw Nation territory were dissolved prior to Oklahoma statehood, their impact appears to remain, perhaps as history and ideologies are reproduced within families and communities over time. It was the speakers in the former Okla Hannali (Apushmataha) region that claimed that speakers in the former Okla Falaya (Apuckshenubbee) district spoke the "real Choctaw". It was the speakers in the former Okla Tannap (Mushalatubbee) district who identified their speech as most like Mississippi Choctaw and therefore more authentic. These political affiliations, though no longer named by district within the Choctaw communities in which I worked, appear to influence perceptions of and performance of authenticity in ethnicity and language, especially as evidenced in discourses of language prescriptivism/correctness.

Dialect, Orthography and Authentication in Community Classes

Issues of perceived dialect and form are further used in the discourses of correctness to create distinction within Oklahoma Choctaw speaker communities, not just with non-Oklahoma Choctaw speaker communities. Discourses illustrating prescriptivist vs. pluralist ideologies regarding variation within Oklahoma Choctaw appear to be impacted by the historic and contemporary standardization of Choctaw language and the resulting orthography. These ideologies are directly impacting Choctaw community class practices and learning, especially concerning spelling, word choice, and pronunciation.

Many community class teachers focus a significant amount of class time on helping learners to develop correct pronunciation. One teacher, an elder male teaching a class in the Northeast of Oklahoma, outside of Choctaw Nation, especially focused time on teaching students how to pronounce two specific sounds not phonemic in English: the lateral fricative [ɬ] and the nasalization of vowels, which he termed "cheek sounds" and "nose sounds", respectively, as in an a statement he made to the class in the example below:

Example 5.5: Community Class Teacher Interview

Teacher: *People who grow up around fluent speakers get acquisition. Adults have to take more time and go step by step. Like with pronunciation. They have to work on cheek sounds. If you know these then you can read the New Testament…need to focus on sound in reading.*

This instructor spends approximately fifteen minutes near the beginning of class to work on cheek sounds and nose sounds. When reading aloud from the New Testament, the main class activity, he often stops flow to focus attention on these sounds and have participants repeat them. His reasoning for this is that in order to speak Choctaw correctly, one must "sound like a Choctaw."[8]

This instructor is not alone in focusing attention on pronunciation. The focus on these sounds perceived unique to Choctaw, and on discussions of dialect occurring within classes, supports some class participants' assertions that Choctaw is too difficult to learn. An excerpt from an interview with a fluent middle-aged female student in the Okla Tannap (Northern) region of Choctaw Nation illustrates a frustration with the difference between pronunciation and orthography (spelling).

Example 5.6: Community Class Student, Okla Tannap Region

Student: *--well, I can't even pronounce sometimes, looking at the spelling. Like if I'm just talking sometimes, I can't even think about the spelling. Like some things I can't spell them for you, if you asked me to spell it for you, I can't, I can just say it. I like that cause I can see it now, but even when I'm reading I have to stop and go back over my conversation and be like, "Ok, that's what word is" and when I first started, like* atanaha *'church', I'd never seen that word spelled before and so, when we went there and the teacher was teaching the class and she asked me to say it and I said, "I don't know how to pronounce it." And,*

[8] Interestingly, his statement illustrates several additional ideologies at work. In addition to the equation of pronunciation with fluency, he expresses the idea that language learning for adults must occur in a formal context and another idea that reading comprehension is dependent upon phonetic fluency rather than on understanding content.

when we were doing our worksheets, I'd say, just say it in Choctaw, and she'd say it and I'd say "Oh, that's how you say it." Even with the hymn books, I had never seen these words spelled, so for me, it was really…um…interesting…and even now, like I have to stop and think, like what is the Choctaw word for Christmas*, and I'll look at that word and it just does not…so, what I've done over there is I've phonemically spell it out and then I can pronounce it. If I don't spell it phonemically, I just, I can't…I can't get the word out.*

EK*:* *So, you're having to write it down the way it sounds to you?*

Student*:* *Well, phonemically. I just write it down phonemically, then after I get through saying it, then I look at it.*

In this interview, the class participant describes her experience with the language as primarily oral. When confronted with a writing system, she expressed a concern common to many fluent or passive bilingual Choctaws who were only familiar with the sounds of the language and experienced confusion when presented with a writing system. She also expresses that the writing system does not conform to her phonemic understanding of the language. Many learners of written Choctaw, especially elder speakers, are unfamiliar with the historical written conventions of the language. Coupled with the variations in spelling throughout different texts and workbooks, a familiarity with the English writing system, and the perception of dialect differences, the novelty of the spelling system can result in some learners experiencing confusion when comparing spellings with their own pronunciations.

Example 5.7 Class Discussion, Central Oklahoma.

Student*:* Tahlipa *on this page has an 'e' instead of 'i'.*

Teacher*: That's what I said. If you look in the book, every book you look in is gonna have different spellings…but if you know what the word is, you can understand it.*

The variability in spelling systems and its difference from English often lead to heated discussion of which spelling, which pronunciation, and which text is correct, as discussed further in the next section.

Unintentional Language Policy: Language Standardization and Orthography

Though missionaries translating religious texts during the early 19th century unofficially standardized the Okla Falaya dialect, the orthography was not standardized. When the dictionary commonly referred to as the "Byington Dictionary" was published posthumously in 1909, Byington's orthography was actually changed by the editor, Swanton. This resulted in different spelling systems in the dictionary and the religious texts. Since that time, several orthographies have emerged, used in different contexts, with some used in workbooks, others in dictionaries, and still others in religious texts, such as hymns and the New Testament. For example, The Byington dictionary lists among its words for 'bee', *foishke* whereas the Choctaw Nation's Community Class Curriculum lists fowi. Linguists can see the connection between the root in the word '*foishke'* as listed in Byington, '*foi'* and the workbook word '*fowi'*, but for community class members, this similarity is not necessarily easy to note. This

orthographic diversity presents a challenge for some learners and fuels discussions of language correctness.

Broadwell (2006) describes in detail several orthographies previously developed for writing Choctaw (3-7): the traditional orthography, based on the work of missionaries in Mississippi during the early 19th century, the Mississippi Choctaw orthography, and the Mississippi Choctaw Bible Translation Committee orthography, adding a fourth, the modified traditional orthography, which, "…is the one most frequently used by linguists in discussions of the language (6)". A comparison of these orthographies is presented in Table 3. The primary differences between these orthographies are in the representations of the affricates / š / and / č /, the lateral fricative / ł /, vowel length and nasalization, consonant gemination, and word divisions.

These several different orthographies may have emerged due to isolation of Choctaw language communities from each other. Despite common linguistic consensus that languages insulated from dominant language influence due to geographic isolation experience less shift than those exposed to outside language pulls, one CNO Language Department administrator argues that the Mississippi language community experienced more shift over time than Oklahoma Choctaw in large part due to its lack of a standard writing system and formal schooling in the post-removal years. This lack of standardized orthography, in the

administrator's opinion, led to increased language change and a higher number of orthographies than in Oklahoma Choctaw.

Table 3: Comparison of Choctaw Orthographies as described in Broadwell (2006)

	Traditional (1800s)	Mississippi (1970s)	Modified	Bible Committee
/ š /	sh	š	sh	sh
/ č /	ch	č	ch	ch
/ ł /	lh, hl	ł	lh	lh
V	/a/: ʊ, a /i/: i /o/: ʊ, o	a i o	a i o	a i o
Lengthened V	/aa/: a /ii/: i, e /oo/: o	ã, á ĩ, í õ, ó	aa ii oo	a í ó
Nasalization	a or a^{n} *	ą	a	a
Geminates	inconsistent	geminate	geminate	geminate
Word division	shorter units (not consistent with morphemes)	word boundary	word boundary	shorter units

Nasalization was indicated by an underline in Byington's original notes, but Swanton's editing changed the representation to a superscript 'n'.

In 2011, The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's Language Department, in response to requests from community class teachers, adapted a curriculum already in place for their high school Choctaw classes to fit the community class model. The curriculum, when originally designed, had to meet strict State of Oklahoma Department of Education standards for world language instruction. The curriculum consists of four workbooks, each corresponding to one of the four phases of community classes, and titled Community Curriculum Phase I through

Community Curriculum Phase IV. The Curricula were introduced into the community classes shortly thereafter and I began to see them used during my fieldwork in 2012. The spelling used in the new community class curriculum, developed by Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Language Department in collaboration with linguists, uses what they term the "modern" spelling.

The teacher's edition offers guidance on how to teach the spelling and pronunciation of Choctaw. In Choctaw I, in both the student and teacher copies, Chapter I: The Sounds of Choctaw: A guide to spelling and pronunciation offers eleven rules for writing Choctaw. Each rule is followed by guidance on how to pronounce the sounds, comparisons to English, and examples of words using these sounds/letters and often includes discussion of a "minor rule". For brevity's sake, an abridged version of these eight eleven is presented below:

1. The basic vowels are usually written with the letters *a, i,* and *o*.
2. In many words u is written for o, and ʊ is written for a.
3. Some words are accented (have higher pitch).
4. The consonant hl has two pronunciations, one old and the other recent. ([ɬ] and [Ø]) Minor rule: When hl is followed by a consonant, it is written lh.
5. When a double consonant is written, both are pronounced (geminate).
6. Double yy is written iy after o and a.
7. Usually owa and owi were written oa and doi, also iya and iyo were written ia and io.
8. In a few words, u is written as w.
9. Before p and b, nasalization is written as m.
10. Before t, ch, and l, nasalization is written as m.
11. Otherwise, nasalization is written by underlining the nasalized vowel.[9]

These rules, which may appear overly complex, (for example, rules 9-11 could be reduced to indicate that some vowels have a nasal sound indicated by underlining)

[9] The Language Department stated these rules were pulled these rules from the Byington Dictionary and work with a linguist (CNO Language Department p.c., 2015).

appear to have been written not just to help curriculum users understand the relationship of the spelling system used in the workbooks to Choctaw sounds, but also to help students navigate the multiple orthographies found throughout Choctaw texts.

Though these rules may be designed to aid the learner in comparing spellings across texts and authors, there is a standard orthography used in the curriculum. For example, rule two indicates that the letters o and ʊ represent the short, not long versions of the sounds [u] and schwa. Under this rule, the workbook lists comparisons of "Modern" Choctaw which consistently uses only a and o and does not indicate vowel length with "Past" Choctaw which does use different symbols to represent long and short vowels. Throughout the workbook, though, both letters for the schwa sound, a and ʊ, and for the [u], o and u, are used. For example, in Community Curriculum I, Chapter 3, the following sentences are presented in exercises:

> Example 5.7: Sentences from Choctaw Community Curriculum I, Ch. 3
>
> Ilʊppʊt chukka.
> Ilʊppʊt holisso.
> Ilʊppʊt aiimpa.
> Yʊmmʊt chukfi tohbi tahlapi ho̲?
> Yʊmmʊt hushi lakna hʊta yo̲?

It appears that representation of vowel length throughout the workbooks, then, is consistent with what the curriculum developers term "past" Choctaw. In general, the orthography overall is mostly consistent with that of the religious texts

translated in the 19th century, in which vowel length is represented by an alternation of the symbol 'o' for /o/ and 'u' for /oo/, for example, with exceptions concerning indication of vowel length of the /i/ phoneme, gemination, and representation of whole words. Though vowel nasalization is indicated in Swanton's editing of Byington's notes through a dot below the vowel, other texts use the superscript, and the curriculum uses an underline. We can then add CNO's orthography to the table comparing the various Mississippi and Oklahoma orthographies, as below.

Table 4: Comparison of Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma (CNO) Language Department Curriculum Orthography to Previous Orthographies

	Traditional (1800s)	Mississippi (1970s)	Modified	Bible Comm (MS)	CNO Curriculum
/ š /	sh	Š	sh	sh	sh
/ č /	ch	Č	ch	ch	ch
/ ł /	lh, hl	Ł	lh	lh	hl, lh
V	/a/: ʊ, a /i/: i /o/: ʊ, o	a i o	a i o	a i o	ʊ i u
Lengthened V	/aa/: a /ii/: i, e /oo/: o	ã, á ĩ, í õ, ó	aa ii oo	a í ó	a i o
Nasalization	a or a^{n} *	ą	a	a	a
Geminates	Inconsistent	geminate	geminate	geminate	Geminate
Word division	shorter units (not consistent with morphemes)	word boundary	word boundary	shorter units	word boundary

This table displays the orthographies commonly used throughout Mississippi and Oklahoma at various points in time and in various communities and texts, more or

less chronologically from left to right. As in the previous table, the data is primarily drawn from Broadwell's grammar of Choctaw (2006), with the addition of the newer orthography of CNO at the right hand column. The CNO curriculum orthography is clearly most similar to the Traditional orthography used in the early religious texts. Though this is not the only orthography used by Choctaw community members, Choctaw Nation Language Department has, by necessity of putting the language into writing for the classroom, created a standardized orthography for Oklahoma Choctaw.

The Politics of Standardization

Standardization is not an apolitical process. Creation of orthographies and choices is among them are grounded in language ideology and reflect politically and historically situated discourses of language ideology, often relating to nationality (Anderson, 1991; Schieffelin and Doucet, 1994; Woolard and Schieffelin, 1994). Discourses regarding orthography often bring previously undiscovered ideologies to the fore as they create opportunities for metalinguistic debate. The choosing of one standard or official language within a multilingual community and of a standard dialect within a plural dialect community creates an unmarked identity against which others are marked as deviant or illegitimate (Bucholtz and Hall, 2007).

Many linguists working with Native language revitalization communities and the communities themselves are engaged in critical metalinguistic discourses of the

implications of choosing one orthography over another (see Bender, 2000; Neely and Palmer, 2009). The students and teachers within the Choctaw Nation community classes are similarly engaged in discourses of the implications of the choice of one orthography over others in the community class curriculum. The Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Language Department's position that, while there are differences in the ways people speak, there are no significant or distinct dialects of Oklahoma Choctaw does not match the perceptions of many community class students and teachers. By many community members, the CNO Language Department is believed to have created the curriculum and standardized the language by relying on select committee members' expertise in creating the curriculum rather than engaging with the wider community. The result is that many community class teachers and participants perceive that one dialect has been privileged over others.

Whether they perceive that dialect to be Mississippi Choctaw, Chickasaw, or a one of the several perceived to exist within Oklahoma Choctaw, the perception that the standardized, unmarked standard is not their own translates into the perception of the privileging of one dialect, and therefore of illegitimization of others, is widespread throughout the community classes. Again, this perception of dialect difference and privilege is situated within the historical geography of Choctaw Nation. Building on the historical standardization of the Okla Falaya district's dialect of Choctaw, the Language Department has used the Byington

dictionary and other religious texts translated around the same time by the same missionaries as the language form used in the Curriculum.

This perception of privilege is related to the gatekeeping function of Choctaw Nation Language Department in their role as language planners. In the process of language shift, heritage languages can often become commodities used to perform an authentic identity and imbue certain speakers with more status and power within the community (Shaul, 2014). This process is well documented for Native American language communities (see Hill, 1986; Hill and Hill, 1985; Kroskrity, 2009).

Many community class participants and teachers with whom I spoke described the Language Department as political, arguing that "control of the language" was in the hands of a very few people, most members of one extended family from the deep Southeast of Choctaw Nation, what was historically the Okla Falaya district. Though most did not want me to use their words directly, telling me, "Don't quote me on that," for fear of repercussions, one community class teacher did tell me that I needed to, "Tell it like it is," though not to use his name.

Example 5.8: Community Class Teacher, Durant Area

They got one family in there who controls the whole thing. They make all the decisions and no one else can tell them anything. It's all politics. If you disagree with a word or spell it different, they shut you down.

The CNO Language Department administrators state that individuals chosen to aid in development of the high school curriculum were selected based upon the criteria of having both fluency and a teaching background to facilitate rapid development of curriculum to meet Oklahoma State standards. Many community members appear, however, to be unaware of these criteria and have based their perceptions of power differential on their own experiences.

Another teacher described the periodic trainings for teachers held at the Language Department in Durant.

> Example 5.9: Community Class Teacher, Durant Area
>
> *When they do these trainings, they just tell you what the grammar is. They don't want to hear anything but their way. They've got a stranglehold on the language. We need to be teaching differently. We need to not be using the curriculum. Instead we need to be using immersion methods. They don't want to hear that. Are you going to tell the truth in this book or are you going to just do what they say like everyone else does?*

This teacher was especially concerned that my own writing not reflect the just what the Language Department wanted heard, but that I present an accurate representation of what s/he perceived was going on in the Language Department. S/he was also concerned with how teachers are trained and the methods used. The CNO Language Department states their training methods are based on methods used to teach early English learners, in which basic information is given at first and giving too many conflicting forms is avoided.

Another teacher, this one in charge of a high school class told me a similar story and expressed concern about exposure of the use of "unorthodox" teaching methods. This teacher was especially concerned that I not tell the Department about how s/he taught the class.

Example 5.10: High School Class Teacher, Durant Area

Teacher: *They give me the curriculum (high school) and tell me I've got to teach this one way…using the lessons in the book. I add in activities and games and get them talking. You know, using the language?*

EK*:* *That's interesting? Can I see the games? How do you use them?*

Teacher: *I'll show you, but don't show them in your book. Don't copy them, okay? Don't tell Choctaw Language about them.*

Though the CNO Language Department states they consider the curriculum to be a skeleton upon which classes are to be structured and that they encourage instructors to supplement the lessons, clearly this instructor felt constrained. These comments by teachers in community and high school classes indicate that some, though not all, perceive an atmosphere of power difference. These teachers expressed either concern that their "telling it like it is" would challenge the existing power structure or that the power structure needed to be challenged. Whether there exists this power structure, many community class participants perceive that it does, making the idea a meaningful political influence on language ideology.

There is some evidence to suggest, though, that the primary language specialists consulted by the Department are from families historically resident in the former Okla Falaya district. The CNO Language Department notes that they were under time constraints to meet State of Oklahoma curriculum requirements, which may have resulted in drawing talented people to design the curriculum from a relatively narrow pool. In addition to the perception that the Language Department is run by members of one family from Southeastern Choctaw Nation, The history of the Dictionary Committee provides an example of a situation that might be perceived in as politically and geographically loaded and as potentially leading to the authorization of one dialect over others. When originally formed, the Dictionary Committee, tasked with creating an updated Oklahoma Choctaw Dictionary with the help of a linguist, consisted of members from all areas of Choctaw Nation. In the past few years, though, as disagreements about dialect and form to be described in entries and time constraints imposed pressure on committee members, the membership dwindled to six individuals all from the deep Southeast of Choctaw Nation and stalled out several times (Adams p.c., 2015). At the time of this writing, though, the Dictionary Project appears to be back underway, with publication and printing imminent (CNO Language Department p.c. 2015). Controversies during Native language dictionary building projects are not unique to Choctaw Nation, however. Hill (2002) describes the impact of ideological conflicts native speakers and researchers during the Hopi Dictionary Project 1998 and Kroskrity (2015) describes the "ideological give and take" necessary in developing a Tewa dictionary (p. 141). The Choctaw

dictionary project also experienced similar contention over form, influenced by the tension between ideologies of purism and prescriptivism.

The administration, however, is aware of political conflict over dialect and overtly promotes awareness and acceptance of multiple ways of speaking. An administrator addressing a May 2013 community class in southern Oklahoma told the participants:

Example 5.11: Choctaw Language Department Administrator

Administrator:	*Just 'cause you learn it one way in class, that doesn't mean it's the only way you can say it.*
Teacher:	*----That's true!----*
Administrator:	*That's why having a fluent teacher is so nice. She can tell you other ways to say it…"You can say it like this, too". Keep going with the language. The language is dying very fast. Every time an elder dies, we lose a fluent speaker. We are not replacing them fast enough.*

Just the previous week, this class had spent almost an entire hour discussing differences in dialect and orthography for one word, the result being a heated debate. The not insignificant amount of time spent in many classes on discussing variation and arguing for one form, spelling, or pronunciation over another is not unique to this class. Though not many spent more than an hour on one word form, most class participants did spend at least some time of every class session debating pronunciation and spelling.

Program administrators argue, rightly, that all ways of speaking are valid. Without intending too, however, they may have undermined that message by presenting a standardized curriculum. The apparent, though unintentional, discrepancy between the overt discourse advocating dialect pluralism and the covert discourse implied by the use of one dialect (at least according to some) and a standardized orthography in the curriculum has not gone unnoticed by community class teachers and participants, as indicated by the following interview excerpt with an individual who used to work in the Language Department.

Example 5.12 Former Language Department Employee

So, like a few years ago, we started working with the Mississippi Choctaw. Right off, they said, "We don't want you working with the Mississippi. They're gonna mess up our language." I said, "No, they're not." I said, "'Cause I can understand them and they can understand me so we can work together." And our work is going to be standardized to working this way, spelling and everything. They got their ways and Chickasaws got their ways. They started about 3 or 4 different times and they using different symbols. So, the original symbols is what we gonna use, so everybody accept that. But, [Elder Speaker], he worked with [Linguist], and he didn't want to accept like that, but we went on ahead…See they worked this Bible, the New Testament and used these symbols. I don't have a problem with it, so we're gonna use that. Others don't have a problem with it. Even Mississippi Choctaw don't have a problem with it. So, we gonna say it like that. So, that's what we're doing with that. It's these older ones, 40, 50, 60 that feels that way, but if you take some of these younger ones, they'll speak to you. And, if they know more, they'll speak all the time. So, whatever they know, they'll speak all the time.

Though this former Language Department employee acknowledged that there was contention concerning the dialect and spelling to be used which related to perceptions of geography, he argued that they had to pick something and that

since the dialects were mutually intelligible is should not matter. To many language teachers, though, it does matter and they make this apparent in their interactions in class. In fact, many teachers covertly, and sometimes overtly, resist the standardization of the language and what they perceive to be the authorization of one dialect and the illegitimization of others.

Community Class Discourses of Resistance

In many classes I observed, both teachers and students employed prescriptivist ideologies to resist the perceived privileging of one dialect over another. The ideology of prescriptivism is often positioned against that of valuing pluralism in complex ways illustrating heteroglossia not just in the speakers' own positions toward these ideologies but in the ways they are used. Teachers make statements that support a concept of multiple valid dialects while simultaneously using a standardized curriculum. They also position one form as more correct than that used by the Language Department in the curriculum as a way to resist the perceived power of the Language Department. Students (elders especially), similarly resist the teacher's choice of word, orthography, or pronunciation while holding their own family's version as ideal and looking to the Byington dictionary, based on one dialect, as standard authority.

In a class located in central Oklahoma, in 2013, after distribution of the curriculum, a teacher and a teacher in training, the latter from southeastern

Oklahoma were leading a class. During one class session, in a class in Oklahoma City, outside of Choctaw Nation, the following interaction occurred:

Example 5.13: Class Instruction Session, Oklahoma City, 2013

Teacher: *Ok, let's start. You're going to do a word search puzzle about the Lord's Prayer.*

Trainee: *What did you think of the children's performance? I think he did great except for nasalizing. If he'd nasalized, it'd've been great.*

[Students work together on word search worksheet.]

Trainee: *Ok, does everyone have it? Let's go to the dictionary.*

[I open my dictionary, the blue Byington dictionary.]

Trainee: *The blue dictionary is for teachers. Ok, here's another worksheet.*

[Class works on worksheet in small groups]

Trainee: *How do you say 'bug'?*

Student 1: *I don't know.*

Student 2: [shrugs]

Student 3: shushi?

Trainee: *She's got it!*

Teacher: *Let's go around the table and tell our answers.*

[Each student reads an animal word. Trainee corrects each student's pronunciation.]

Trainee: *In the southeast we shorten the words and say it fast. That is the old way. Here you are using the new way.*

Teacher: *Ok, you need to learn these words for next week because we're going to do colors, but we are not going to have these words* [referencing the curriculum].

[hands out a worksheet to class]

39.
40. *These are color words from Raymond Johnson's book.*
41.
42. Student 2: *Isn't the Choctaw word for 'purple'* homakbi*? This*
43. *isn't Choctaw.* [referring to the printed word
44. okchakʊlbi]
45.
46. Teacher: *I want you to know that the words in the dictionary are*
47. *different than these. Look up 'pink' on this page.*
48.
49. Student: *It's* homakbi*!*
50.
51. [teacher moves on to a cultural lesson without comment]

This class interaction reveals several appeals to authority as well as indirect assertion of which authority is more authentic. In lines 4 and 5, and again in the correction of students, many of whom are elder, formerly fluent speakers, indicated in lines 29-30, the trainee sets himself up as an authority on pronunciation. In lines 32-33, the trainee asserts that his pronunciation is the more correct or authentic than that spoken in the central Oklahoma region by appealing to his status as a member of a community of more traditional speakers of Choctaw.

Whereas the teacher trainee's appeals to authority are more overt, the teacher's challenging of authority is a bit subtler. In lines 35-36, the teacher, who also grew up in southeastern Oklahoma, makes an intriguing statement that they are going to learn a set of words not in the curriculum. In line 40, the teacher refers to the author of a book that the class is not using: Raymond Johnson is a Choctaw preacher from southeastern Oklahoma. By pointing out the discrepancies between the dictionary the students are using, the curriculum, which concurs with

the Byington dictionary in listing the term for purple as *homakbi*, and Raymond Johnson's color terminology, the teacher is also appealing to the her own dialect, which, interesting, is the southeastern dialect as the authority. This teacher appears to differentiate between the Okla Falaya dialect used in the Byington dictionary and her specific Southeastern dialect, perhaps illustrating the type of conflation of dialect and idiolect (family and local variation) argued by Broadwell (2006). Rather than overtly stating so, however, she simply provides evidence of disjuncture and lets the students come to their own conclusions.

Statements in earlier classes, however, provide additional context, as does the trainee's statement in line 13 that the Byington dictionary is only useful for teachers. During the class three weeks previous, an administrator from the Language Department had visited the class to talk about the new curriculum and to provide copies to students and teachers, but this teacher had not yet decided whether she was going to use the workbook. The worksheets the teacher provided were created by the teacher and not from the curriculum workbook. When considered within the frame of these events, the dissemination of different Southeastern dialect color terms alongside the enigmatic statement that the curriculum has words we are not going to study indicates resistance to a perceived standardization of Choctaw writing and dialect. Though, it may be the case that the teacher is using the discourse of dialect and pluralism not to resist the standardization in itself, but what it represents in terms of power relationships between Language Department staff and teachers. This teacher may not be

resisting the dialect, but instead the curriculum as a surrogate for the Language Department.

Other times, discourses of correctness and the resultant silence that often emerges in response to the risk of being challenged on using an incorrect form, are used to not only authenticate one speaker and deauthenticate another, but also to resist the perceived power of the Language Department. For example, the following discussion occurred in a class in the Hugo area in 2011, prior to the introduction of the curriculum.

Example 5.14 Class Discussion, Okla Hannali District Area

Teacher: *I know some people who do know Choctaw but don't' speak.it I've been told maybe its because I'm a teacher, but I don't understand why. I speak Choctaw to them, but they answer in English.*

Student 1: *Is it because they are intimidated?*

Student 2: *Could be because they don't put forth the effort.*

Teacher: *I wish they would teach their grandkids Choctaw. So they could start learning and catch their interest to keep learning. I wonder why it never bothered me. I've always spoken Choctaw to people who I know speak Choctaw and I even speak to those who don't.*

*Some of the other tribes are starting with babies with immersion. That's something I want ya'll to do. Respond as much as you can in Choctaw. Even if you're wrong, do it! I am not going to criticize or punish. For some it takes a lot of practice. There is one teacher who has already gone through the whole book [*Willis and Haag grammar*] in 1 phase, as a crash course. I would crash.*

When you have students who have spoken all their lives, I hear, "I guess I don't talk Choctaw right."

Student: *I hear that from Amy.*

Teacher: *So, they don't talk. Instead of just coming out with it the way they always have. I have to teach the 'proper' word. It makes it tough because then you learn all kind of words.*

Student: *Just like street Spanish.*

Teacher: *So, like this one new teacher…he worried he would be frustrated too much and then leave. I had to say to him, "It's okay. When you speak, I understand and you understand me."*

Seeing it on paper is so different to them. There may be ten other ways to say it. Like for instance, balili. *It can be 'run', 'running', 'ran', 'keeps' 'running', 'runner'. Like for 'baby',* ʊllosi, *most Choctaws nowadays just say* bibi. *That's going in the new dictionary. Like* saimi, *'I believe', is becoming* sami. *Like that teacher in southwestern Oklahoma who uses Mississippi Choctaw.*

[light laughter from class]

Here, the teacher made several assertions that all dialects of Oklahoma Choctaw were valid and that mutual intelligibility was the primary concern. She also resists her perception that the Language Department, obliquely referenced by referring to another teacher using a textbook provided by the Department as a resource prior to the curriculum, promotes a culture of correctness, standardization, and text-based teaching methods rather than oral methods. She articulates the struggle that many new Choctaw community class teachers experience, much as some elder students struggle, when confronted not only with literacy in what was previously only an oral language for them, but also with variation in form and meaning. At the same time that this teacher argues for acceptance of variation, she appears to

imply that Mississippi Choctaw is not a valid dialect for use in Oklahoma when she references "…that teacher in Southwestern Oklahoma who uses Mississippi Choctaw," which is followed by laughter from the class.[10] In this class discussion, the teacher both resists prescriptivist ideologies and employs them. Though many teachers did resist prescriptivist ideologies as an artifact of language standardization, others openly embraced pluralism in more direct way, as illustrated in the excerpt from an interview with another teacher in the same region.

Example 5.15 Community Class Teacher, Okla Hannali Region

We didn't learn from papers or any book that someone sat down and taught us about this language. We learned by what we heard. And so, I had to think about that. You know, there's just a lot of things you don't think about until you're going to try to teach someone else. And then, I have come to realize also that the different dialects and everything that are out there…I wasn't one to, if I knew what a speaker was saying, I never stopped and paid attention to how they were saying the words or what words they were using and uh…until I decided to teach. And then I started paying it a lot more attention [laughs] so then I could explain to the students. Because if something is said slightly different in another area or maybe this other area use a different word than what we say, then, you know, I have to find all that out because I need to make my students aware. So, nowadays, I find myself thinking that whenever…which I grew up in Choctaw county and now I'm in Pushmataha county and I know a lot of speakers in McCurtain county, so I've learned that when I do go to the McCurtain county area, that I speak like they do [laughs]. And I guess it's because I'm aware of all of that. But, when you listen to how someone else says something in Choctaw, even though you didn't grow up saying it that way, the next thing you know, you're starting to say it that way. So,

[10] The dialect probably used by the teacher being referenced during this class session is what Broadwell (2006) termed 'Mississippi Choctaw of Oklahoma'. Mississippi Choctaw of Oklahoma (MCO) is one of four Choctaw dialects (Mississippi Choctaw, Mississippi Choctaw of Oklahoma, Oklahoma Choctaw, and Louisiana Choctaw), and one of two spoken in Oklahoma. MCO is spoken by Choctaws in or near Chickasaw Nation and more closely resembles the Choctaw spoken in Mississippi, but is not identical to that dialect.

> *that happens, too. But, I have to remember my words, because I'm a teacher, so I just make sure the students are aware of that.*

This teacher frames her statement by first pointing out that learning was not originally literacy based. The majority of her statement focuses on valuing pluralism, which she claims is easier to do in oral form. It is writing and literacy that promotes language standardization. Orality allows for greater variation in speaker form. This statement illustrates a valuing of pluralism and devaluing of prescriptivist ideologies. These ideologies are directly related to standardization and the community's perception of the power of the Language Department. She closes by returning to her original frame, literacy instruction as standardizing and devaluating pluralism, by referencing her position as a teacher and therefore her role in literacy based instruction. Even in such apparently innocuous speech, resistance to perceived dominant ideologies and political power are expressed, if situated within the current and historical context.

Conclusion

Speaking to Power: Standardization vs. Diversity

These statements and narratives illustrate that multiple and often-competing ideologies are shared, recycled, and often uncritically accepted within the language learning community. Kroskrity (2010) describes language ideology as a "cluster concept" consisting of four convergent dimensions: awareness, mediation between social structure and form, multiplicity, and social interests. He argues:

> Language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group. A

> members' notions of what is 'true,' 'morally good, or aesthetically pleasing' about language and discourse are grounded in social experience and often demonstrably tied to political-economic interests. These notions often underlie attempts to use language as the site at which to promote, protect, and legitimate those interests. (p.195)

Language ideologies circulating within the Oklahoma Choctaw language learning community illustrate all of these four dimensions. First, Choctaw language ideologies are multiple, even often conflicting, as demonstrated in the tension between ideologies valuing variation and those promoting correctness and purism. Second, the focus on correctness illustrates the interaction between social usage and form. Third, Oklahoma Choctaw community class teachers, learners, and administrators have varying levels of awareness concerning the existence and purpose of these language ideologies. Finally, and significantly, as concerns language correctness, differing groups' social and political interests concerning the language and the wider cultural context inform understanding of the employment of these ideologies in authenticating speakers and deauthenticating others as a means to resist perceived power difference.

Teachers make statements that appear to support a concept of multiple valid dialects while simultaneously using a standardized curriculum and making statements that resist the standardization of the language. Complicating this issue of resistance to standardization of the language are assertions of there being one correct form of Choctaw, as indicated by the trainee in the central Oklahoma class, who privileged the deep Southeastern Oklahoma dialect over other Oklahoma dialects of Choctaw and the teacher in the class in Southeastern

Oklahoma who privileged Oklahoma Choctaw over Mississippi Choctaw. Students (elders especially) both argue against the teacher's choice of word/orthography/pronunciation while holding their own family's version as ideal and looking to the Byington dictionary as standard authority. Both appeals support an idea that there is a correct form, situated in an authoritative past, whether in a dictionary produced in the 19th century or in "my grandmother's" words, constituting a Bakhtinian (1981) "authoritative discourse" compelling to the speaker and listener.

Both ideologies, however, speak to issues of power. The assertions concerning dialect variation acceptance appear to support resistance to standardization of the curriculum while statements privileging one or form over another are employed to authenticate individual or subgroup speakerness by asserting a higher degree of linguistic authenticity of one's own group than another. The prescriptivist ideology and its use in authentication of speaker and ethnic self at the expense of other individual or group, especially when referencing a geographic region felt to be older in Oklahoma Choctaw history, is a means to express power by indexing one's status as a more authentic Choctaw, a member of a historically powerful family, or coming from a more traditionally Choctaw region. This appeal to tradition, though, does not appear to extend through history to the original Choctaw homeland, Mississippi, due to the frequent appeal among Oklahoma Choctaws of an authenticity modeled on the post-European contact, Westernized, Christian Choctaw. The assertion that variation is acceptable is most often made

by teachers, not class participants, and is used to resist the power structure within the Choctaw Nation Language Program, which is perceived to value one group's (that often viewed as the more authentic model previously described) dialect over another. Though this privileging is perhaps not intentional, the perception of this privilege affects class activities and discussions, though not necessarily always negatively.

From 2013-2014, I heard from several teachers who were excited about using the new curriculum. In personal comments and in addressing their students, teachers expressed gratitude for the support from the Language Program administrators. The discourses of resistance and authentication persist, however, in classes. Choctaw Nation Language Program Administrators acknowledge that the debates about dialect impact class participation and are responding by openly advocating an ideology of pluralism. The use of a single form in workbooks, however, appears to undermine that message. One possible suggestion is to include a preface to the curriculum in each workbook explaining the choice of one form is based on a need to produce one cohesive set of lessons while acknowledging variability and the validity of other forms and suggesting ways teachers can adapt the lessons. This sort of open admission of the need to inadvertently privilege of one dialect over others, along with a discussion of the practical necessity for doing so, may reduce resistance.

Programs engaging in language work in communities experiencing similar tensions between pluralism and prescriptivism face the challenge of weighing the benefits of pluralism against those of standardization and of the resulting prescriptivist ideology. Standardization aids in development of teaching materials and consistency across classes, though it inevitably privileges one form over another. As an inevitably political act, in an existing context of perfectionist ideology, standardization may prove contentious. Embracing pluralism presents its own set of challenges. On the one hand, it aids in upholding learners as "knowers and users" (Wyman, 2009), valuing speakers' linguistic form choices and promoting public language use. On the other hand, embracing pluralism can itself be contentious, as it can make the language appear overwhelmingly complex and confusing to new learners and elder speakers alike. Whichever choice is made, ideally, it must be a critical one in which community language ideologies are acknowledged, political motivations weighed, and community input included.

Chapter 6: The Dictionary and the Bible: Privileging Literacy and Linguistics in Choctaw Language Education

Throughout my visits to Choctaw Nation community classes and language planning events, from 2011 to 2014, I noticed an interesting phenomenon: people who could speak or who considered themselves or were considered by others to be fluent Choctaw speakers rarely spoke Choctaw in public. I also noticed that language learners were hesitant to speak. In language classes, most activities focused on reading and writing rather than speaking and listening. Though often students would recite the Lord's Prayer or sing hymns in Choctaw, there was little conversation in the language and no classroom instruction through the language. At language planning events I had attended earlier, such as the Choctaw Language Summit (2009) and Intertribal Language Conferences (2007, 2010), and many community dinners, events would be framed with a Choctaw greeting or prayer and a closing, but little Choctaw was spoken during the events themselves.

This lack of verbal activity in classes, and in other Choctaw language learning/planning contexts, ran counter to my expectations from experiences in other language learning contexts, such as in the Spanish, French, or Russian classes I had taken. In fact, most Choctaw language events, including community classes, the majority of time was spent talking about Choctaw in English, engaging in a metalinguistic analysis of the language more familiar to me from

linguistics coursework. I knew from conversations with the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Language Department Director that the administration actively promoted speaking as a central learning activity. The many language planning events and conference presentations were also an avenue for promoting speech-focused methods, such as Total Physical Response (TPR), role-playing, and classroom immersion. This intended focus on verbal learning activities, however, was not being realized in the community language classes. These experiences and the disconnect between the goals promoted by the administration and the actual class practices made it clear that the Choctaw language-learning context was quite different from that for other world languages.

Two of the primary questions posed to me by the then Assistant Director and Director of the Choctaw Community Classes during our frequent meetings to discuss the language program were 1) *Why has the program not produced any fluent speakers?* and 2) *Why do those individuals who can speak Choctaw choose not to?* These questions, in fact, became central in framing my research into the practices and discourses prevalent in the Choctaw language teaching and learning community in Oklahoma and were often in my thoughts during my three years of fieldwork in community classes. In considering the research question, I wondered about the role of language ideology in influencing student performance in the classroom and on how teachers and students interact.

The effects of language ideologies on speaker performance in the indigenous

languages of the American Southwest is well-documented, with analyses of the relationship of purist ideologies to language choice, identity, and silence (Kroskrity 2001, 2009; McCarty et al., 2006). Kroskrity (2001, 2009), for example, finds that Tewa speech is compartmentalized, kept ideologically separate from other languages spoken in the Pueblo area, seen as a marker of identity to be kept pure. McCarty et al. (2006) find that, even though they view their language as an authentic identity marker, Navajo youth who understand Navajo choose not to speak it due to a conflicting ideology of Navajo as indexing being "backward" and "uneducated." Similar ideologies of language purism may be influencing Choctaw teacher choices as well as student performance; teachers and young Choctaws who choose not to speak Choctaw in the community or in the classroom may actually be adhering to discourse norms by refraining from speaking "Choclish," code-mixing Choctaw and English.

Further, a deep value attributed to the long history of Choctaw literacy appears to influence classroom practices. Choctaws were early adopters of Western style education, inviting missionaries into their historic territory East of the Mississippi River to gain access to the dominant political structure and strengthen their position in negotiations with the colonial and U.S. governments (Akers, 2004; Kidwell, 2008, Noley, 1992; Pesantubbee, 1999). Many 19th century Choctaws prided themselves on selectively adopting dominant cultural norms while maintaining a distinctly Choctaw heritage (Akers, 2004). Many contemporary Choctaws still value their status as members of one of the "civilized" tribes. This

valuing of education, coupled with the early adoption of Christianity and the use of Choctaw language religious texts in churches and even now in language classes, has lead to a valorization of literacy, and by extension a focus on linguistic knowledge rather than speaking ability.

The ideologies held by many in Choctaw Nation of purism and prescriptivism appear to be influencing speakers' choice of whether to linguistically perform in pubic space. The additional ideology valorizing literacy also appears to have a strong influence on classroom practices and on speaker performance, or the lack thereof, in Choctaw. When combined, and viewed in within the context of Choctaw discourse norms, ideologies of purism, prescriptivism, and the valorization of linguistic knowledge impact the community classes by a) reducing class effectiveness through a focus on linguistics and literacy and b) creating an atmosphere of ethno-linguistic risk which inhibits speaker performance.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter employs a practical application of theoretical concepts of ideology and performance toward understanding of Choctaw community class activities and speaker performance. Language ideologies, sets of beliefs about language (Silverstein, 1979) are not just individual psychologically determined beliefs, but are situated in social context and enacted through lived experience (Bucholtz and Hall, 2007). In essence, they are performed. Performance refers to any public interaction through verbal communication in which the speaker is responsible for

displaying communicative competence to an audience and which constituted public negotiation of social identity (Bauman, 1977; Goffman, 1959).

Most work on performance in North American languages focuses primarily on the artful type of communication (see Bauman, 1986; Briggs, 1996; Kroskrity, 2009; Mould, 2003; Tedlock, 1983). Performance is often dependent on a form of intertextuality, in which speaker and listener both understand the context and that context informs the interaction. This is most clearly seen in performance of narrative. Speakers often use narrative to authenticate their identities. Speakers may place themselves as a character within the narrative to denote participation or perform an identity ascribed to them to "thicken" their identity (Wortham, 2006) or draw on a shared past to create a group identity (Garrett and Baquedano-Lopez, 2002). Narratives can be used to perform an essentialized ethnic identity through symbolic and emblematic use. Similarly, narratives can be used to invoke a shared identity simply by indexing a shared past. Zuni (Tedlock, 1983) storytellers often do not engage in metanarration, as the subtext is clear to a listener with a shared experience and context. The speakers may leave unsaid much of what is implied through context and understood through intertextuality, bringing one's own experience to the interpretation of meaning. Finally, narratives may also be used to engage in discourses of resistance Hall (1996).

Performance, however, is also evidenced in more mundane conversation and activity, such as in language learning activities. Bakhtin (1981) argues that the

act of verbal performance is a political one, in which the speaker must assume a position. Conversation and mundane speech activity is worthy of study not only to analyze linguistic form, but also to uncover the ways speakers believe about language and how that impacts the language they use. Keating and Egbert (2007) argue that conversation, as a culturally embedded activity, is a site of study equally valid to artful or ritual performance in studying the emergence of cultural meaning and meta-discourses. Conversation, therefore, is also performance. The types of conversations occurring in language classrooms are particularly rich sites for studying the impact of language ideology on performance (Kroskrity, 2009). Not only is the overt conversation occurring during language class performance, but so can class activities themselves constitute performance.

Further, performance can be extended to include not just verbal utterance, within the classroom, but the lack of spoken word. Silence can be a form of performance. Basso (1970) described the role of silence among the Apaches as a means to show respect, refrain from engaging in hostility, or to save "face." In potentially risky contexts, such as when reuniting with a student returning from Western schooling or when social position may be judged, Apache speakers tend to refrain from speaking, so as to minimize the impact of speech or avoid saying what might be perceived as confrontational or inappropriate. Goffman (1967) defines a stance taken by a speaker within a particular context to express evaluation of a situation or a participant within an interaction, often the speaker him/herself. Speech-avoidance may, therefore, be viewed as a method of not only

preserving one's own face, but of being considerate of the risk to others of being discredited, or losing face. Goffman also points out that face is institutionally, or socially constructed, in accordance with the social interaction rules of a group (p. 9). Loss of face would result if a speaker's performance contradicted the expectations of a group in a particular context. The choice of whether or not to speak in public, and especially in the language classroom, may be a means of either saving face or resisting the actions taking place. Therefore, both speaking and not speaking in the language classroom can be considered performance, often informed by and revealing language ideology.

Ideology and Language Teaching and Learning

Language ideologies can also impact language teacher and learner performance in terms of teaching methods. Often considered in the Second Language Acquisition and Learning Literature to be "hard-wired" into a teacher's psychology, teacher beliefs and their relation to practice are rarely considered within their social and cultural contexts (Razfar, 2012). Within the language learning setting, language ideologies, which contextualize beliefs in the cultural context, not only reflect ideas about language teaching and learning, but also of identity (ibid). These ideologies can often be used not just to assert a position regarding best practices in teaching and learning, but also to resist new methods. For example, Razfar (2012) notes that teacher ideologies concerning teaching methods often remain steadfast even in the face of trainings in new methods. Both teachers' and learners' ideologies can result in cooperative or resistant performance.

Language learning in Indigenous revitalization contexts is often impacted by language ideology (Kroskrity, 2009; Meek, 2010; Shaul, 2014). Language ideologies of purism and the essentialized equation of language and ethnic identity often motivate heritage language learners and impact ways that students perform their identities in class. For example, in both the Southeastern and Southwestern speech communities' language use reveal ideologies of authenticity and ethnic identity. Bender (2008) describes the use of different handwriting scripts in language learning activities using the syllabary among the Cherokee of North Carolina. The use of the more formal, official, syllabary style indexes the Bible and a Christian identity, whereas a handwriting style of a more freeform syllabary indexed authenticity in traditional medicine practice. Further, ideologies of utility and value impact Navajo youth's choice not to speak in their heritage language (Lee, 2007). Prescriptivist ideologies often results in choosing not to speak a heritage language even when that language is valued as a marker of indigenous identity due to fear of ridicule, as is Nicholas (2009) describes for Hopi Youth.

Building on this type of essentialized purist ideology, prescriptivist ideologies and nationalistic language symbolism, along with a valorization of literacy, often emerge in contexts of language loss and revitalization. Shaul (2014) argues that ideologies of relativism, that a culture and its worldview are unique and inextricably tied to a language are tied to nationalism and often result in an "official language" ideology, in which the language becomes emblematic of

identity. Further, though, the official language ideology results in the equation of indigenous languages with other languages and results in teaching methods based on valuing literacy and standardization, especially in cases where formal language learning is the only apparent viable option for revitalization. Further, when languages are less frequently spoken, this can lead to ideologies of rarity and correctness, which can create risk for speakers and learners of being judged as not speaking correctly (Hill and Hill, 1986; Shaul, 2014).

In contexts of formal language learning, too, literacy may become valorized. As formal education becomes the primary means for indigenous language learning, the perceived value of literacy increases and may even surpass the perceived value of the spoken language. Meek (2010) describes the reliance on literacy-based learning in Kaska revitalization efforts, describing how the dominant language valorization of literacy impacts the production of heritage language materials, such as dictionaries, grammars, and curricula and can result in investing authority in linguists and elders while marginalizing younger speakers. She further argues that language can become equated with institutionalized authority, an unintended consequence of which may be the "stratification of the linguistic field and the further marginalization of potential speakers" (p. 134). This valorization of literacy as the primary means for indigenous language learning has led to a call to reevaluate the validity of using literacy-based teaching methods developed in a Western epistemological paradigm in a traditionally oral community (Littlebear and Martinez, 1996; McCarty et al., 2005). In languages

without a long history of literacy, the introduction of a writing system can cause its own ideological quandary. If the language has a history of literacy, this valorization may have historical roots, but may still present ideological issues as it privileges one way of learning and knowing above others and may have implications for the effectiveness of revitalization efforts.

Choctaw Discourse Norms and Performance

As language ideologies are socially and culturally situated, understanding the discourse norms of the communities in which they emerge is essential to a nuanced understanding of how they impact speaker performance. Among many Choctaws, respect for elders, respect for individual reflection, and an ethos of non-competition all characterize Choctaw social norms (Haag and Coston, 2001; Peterson, 1975). These norms of respect impact speaker performance, as that Choctaws do not spell out the meaning of a their narratives or statements, instead letting the interlocutor interpret the meaning based on context and shared experience, instead employing a type of open-ended intertextuality, or subtextuality (Hester, 1997). These norms would then support a speaker's autonomy in language performance and interpretation of performance.

Choctaw narrative performance similarly depends on intertextuality for interpretation. Choctaw personal narratives emerge in many contexts, though more formal histories, or "elder talk" are limited to elders (Mould, 2003). Age group limits Story genres: elder talk for elders is limited to elders. All speakers

can tell personal narratives. Speakers tell stories nested within conversation and within other stories. These stories provide a contextualization of the speech within which they are nested. Though Choctaws tell stories that relates to the current context, they rarely engage in meta-narration, instead allowing the listener to interpret the story through subjective inner-dialog within the context of the current situation as well as individual experience. Much like Tedlock (1983) describes for Zuni narratives, these stories constitute a means of conveying subtext, but further, they provide an opportunity for intertextuality, negotiated meaning between individuals within communities (Bauman and Briggs, 1990) and individual negotiation of meaning with text as described by Basso (1986) for Western Apache place names and narratives. Often these stories emerge in conversation and within the classroom context. Even when not overtly narrating a story, however, Choctaw speakers still rely on intertextuality to impart and interpret meaning. Often, this means, an outsider who might interpret a conversation only based on surface meaning would miss the covert meaning and implications inherent in that conversation.

Understanding of these discourse norms among Choctaws is essential to understanding the impact of ideologies on speaker performance, especially in the Choctaw language classroom. Choctaw language teachers use nested narratives in the classroom. Rather than engaging in meta-narration, though, as suggested by the SLA literature, teachers let the meanings and relationship emerge through student reflection. In keeping with discourse norms for the Oklahoma Choctaw

community, younger teachers refrain from telling stories in the "elder talk" genre, instead showing videos concerning history to convey this content. In this way, not only is storytelling in the classroom a form of performance, but lack of commentary/choice to remain silent is also performance. Therefore, choices in teaching content and method can also be viewed as cultural and identity performance. In addition, teacher and community discussion of language are also performance, as they often include a focus on meta-linguistics, and meta-communication in discussion of the unique value of Choctaw, which orthographies and methods are appropriate for teaching, and whether code mixing is acceptable. Many choices in what and how to teach may be influenced by issues of individual cultural performance, but also by ideologies concerning Choctaw ideologies of purism and prescriptivism.

Linguistic/Metalinguistic Teaching Methods: Classroom Practices as Performance

The second language acquisition has a long history of development of models for how language learners can learn (formally) or acquire (informally, as children do) language. Most of these models, from Total Physical Response, to Immersion, are based on the work of Krashen and Swain. Krashen (1978) argued that for language acquisition to occur, individuals must be exposed to repeated comprehensible input, language input in which the meaning can be readily determined from context. This means that language learners must be spoken to in the language on a regular and frequent basis. Further, Swain's Natural Method

augmented Krashen's theory to argue that comprehensible output was also essential for language acquisition (Terrell, 1982). Learners must also have opportunities to speak in the language and to notice forms. A reliance on literacy as a means of formal instruction is not sufficient. While many Choctaw community class members do indeed "notice" grammatical forms in the language and acquire some vocabulary, they never achieve even intermediate fluency. The simple answer to the question of why the community class program is not producing fluent speakers is that learners do not have access to speech-oriented language learning opportunities. The question, though, is incomplete. Why is comprehensible input not available to learners in the Choctaw community class? The answer to that question is rooted in language ideologies and their impact on performance.

Despite the Choctaw Nation Language Department administrators' efforts to train teachers in using oral teaching methods, focusing on conversation and communication, these methods are not frequently employed in the classroom. Teachers, whether intuitively aware of the risk inherent in performing Choctaw language and identity in the classroom or simply facilitating classes in accordance with a Choctaw ethos of non-competition and reflection (Haag and Coston, 2001; Hester, 1997), tend to avoid requiring any sort of face-risking language performance. Though not all teachers avoid asking students to read aloud, recall words when cold-called, or take turns generating spoken sentences, most do.

Choctaw language teachers, with few notable exceptions, tend to focus their class time on discussing word origins, forms, and the writing system.

This focus on grammatical form results in an environment conducive less to language acquisition and more to formal language study. Further, it often results in an inordinate amount of class time spent on metalinguistic discourse, which in turn provokes debate over form, and frequently, confusion, as described by one language teacher, herself a second language learner, in the interview excerpt below.

Example 6.1 Community Class Teacher

Teacher:	*So, we got stuck the other night on the grammar…and nobody…the* yʊmmʊt *and* illʊpʊt*…they all were totally confused and by the time…were you there the night [Administrator] came?*
EK:	*--mmmhmmm—*
Teacher:	*And we were all totally confused again! 'Cause he said, you never put one at the end of the sentence, no…at the first of the sentence? Well, you do! And I don't know if, you know, if he understands…*
EK:	*--well, you don't put* –ma *or* –pa *at the beginning—*
Teacher:	*Right, but…but when you are asking "what is this?",* illʊpʊt nanta hoʔ*, "what is this?", but he said, "Well, you never do that." And* [*another teacher*] *was trying to put it up there…I don't know…it was confusing. And my cousin, she kind of keeps me… "Ok, they're getting confused. You need to move on." She keeps me on track. "Just skip it, let's go on." But, I'm gonna try to do that.*

The focus on metalinguistic knowledge rather than speaking often creates opportunities for confusion and debate, which further hinder language learning. This focus on grammar and writing may be also be due to the fact that many community class teachers are second language Choctaw speakers. During preparation to teach, they learn about the history of the language and linguistic theory. In fact, one certification process I observed in 2011 for three teachers, including two second language speakers and one elder first language speaker, focused almost exclusively on meta-linguistic knowledge. Rather than testing these candidates on their speaking or teaching ability, the moderator of the certification process instead gave the teachers in training an instruction session on history of the Choctaws covering one half day and another on the linguistic structure of the language, covering the remainder of two days. Though the teachers' workbooks contain communication activities, many expressed to me that they feel unprepared to teaching using these activities. Given this preparation, many second language teachers may feel ill prepared to teach the language, therefore relying on meta-linguistic content from grammars and dictionaries.

In addition, possible insecurity about one's own speaking ability, the likelihood of being judged within the context of purism and prescriptivism may hinder some teachers from using more speech-oriented methods. One teacher, in discussing another, demonstrates just this risk of judgment in describing the language behavior of another teacher:

Example 6.2: Community Class Teacher Interview

Teacher: *Like James is a teacher who asks for help about dialect differences. Like the difference between* katimma *and* katohma. *The reason James is afraid to talk around us teachers is that his dialect is different.*

The intolerance for variation found in many Choctaw speech communities in Oklahoma therefore induces risk-avoiding choices among teachers. Even within a class focused on metalinguistic rather than speech-based learning, risk of judgment based on ideologies of purism and prescriptivism cannot be entirely avoided. Even as a significant amount of time is spent debating the correct forms, this debate reinforces the ideologies limiting students' and teachers' willingness to perform their language ability, identity, and work. At times, these debates can be quite contentious, with personal investment at risk, at other times merely reflecting student inquisition.

In one class in southeastern Oklahoma, a guest speaker was invited to give an instructional session to help clarify a grammatical point that had over the previous weeks caused some confusion for both the teacher and the students: the meanings and usages of the demonstratives *illvpvt* 'this' and *yvmmvt* 'that' and the shortened forms *–pvt* and *-mvt*. The guest instructor wrote the following example on the board.

Example 6.3: Community Class Board Example

This girl	is	singing
S	V	O
Illvpvt	*allatek taloa*[11].	

The instructor kept describing 'this/that' *illvpvt/yvmmvt* as 'is' as well as calling it a "subject marker" (perhaps this latter referring to *-pvt* and *-mvt*, which are the combination of the demonstrative *–p* or *–m* and the nominative case marker *-vt*. The description of the determiner as meaning 'is' may be because the combined markers *–pvt* and *-yvt* is suffixed to the subject noun phrase, the location of the English cupola 'is', though Choctaw has no cupola. Another issue with the example written on the board is the word order, SVO, is also English grammar superimposed on Choctaw, as Choctaw's word order is actually SOV. The linguistic analysis would describe the form *illvpvt* preceding the noun as a demonstrative included in the subject, as in example 6.4.

Example 6.4: Linguistic Analysis of Community Class Board Example

Illvpvt	*allatek*	Ø	*taloa*[12].
DET	girl		sing.PRES
(Subject	)	Obj	Verb
This	girl		sings/is singing.

[11] The unstressed, un-lengthened, non-nasal vowel schwa is often represented in Oklahoma Choctaw, by an 'a' when word initial, stressed or lengthened, but also as a 'v' when word medial or final.

[12] Broadwell (2006:67) describes the forms *ilappa* 'this' and *yamma* 'that' as independent forms of the demonstrative which are "occasionally used with a noun phrase, but are most frequently found when a demonstrative is used as an independent pronoun," and providing examples in which the determiner pronoun precedes the noun. The more common Oklahoma Choctaw's use of the full demonstrative form preceding a noun appears to correspond to the Mississippi use of the full form as a demonstrative pronoun. The full form combined with the case marker and following the noun may be a more recent innovation, possibly indicating the influence of Chickasaw and potentially explaining the difficulty some instructors and students in southeastern Oklahoma, where more conservative Choctaw is spoken, experienced with this content.

The 2011 Choctaw Community Curriculum Phase I teachers edition, in Chapter 1, Lesson 4 and Chapter 2, Lesson 1, makes clear that Choctaw has no cupola, 'is', but that insertion of the word 'is' should be included in correct English translation, as in the example below (Choctaw Nation, 2011):

Example 6.5: Community Curriculum Excerpt

a. *Ilvppvt ofi*.	This is a dog.
b. *Ofi lusa ilvppvt*.	This black dog.
c. *Ofi lusa ilvppvt balili*.	This black dog runs/is running.

In Chapter 1, Lesson 4, the curriculum does not identify any grammatical part of speech for the term '*Ilvppvt'* when used before the noun, as in (a) above, simply providing a translation of 'this'.

However, in Chapter 2, Lesson 1, the workbook calls the full forms occurring after the noun phrase, as in (b) and (c), subject markers, but still translates the forms as 'this' or 'that'. Later, in Chapter 4, Lesson 1, the curriculum again includes the full forms *ilvppvt* and *yvmmvt* in its list of subject markers alongside *–vt* (*-yvt* or *–hvt*[13] when suffixed to a vowel final noun or adjective) and introduces the suffix forms *–pvt* and *–mvt*. This lesson also lists translations as 'a, an, the', but also as the verbs 'is' or 'are'.

[13] The inclusion of *–hvt* as a permissible variant of *–yvt* is interesting, as it indicates an openness to variation in dialect and pronunciation on the part of the Choctaw Language Department curriculum developers, though this type of openness does not appear in descriptions of spelling or pronunciation or in other areas of the Phase I Curriculum.

I point out this type of discrepancy, which occurred in several classes, not to find fault with the teachers, or even to assert that a linguistic analysis is more accurate, but, on the contrary, to assert that a reliance on linguistic description and a focus on teaching grammar and vocabulary rather than engaging in more communicative teaching methods actually may be causing unnecessary confusion and hindering language learning. Many of the adult learners in the classes, though, appear to want this type of grammar-focused instruction, perhaps because they are framing Choctaw language learning within a formal school context, connoting elementary school English grammar lessons. In addition, a grammar and vocabulary focused curriculum does support teachers who are, themselves, second language learners of Choctaw. For some fluent speakers of Choctaw, though, the grammar-based lessons may challenge their own understanding of the language, as described earlier when fluent elders appear to discount their own understanding when faced with variant spellings, pronunciations or word choices. Similarly, a focus on learning Choctaw through comparison with English may actually increase interference from the first language.

First language learners internalize the grammatical rules of their language with little to no explicit instruction of grammar or vocabulary. Second language acquisition researchers argue that second language learners can learn the same way. They advocate using more communicative and less grammar-based teaching methods. These methods may also be more appropriate to the Choctaw cultural context. Language Department administrators generally agree that a

communicative approach is desirable, as they tell teachers to focus more on talking in Choctaw. The introduction of a new curriculum, though intended to support this goal, may actually, though completely unintentionally, be counteracting a desired focus on verbal communication. In addition, teachers' reticence to require public linguistic performance appears to be waning, as more teachers adopt the literacy-based workbooks. In fact, over the years of my fieldwork, I noticed a shift not entirely away from a classroom focus on linguistic knowledge of the language but toward supplementing that knowledge with a focus on teaching literacy.

Unintended Consequences: The Community Curriculum and Literacy

In 2012, the Choctaw Language Department, seeing a need and responding to requests from community class instructors, began distributing a new Community Curriculum, a set of workbooks for students and teachers in the Choctaw community classes. The workbooks cover the first two phases of the community classes, with phase three and four planned (Parrish p.c., 2013). The goal of this new curriculum is to promote consistency across class platforms, so that all classes, whether online, high school, or community "line up so everyone is on the same page—using the same book and materials" (Parrish p.c., 2013). This curriculum has met with mixed reception.

Many teachers are appreciative of the material and support, though some may challenge the spelling or word choices. Some, however, are less than enthusiastic

about adopting the new workbooks. The curriculum, some teachers feel, is based too much on the High School classes and not responsive enough to the needs of community teachers, as indicated in the interview excerpt below.

Example 6.6: Community Class Teacher Interview

Teacher: *We can't go through a whole workbook in 16 weeks. I need to stay in a chapter until students get it. I guess I just need to go over phrases more and repeat. Just little phrases like that so we could practice. The focus in the workbook is on the animals, but you don't talk about animals all the time. It's more meaningful to know greetings and every day phrases like* Ofi ishipita ho.

Many teachers resist implementing the curriculum. One teacher outright refused to use the new curriculum, stating that his learners did not need it.

Example 6.7: Community Class Teacher Addressing Class

Teacher: *We have our own curriculum. We use the dictionary, songs, and New Testament. We need the Old Testament.*

Other teachers resist in more subtle ways. If we return to the class discussion recounted in the previous chapter we see that resistance enacted.

Example 6.8: Community Class Interaction

1. Teacher: *Ok, you need to learn these words for next week because we*
2. *are going to do colors, but we are not going to have these*
3. *words.*
4. [hands out a worksheet to class]
5.
6. *These are color words from [a preacher's] book.*

7.
8. Student: *Isn't the Choctaw word for 'purple'* homakbi*? This isn't*
9. *Choctaw. [referring to the printed word* okchakʊlbi*]*
10.
11. Teacher: *I want you to know that the words in the dictionary are*
12. *different than these. Look up 'pink' on this page.*
13.
14. Student: *It's* homakbi*!*
15.
16. [teacher moves on to a cultural lesson without comment]

In this classroom interaction, the teacher uses the curriculum, but draws attention to a discrepancy among sources, namely the curriculum, which draws on the Byington dictionary, and a workbook produced by a speaker in southeastern Oklahoma. Though the teacher does not directly attack the credibility of the new curriculum, she does so obliquely by telling the students (lines 1-2) that they need to learn these words, but that they are "not going to have these words." One student argues that "This isn't Choctaw," as what is perceived to be a southeastern dialect is unfamiliar (line 8). The teacher, however, does not directly challenge the student. By making direct reference to the dictionary (lines 11-12) as different from these, from her own dialect, the teacher is focusing students' attention on the fact that different dialects exist and that perhaps the one the in the dictionary, being used in the newly introduced curriculum, is not the most accurate.

The teacher here appears to be attempting to discredit one dialect and by extension the new curriculum that uses it. Whether students interpret the speech in this manner, though, is unclear. By neglecting to comment on the discrepancy after is it introduced and illustrated, instead simply moving on to a cultural lesson,

the teacher leaves the matter unresolved. This lack of verbal resolution is in keeping with Choctaw discourse norms, as it encourages the audience to keep reflecting on the speech event and to draw their own conclusions in time (Hester 1997). Bakhtin (1981) described the dialogic process as one in which, despite the speaker's intention, the meaning of a statement rests with the audience, not the speaker. It appears that many Choctaws intuitively or culturally understand this and may even use it to more emphatically make a point than if they had stated it directly.

The Language Department's goal in producing a curriculum for the community classes was first and foremost to support the teachers and learners in the program, as many felt they were floundering without sufficient materials. A concurrent goal of Choctaw Nation Language Department has been to encourage speaking more Choctaw in all classes. It is therefore an unfortunate irony that one unintended consequence of the Community Curriculum has been to focus methods and class time even more on literacy and grammar-based activities.

When I first began this research in 2011, not all teachers had access to the curriculum, though a few had procured copies of the high school curriculum. Though the most frequent request teachers asked me to pass along to the Language Department concerned producing more materials, many had created their own flashcards, posters, and puppets. Several teachers used games like bingo or hangman to encourage listening skills. When asked how they chose

what and how to teach, several stated that they used a "natural" method of teaching to mimic how people first learned Choctaw from their parents, by listening and understanding. Though the majority of classroom activities were literacy focused, some teachers were using dialogs and verbal recitation or visual methods using flashcards rather than just workbook pages. Almost all classes included sustained periods of hymn singing. Few teachers, though, used Choctaw as the language of instruction, rather treating it as the subject of instruction.

As of 2012, though, the methods and perceptions of these methods have largely aligned to the literacy-focused Community Curriculum, with most teachers responding to the question of how they chose what and how to teach, by stating they just follow the curriculum, even noting that it was difficult to get through all the lessons by the end of the phase, as some class members needed additional time. They also mentioned that the majority of the class time was spent on doing the workbook exercises and left little time for singing, talking, or doing cultural activities.

Following are lists of the activities conducted in two community classes, the first from a class in southeastern Oklahoma, in September 2011 and the second from a central Oklahoma class in May 2013.

Example 6.9: Southeastern Oklahoma Community Class, November 2011

6:02-6:10pm	Socializing
6:10	Hymn singing

6:40	Teacher asks class as a whole to answer question (spoken in English) "What is this?" while pointing at flashcards.
6:45	Teacher introduces question markers: *ho, yo, o*, by writing on board.
6:50	Teacher asks everyone to stand in line and say anything you know in Choctaw without using English, as fast as possible.
7:00	Teacher uses worksheet from high school curriculum and asks students to read silently or aloud the Choctaw phrases on front page.
7:15	Teacher introduces some new vocabulary.
7:25	Teacher breaks students into pairs to practice the conversation on the back of the workbook page.
7:40-7:50	Socialization and planning meal for next meeting.

Example 6.10: Central Oklahoma Community Class, May 2013

6:30-6:45pm	Hymn singing
6:45	Socializing and food
7:00	-Teacher reads the content from Phase I, Chapter 3 lesson, p. 30 -Discussion of content (Asks what is a noun? Student: person, place or thing) -Teacher asks each student in turn around table to read a line from p. 33 and then translate that line to Choctaw.
7:25	Teacher assigns an exercise from page 34, writing Choctaw sentences, for independent work.
7:40	Teacher has students read aloud their Choctaw sentences and give English translations
7:50-8:00	Teacher assigns homework: page 30 Evaluations A and B. Students socialize until time to leave.

Though both contain literacy-based activities, the pre-curriculum class included more interactive and communicative activities. The 2011 class, though they had access to a curriculum intended for high school students, only used literacy activities from that curriculum for approximately 25 minutes of the total 1 hour and 45 minutes. Of this time, reading and practicing conversation, which could be considered more communicative than simply reading sentences from a page,

took up 15 minutes. The remaining activities, though, including the hymn singing, flash card practice, and free production in the target language, were all oral/aural activities. In contrast, the class using the new community class curriculum relied almost solely on the workbook and all activities save hymn singing and reading sentence aloud were literacy-based. By 2013, most classes I visited relied solely on the new curriculum and literacy activities.

Compare these activities with a class from June 2013, in deep southeastern Oklahoma, for which the teacher had not yet received the new curricular materials.

Example 6.11: Southeastern Oklahoma Community Class, June 2013 (no curriculum)

6:00-6:20	Socializing and small talk. Introductions. Teacher greets the class in Choctaw: *ishla toka ahukma* 'glad you are here'.
6:20-6:45	Teacher asks class in Choctaw how to say color words (*anumpa inchowa/holisso inchowa*). Uses flashcards and has each student say in Choctaw the color on the flashcard.
6:45-6:55	Teacher uses a homemade coloring book, points at pictures and asks students to answer the question: *Nanta ish pisa*?, 'what do you see?'. Students take turns answering in Choctaw with the simple sentence 'I see a _____.'
6:55-7:10	Teacher uses another homemade book. "I play ball." Asks the students to answer the question *Illʊpʊ ho*?, 'what's this?', while pointing at pictures.
7:10-7:30	Teacher asks students to use the puppets to act out actions stated, in Choctaw, by teacher. Teacher uses flashcards that picture children doing actions. Asks each student in turn to tell in Choctaw what the child is doing in future and present tense.

	Teacher hands out those flashcards to students along with paper puppets. She asks each student to describe the animal and the action depicted in one sentence, for example: *Niti lusa nusi bvnna*, 'the black bear wants to sleep'.
7:30-7:40	Teacher introduces new words using flashcards and pictures. Words: *takon* 'apple', *fvnni* 'squirrel', *inchukka* 'to live', *itichiluk* 'hole in a tree', *aboholi* 'forest', *elifant* 'elephant', aba 'up', *akka* 'down', *kucha* 'outside', *pini hikia* 'plane'.
7:40-7:50	Teacher asks students to complete the sentence, in Choctaw, _____ *pisali tuk*, '(Today) I saw a _____'.
7:50-8:00	Socialization and planning for next class meeting.

This last class session includes many communicative teaching practices. The uses of puppets and flashcards focus the students' attention on listening rather than on writing words. Asking the students to act out motions with puppets is a modified form of Total Physical Response (TPR), in which students are instructed to sit, stand, open the door, etc. by the teacher. This theory holds that repeated action in response to target language prompts reinforces students' understanding through a mind-body connection, and by providing comprehensible input and not requiring output for which students may not yet be prepared. It is argued that any student learning a language can begin with TPR and this method is suggested by (Cantoni, 1996) as especially appropriate for teaching Native American Languages, given the focus on orality instead of literacy. The critique of the TPR method's applicability to this type of community class, though, has been that it is disrespectful to tell elders to sit, stand, etc. and that it reduces the autonomy of adult learners (Mellow, 1996). I have heard many teachers say that these

methods, which they term “immersion,” just would not work. Modifying the method to have the students acting out verbs using puppets, though, displaces the action and respects the authority and autonomy of elders. Several of the methods demonstrated by this teacher, who it turns out was an elementary school teacher before retirement, adhere to the Natural Method suggested by Swain (Terrell, 1982), in which students are first provided the comprehensible input (Krashen, 1998) suggests is essential for language acquisition rather than learning, but also permits for comprehensible output, first through physical action and later through scaffolded routine sentence creation.

Noting this increased literacy focus as an unintended consequence of the dissemination of the curriculum is in no way meant to diminish the utility of this curriculum. The material is definitely helpful for second language speaker teachers and fluent adults seeking literacy skills. To make the content more inclusive of speech-focused methods, though, reconsideration of the how the curriculum is used may help. Grammar and vocabulary lessons can be a useful portion of or introduction to a class session, but a majority of time in class would better be spent hearing fluent speech and responding in Choctaw. Perhaps future teacher training might focus more on how to include the communicative activities suggested in the workbooks to accompany the curriculum in which the worksheets are assigned as homework rather than classwork, two goals could be accommodated: including more speaking and comprehensible output during class

time and encouraging more out-of-class engagement with the materials. The remainder of class time could be used to engage in communication.

Even though the majority of second language learners never progress beyond a beginning to early intermediate stage of language acquisition, they persist in classes to maintain that knowledge. No second language learner class participants, though, gain fluency through their participation in class. Those few class participants who do achieve fluency as second language learners do so through self-study and master-apprentice arrangements. The ideologies of purism and prescriptivism create an environment not conducive to achieving fluency.

Literacy as a Challenge to Fluency

The focus on linguistic knowledge and literacy proves challenging for some students, and may impact their decision of whether to continue attending classes. Student retention is an issue for many heritage language programs (Na, 2011) and this is no less true for Choctaw community classes. One teacher of over 6 years stated that she had lost many students over the years, as most come a few times and do not return. She remembered one elder woman who attended her early class and then stopped coming. The woman worked all day and when asked why she had not been coming to class, at first stated she could not continue with classes because she was tired or had just forgotten about class, but later stated that the class was hard, but she already knew Choctaw, so why did she need to come. The teacher reasoned that for many elder attendees, many of whom are fluent

speakers, seeing the language in a written form is confusing or challenging. The teacher said:

> Example 6.12: Community Class Teacher Interview
>
> *It is difficult for Choctaw speakers. One guy in class…he was 62…was that way at first. He said, "Well, I guess I don't know how to speak Choctaw." It's just like that. Fluent speakers are not used to seeing words on paper and hearing people explaining.*

The fact that fluent speakers of Choctaw, most often elders, may find literacy challenging, coupled with the inevitable loss of fluency that accompanies dwindling domains of utility for the language (Fishman, 1991) presents a unique risk for these elders. If a class setting focuses on literacy, those elders with less experience writing Choctaw may find their authority challenged, as is evidenced in appeals to the Byington Dictionary by teachers, students, and even elder speakers. At they very least they may feel a sort of self-doubt in their own fluency. Choosing not to attend class removes the risk of self-doubt. For others elders, however, achieving literacy is the goal of the class, as they already are already fluent. Hasselbacher (2015) describes how literacy is being used by Coushatta youth to authenticate their language proficiency status as "readers" in the context of traditional valorization of elder speaker status. Some elders attending classes to achieve literacy skills feel no need to perform spoken Choctaw in this context. Similarly, some younger Choctaws may have literacy goals and find that the classes are sufficient for this purpose. Further, the fact that many class participants, elders and younger learners alike, return year after

year to participate in "maintenance" classes, demonstrates a significant commitment to the language as a valuable element of ethnic identity. For others, though, attending class and the potential of having their fluency or developing language judged by others, whether in the context of literacy or spoken Choctaw, is a risky endeavor.

Whey Do Fluent Speakers Choose Not to Speak? Silence as Performance

Not only is teacher performance in the Choctaw community language classes impacted by ideologies of purism, prescriptivism, and valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge, so too is class participant performance impacted by these ideologies. The ideologies of purism and prescriptivism create an environment of risk for many Choctaw speakers and learners. As speaking is a risky behavior, subjecting one to judgment as to fluency, dialect, and authenticity of Choctaw identity, many speakers avoid speaking in public settings, even those in which the language and its value are the subject, to avoid just such judgment. Refraining from speaking enables some fluent speakers, especially elders and those considered to be full-bloods to avoid contradicting their status as fluent speakers and full community members should their language use or form be judged less than perfect. For students, risk of judgment by elders and teachers similarly produces silence.

This environment of risk has its roots in the forced boarding school attendance experienced by many elders and culturally remembered by their children. The

boarding school experience, though, is not sufficient to explain the current risk avoidance of second language learners eager to reconnect with their heritage through language learning. The prescriptivist ideology has an especially strong impact on their willingness to perform in the Choctaw language, as illustrated in the class conversation in example 6.13.

Example 6.13: Community Class Conversation

EK: *Why do you think people who know the language don't speak it?*

Teacher: *[Another Teacher]…he lived in California and didn't admit to knowing Choctaw, but then he moved back home. I was questioned when I started teaching. They said "She doesn't even know how to speak."*

Student 1: *Indians are just shy.*

Student 2: *They were punished for the language. For years or decades they were disciplined in the boarding schools.*

Student 3: *I only speak Choctaw when there are only two Choctaws surrounded by whites. When it is mixed with some Choctaws and some English, then I speak English.*

Politics. Discrimination. It perpetuates a stigma. Choctaw is not accepted outside of the 10 counties.

Teacher: *The elders criticize pronunciation and efforts. [Elder] from up the mountain asked me a question once. She used* chinna kiya ho*? Instead of* chibʊnna kiya ho*? The other teacher. laughed. If they are talking, as long as you hear Choctaw, leave it alone! Don't criticize.*

We don't criticize people in English for that. Example…I mean… some folks say 'I lack Kool-Aid,' instead of 'like'. There is dialect in English. Why aren't we like that in Choctaw?

Student 2: *But they are changing the language, shortening it.*

32. Student 1: *They are tending to mix Choctaw and English.*
33.
34. Student 3: *The nahollos*[14] *changed the content into English grammar.*
35.
36. Teacher: *And, we have English words, too, like* nanola*, 'something*
37. *that makes sound' and* ishkotok*, 'drunk. In Koasati, it is*
38. *'you have already drunk'.*

In this class discussion, the prescriptivist ideology is illustrated quite clearly both through the metalinguistic discussion of the ideology and within the speech itself. First, the teacher presented evidence that suggested that risk avoidance was the reason why people who can speak choose not to. She does this by first telling the story of another teacher's experience (lines 3-4) of being judged as a preface to her own story (lines 4-6). The other teacher who returned from California was a fluent speaker but avoided speaking in order to be judged. That avoiding being judged as less than fluent or incorrect is the motive to which she attributes his silence is revealed by her following story of having been judged herself. By first talking about someone else's experience, she is framing her own experience as not isolated and therefore not reflective of her own authority. She is both authorizing the other teacher's speech as valid and her own as similarly valid.

The students then offer three alternative reasons why fluent speakers might not perform publicly: 1) shyness, attributing reluctance to speak to an collective psychological trait (line 8), 2) the boarding school experience, an external historical context (lines 10-11), and 3) discrimination by the dominant culture (lines 13-18). Each of these reasons attributes speaker silence to external forces,

[14] 'White people/strangers'

reducing the agency of the silent speakers. The teacher then returns to her argument, offering additional evidence to support her claim and making the argument more explicit when she states plainly that criticism (and therefore risk-avoidance) is the primary issue (line 20). She then offers another story as evidence, that of one elder from "up the mountain," where many Choctaws in the area agree that the more authentic language is spoken, being criticized for using a contracted verb form (lines 20-22). The teacher then appeals to an analogy based on English (lines 26-28) to support her perspective, that we should just accept all forms of Choctaw without criticism (lines 22-24).

The students, though, employ first a prescriptivist ideology in criticizing the shortened form (Student 2, line 30) and then a purist ideology (Students 1 and 3, lines 32-34) at which point the teacher herself joins in the denouncing of Choctaw code-mixing and voicing herself a purist ideology (lines 36-38). Though the teacher recognizes that the practice of criticizing speakers results in silence, she performs her own purist ideology in criticizing the effect of English on Choctaw vocabulary. The students appear consistent in their voicing of ideologies of prescriptivism and purism, however, the teacher's words appear somewhat contradictory within the same speech, as she voices both anti-prescriptivist and pro-purist stances, illustrating that individuals can hold often conflicting ideologies in practice.

In most public settings, including language classes, the majority of Choctaws I observed may open and close a conversation or a class session with a Choctaw greeting and closing, but speak very little Choctaw, except for the occasional word, usually a reference to food. By avoiding speaking beyond ritualized greetings with which most Choctaws are familiar, an individual avoids forcing the interlocutor to respond inappropriately, by speaking English to a Choctaw prompt, or to risk judgment of his/her own speech.

Choosing not to speak, even in a language class setting, is not inconsistent with Choctaw social norms and does not risk losing face. The risk of losing face in choosing to publicly perform Choctaw speech therefore outweighs the risk any risk in choosing not to speak in Choctaw. In fact, the risk of being in the wrong face is even greater for someone who has vocally stated a commitment to the language but may, upon speaking, focus attention on a form, phrase, or dialect perceived by the audience as inappropriate or inconsistent with the speakers previous stance—that of valuing the language. However, by avoiding speaking, they may be inadvertently devaluing the language. By choosing not to speak the language in a language revitalization setting, such as a conference or a community class, speakers are unintentionally making a statement that undermines the message need for revitalization.

By extension, choosing not to attend classes or engage in any language work may be an act of face-loss avoidance. Individuals may downplay the value of the

language, choose the dominant language over a heritage language, or even openly state that the language should die as ways to assert a stance in which language is not equated with identity, thereby preserving their preceding claims to authentic ethnic identity. Young people, especially, who find themselves dispossessed of their heritage language through no action or inaction of their own, simply as a result of interrupted intergenerational transmission and simultaneously find themselves in the midst of a cultural revival, such as is occurring in Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma currently, are in an awkward position. As one ideology used to justify the cultural revival is the value of language to culture and identity, and these young people lack fluency in the language, supporting the prevailing language=culture ideology would risk face. Denying that link and instead focusing on other cultural forms, such as stickball or dance, or outward demonstrations of physical identity, such as clothing, hair, and jewelry, support their assertions of authentic identity while mitigating, at least in some part, risk involved in demonstrating lack of language mastery. However, for others, engaging in language class participation, whether they learn the language or not, is sufficient to perform their ethnic identity.

Simply using Choctaw greetings symbolically, to index their identity, and engaging in language work activities may be enough to enact authentic identity. As these practices are being revived after multiple generations of absences, there is little risk in inaccuracy in their performance. The same is not true of language, however. The deep political and ethnic equation of language and correct form

makes linguistic performance much more risky than other forms of Choctaw identity performance.

Conclusion: Performance and Risk

Ideologies of valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge, purism, and prescriptivism, and the risk aversion behaviors resulting from them impact teacher choice of method and student language performance, which in turn potentially negatively impact the effectiveness of language learning activities. The Oklahoma Choctaw language has undergone the type of institutionalization described by Shaul (2014), common for languages in revitalization contexts, in which users prioritize written proficiency rather than oral. Meek (2010) argues that the dominant language environment and its values have influenced the Kaska language revitalization context, including valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge. Choctaw appears to have similarly been influenced by the dominant English context in which, within the revitalization context, written language is valued more than communicative skills, as illustrated by the community class teachers', language program administrators', and even students' privileging of written Choctaw over spoken, even when the written form conflicts with their own fluent spoken understanding.

This institutionalization of Choctaw, though, is not solely the result of the dominant language context, but also of early volitional adoption among Mississippi and, later, Oklahoma Choctaws of western institutions such as

education and Christianity, as indicated in Chapter Four. The reliance on early Christian missionaries' translations of one Mississippi dialect of Choctaw and the continued use of the standard implicit in these translations further impacts not only ideas of language authenticity and current processes of speaker ethnic authentication, but also authentication of form. These ideologies taken together result in speaker inhibition, silence as a linguistic performance, and may even demotivate some younger Choctaws who would otherwise be a primary target for language revitalization efforts. These motivation and performance issues inevitably impact the effectiveness of community class language teaching specifically and, more generally, the effectiveness of language revitalization efforts throughout the community. Community class teachers rely on a literacy based curriculum and privilege literacy over oral communicative fluency.

Acknowledging this ideological context and its impact on community class teaching and learning is a not first step toward the kind of ideological correction, in which linguists make it their duty to point out the errors in their consultant's community language ideologies. Rather, this work opens a the way for Choctaw Nation to begin its own work toward the type of ideological clarification advocated by Kroskrity (2009, 2015), necessary to effectively plan for future language work. Acknowledging the existence of ideologies of purism and prescriptivism and understanding its impact on revitalization efforts instead enables the Choctaw Nation language program administrators to choose whether and how to address the ideologies in their language planning efforts.

Understanding how these ideologies impact individual speaker performance, teacher methods, and student motivations can help the Nation determine how to encourage greater participation in language classes, how to train teachers, and how to market the language program and the language.

Chapter 7: Kilanumpuli: Let's Talk

Opening a Dialog: Language Ideologies and Teacher Training

Though the CNO language department administrators are aware of many of the ideologies present among Choctaw language learners, they may not be aware of the impact of those ideologies on teaching and learning. The administrators, for example, are aware that there is tension surrounding variation in usage, often viewed as dialect differences, and they are aware of the limited use of the spoken language in the classroom, they may not be aware of the connection between the two. The focus on teaching and producing correct pronunciation demonstrated in the community teacher certification sessions and the majority of classes I attended, coupled with the widespread idea that being fluent means sounding Choctaw, appears to counter the message of acceptance of multiple speech varieties. These competing ideologies present a challenge for the community class teacher, for whom results of the class are judged on the ability of their students to write correctly and sound fluent in an end-of-phase speech demonstration rather than on the ability of the students to actually comprehend and produce unrehearsed, real-time speech.

Rather than proposing to clarify the ideologies present, to try to change people's minds and thinking about issues of pronunciation and perception of fluency, dialect choice and orthography, or equation of fullblood status with language

ability/fluency, this research seeks to open a dialog about the connection of these ideologies to teaching and learning outcomes and community performance. Perhaps by understanding the effects of the multiple, often apparently contradictory, ideas held within the community on the success of the language classes, the administration can begin discussing this effect among teachers and brainstorming whether to and ways to address the issues. Any proposed solutions must come from within and be responsive to the needs of the Choctaw language learning and teaching community. However, as one of the questions posed to me by the former Director of the community classes concerned how to train second language learners to teach the Choctaw language, I will address how understanding of the ideologies of purism, prescriptivism, and the valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge can be addressed within the teacher-training context.

If teachers are made aware of these ideologies and their impacts within the classroom, they may be able to both mitigate the potential negative effects of the purist and prescriptivist ideologies on learning effectiveness while at the same time strategically employ purist ideologies in motivating learners. With awareness, teachers may also be able to understand the utility of literacy-based activities while promoting more communicative learning activities. Finally, understanding the historical context that led to perceptions of power imbalance within the language planning work may aid Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's

Language Department administrators to move toward more inclusive language planning practices.

Second Language Acquisition and Learning Theories

Learning a second language as an adult is not a simple process. Most adult second language learning takes place in a classroom, an artificial learning environment. To be effective, second language instructional methods must engage in best practices, applying theory as gained from experimental and ethnographic analysis of teaching in varied settings to varied students. Methods of instruction need to address a multitude of factors affecting their success, including individual learner difference, cultural background of the learner, motivations for learning, as well as the social context and interactions within the target language, the individual student, and the classroom. Methods that more closely approximate the conditions of language acquisition are considered more effective than those typically found in language learning classrooms. Language acquisition is the process of acquiring language through natural means, through exposure to language in an informal context, much as infants do, whereas language learning is more formal activity, usually focusing on literacy-based activities and memorization (Krashen, 1978; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995). Unfortunately, as is the case with many communities engaging in language revitalization work, the Choctaw language learning context is limited to that formal activity rather than often more effective communicative practices. Training teachers to approximate more acquisition like environments, though challenging, may be beneficial.

Language acquisition methods can be approximated in the formal classroom through methods such as immersion, in which the entire class is conducted in the target language, partial immersion, in which most of the class is conducted in the target language with some explanation provided in the dominant language, and modifications of these methods, such as Total Physical Response (TPR), a method in which students are requested to respond physically to prompts given only in the target language (Asher, 1977). These methods provide the type of comprehensible input described by Krashen (1978). Comprehensible input is repeated exposure to language in a way that can be understood from context. In addition, providing opportunities to speak in the language also contributes to language acquisition (Long, 1981; Swain, 1995). Often, though, formal language learning environments focus on correctness in form rather than real world proficiency and creative language use. Coryell and Clark (2009) describe the inhibiting impact of just such a focus on correctness, or "one right way" to speak on heritage language learners and non-heritage language learners alike. The learners in their study viewed formal learning as entailing a focus on correctness, as a sign of respect for the target community, which led to a belief that learners must fully command a proscribed grammar of the language before attempting real-world communication. Choctaw ideologies of prescriptivism appear to have a similar impact, resulting in a focus on literacy and formal grammatical knowledge before communicative ability.

Further, language acquisition activities should not only be aimed at language fluency, but also at developing they type of communicative competence described by Hymes (1972) as the ability to perform in accordance within the norms of the culture. Language acquisition activities should therefore be responsive to the social context and cultural background of learners (Gardner and Lambert, 2000; Needham, 2003; Ochs and Schieffelin, 1995). Language acquisition methods are most effective when they are grounded in the cultural context and conform to the social and discourse norms of the target language and to the learner's ideologies concerning their own identities (Eder, 1996; McGroanty, 2001; Schumann, 2001).

Which teaching and learning methods are most appropriate for a context, then, is an important consideration. While some researchers suggest that storytelling and Total Physical Response is appropriate in the Native American language learning context (Cantoni, 1999; Francis and Andrade, 1997), others argue that this method may not be appropriate in this context, as they are based on Western, not indigenous ways of learning (Mellow, 2000). Understanding the ideologies concerning literacy, purism, and prescriptivism within the Choctaw language learning community may aid Language Department administrators refine their training in communicative methods to be responsive to the ideological context and to both mitigate and capitalize on their effects in the classroom.

The Perceived Need for More In-Depth Teacher Training

Most community class teachers and some high school teachers I spoke with reported that they have received minimal training in teaching Choctaw language. Some high school teachers commented that, though they had teaching certificates to meet State Department of Education requirements, they had little training in how to teach language. Comments concerning training received by Choctaw Nation illustrated some frustration with their lack of preparation to teach languages, as indicated in example the statements of one high school teacher who is also a second language Choctaw learner.

Example 7.1: High School Teacher Interview

My training included a teacher certification, but that was just some points on grammar, etiquette, like how to treat people and it was geared at the community class…Most of the kids who take the class don't care. With those kids who do care or who are at least polite and pay attention, the focus on grammar and verbal literacy produces limited results…bare minimal proficiency.

I had a mentor teacher who I meet with two times per week, but I am usually only three chapters ahead of the students. That's only one to two months ahead.

I already had experience student teaching and with leadership roles in church. I observed another teacher for one week. She was a natural born teacher. I mostly use the workbook and follow the curriculum. We work together for teaching culture.

I had taken college classes on Choctaw. When I started teaching, I knew declarative sentence structure, greetings, colors, numbers, and animals. I know more now because of the Tuesday/Thursday immersion classes. Hearing the vocabulary helps. I'd like it to be more conversational. We don't do so much conversation as teachers do in immersion.

This teacher had earned a minor in Choctaw at Southeastern University, but still found herself ill prepared to teach the language. She mentions having a mentor teacher and participating in the immersion style workshops that the Language Department provides for high school Choctaw teachers, but indicates that most of the instruction she receives is in grammar and vocabulary rather than how to teach using communicative methods, as she would like it to be "more conversational." She also states that she relies on literacy-based teaching methods.

The Choctaw School of Language is attempting to overcome the language proficiency shortcomings that such second language learner teachers possess when they begin teaching through the one-hour immersion classes mentioned by this teacher, held every Tuesday and Thursday. These sessions, though, focus on learning the language and not on teaching the language. Teacher training in methods appears to be an area for development.

Community class teachers express similar frustration at feeling ill prepared to teach the language, as illustrated by an interview excerpt below.

Example 7.2: Community Class Teacher Interview, May 2013

EK: *How did you become a teacher?*

Teacher: *I wanted to see how much Choctaw words I knew. I told [the pre-2013 Administrator] I didn't want to be a teacher, but they needed teachers.*

EK: *How long have you been a teacher?*

Teacher: *Since 2010.*

EK: *What kind of training did you get to teach?*

Teacher: *No training. The only preparation they gave me was to give papers, like handouts, and to teach how to say the correctly the Choctaw sounds. No training on teaching, though. I had to start with something, so I used the sounds, the Lord's Prayer, but the older ones need more advanced things to do.*

EK: *What can Choctaw Nation do to help?*

Teacher: *[Current administrator] is giving good ideas. She is now teaching us how to teach. She is going to have a course for second language speakers on how to make the sounds. The book has been really helpful, but we should make our own materials, too. Writing on the board is good. Books are good. I want to know more so that I can teach in a simple way.*

This teacher expressed that, because she felt unprepared to teach, she relied on literacy-based activities. This reliance on literacy is consistent with the historical valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge I observed throughout the community classes. The community class program has historically valued linguistic understanding of the language and literacy over more communicative language learning practices, due in part to the limitations of the language revitalization context within which there are fewer and fewer speakers, but also on the early adoption of western institutions, which themselves valued literacy. The teacher did mention, though, that changes were occurring within the program, as teachers are now receiving training in teaching methods. At the same time, she indicates that the program is still relying primarily on literacy and correctness in pronunciation.

The community class teacher certification process I observed focused on linguistic knowledge, rather than fluency or communicative competence and offers no training in teaching methods. Community teacher certification takes two days. The certification process that I observed was very informal, with two potential teachers being certified by one administrator. The first day was devoted to reviewing Choctaw history and culture. The potential teachers were not interviewed as to their knowledge, but instead were offered lessons on Choctaw culture. On day two, the administrator taught the potential teachers about Choctaw sounds and how to linguistically analyze a sentence. The teachers were both women in their 40s who had grown up speaking Choctaw. They were not interviewed to determine their speaking ability. Most notably, though, was that they were not interviewed or directly instructed in how to teach a language. It was assumed that if they were speakers, that was enough to teach.

Though lack of teacher training may reasonably be considered enough on its own to induce a reliance on literacy-based teaching methods, this perceived lack of teacher preparation is compounded by the language ideologies of prescriptivism, and, most significantly, by the valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge. The impact of language ideology on perceptions of teaching methods is illustrated through the many open conversations students, teachers, and administrators engage in concerning the most appropriate teaching methods for Choctaw language learning. For example, an interview with the then community class

director, in 2011, illustrates a complex stance toward teacher training. Early in the interview, the director indicated the need for increased teacher training:

> *It used to be, we would say if she can speak, read, and write, she can do whatever she wants, but then three to four months in, they get bogged down without training.*

An excerpt from the same interview, though, reveals complicated ideologies at play affecting which teaching methods are most appropriate for teaching Choctaw.

Example 7.3: Community Class Director Interview Excerpt, 2011

> *What I would start them on is conversational-style teaching. I would just talk to you in Choctaw. If you get to where you can start picking up words where you can use it in a sentence, do that for a long period of time, if you want. So, when you can talk to me…if you can talk to me, then I know that you're learning the language. Then, I can start explaining some of the words, you know, like some of the people don't understand some of the words that we use. They think we don't use some words…that it's lost, it's gone. But it's not.*
>
> *Some of these words got prefix, suffix, infix in there, so you can put different kinds in there, you know. So, with that, you can……so we not gonna throw any words away because of that. You know sometimes there's four, five words compacted together, you know, so…I usually can go over some of these together, you know, compact words, and it's got…like if its got four or five…like this word here…*holitopashki…*you know, it's got* holitopa*, you can say* holitopa*, 'sacred, holy'.* -Ash…*it goes into* -ash*, but it's* -ch*, sometimes goes into* -sh*, so,* -ch- *would be* holitopa achi shki *is that* -ki *it means* hoke*, but its just broken off.* Holitopashki*, so* achi *would put you in future and sometime people say, "Ok, that just means forever." You know, it's the same thing. Once they start seeing some of the words like that, you know, in a place, they know that, "Ok, that's what this means."…*

> *…So, like the teacher comes in to start teaching and they don't know anything about the grammar. And the student says, "Oh, they don't know anything about the language." So, the students drop out. And the linguist came in and said, "Oh, they just want to talk with you. Just give em some phrases to talk with you and they'll talk back." And, that's what they want, you know. And, he start teaching them how to do these things, but these teachers wouldn't accept it like that. They said, "We can't do it in here." And I said, "Well, that's what we wanna do." So, some of them did start back. And then they did that conversational style, where they give 'em phrases. And they start coming back. And, you know, the curriculum should be fixed like that, where they don't have to worry about grammar.*

First, this administrator argues that immersion style teaching is what is needed in the community class. Then, he shifts his focus to linguistic analysis of the language when he discusses the relatively polysynthetic nature of the language and analyzes the word '*holitopashki'*. Next, he argues that teachers need linguistic knowledge to be respected as fluent by their students, then, finally, suggests that, like the linguist suggested, they should be using communicative teaching methods in the curriculum without a focus on grammar. He argues that the teachers resisted using the more communicative methods because they felt it would not work. This statement, though it appears to value communicative methods, reveals the valorization of linguistic knowledge within the community, as students would discredit a teacher who did not possess detailed linguistic knowledge. The students and teachers in this reported narrative appear to value linguistic knowledge of Choctaw more than communicative fluency. Similarly, though the administrator argues for communicative methods, his own focus on linguistic analysis belies this assertion.

Community class students appear to hold similarly conflicting ideologies about teaching methods. The interview excerpt with a student in a class in Southeast Oklahoma, illustrates both a call for using immersion methods, but then also illustrates an ideology of prescriptivism that may inhibit these methods.

Example 7.4: Community Class Student

Student: *I want to see more youth come in. More grandkids to come in. I want them to understand me. They know when I get on to them what I mean, but…Right now, we're just learning a lot of words, and past, present, future. I think that's good, but to me…like when my Momma went to boarding school, they did total immersion one year, and I would like to do total immersion in Choctaw for one year. Instead of taking 2 years to finish 4 phases, if we had one year of total immersion, we could learn it.*

*If you wanted to learn the language breakdown, I think that could be an option for you to come, but you need time to do…*Halito, chimachukma, katimma ish anta….*you know just start talking. And uh…*

LK: *--mmm.hmmm--*

Student: *To me, you could still learn, but really after 2 years you should be able to carry on a conversation with an elder. Like, you might be in the medical field, like in Talihina, and I come in and ask, "Do you speak Choctaw", and if you say yes, I say, "I'm not speaking English to you, anymore," and they say, "Wait a minute, all I can ask you is how you feel," so, then if I tell you, how you gonna know?*

LK: *So, you don't think that the people in the classes right now are really learning how to speak Choctaw?*

Student: *They're learning how to speak it, its just not conversation. You can say, "Hello, how are you?" and [teacher] has us saying, "Where do you live?", but there's some things they don't get. Like, they would say, "*Nanta ʊllapa," *but we just blended those words together so you get "*nantalapa." *I was asking here (another elder student) and she was saying, "Yeah, that's how we said it."*

This student begins by arguing for immersion methods, interesting referencing her mother's boarding school experience, which for most Choctaws is not viewed in a positive light, as an illustration of how language immersion is an effective language teaching method. She then indicates that the classes she is in currently focuses on "language breakdown" or linguistic analysis of Choctaw, rather than on attaining fluency.

Many community class teachers expressed frustration similar to that of the high school teachers, at asked to teach Choctaw without any training on how to teach language, as indicated in the interview excerpt below. Next, she deauthenticates the ethnic identity of those who only use Choctaw symbolically, when she describes the problem faced by medical workers who only know how to ask in Choctaw how a patient feels, but cannot understand the response. Finally, she illustrates prescriptivism, when she argues for teaching using conversation, but criticizes the form the teacher uses as too formal, as it does not contract the words, as she and another student remember it.

The Language Department has undergone changes in administration over the last few years. A new director began work in 2010 and a new assistant director, in charge of the community classes, was named in 2013. In 2013, several new programs were also instituted. Several of these changes focus on wider visibility of the Choctaw language in the local communities. Also in 2013, the Language Department defined several new goals, including targeting language use in the

wider Choctaw Nation government by requiring every employee to go through language training, and goals specifically for teacher development (Parrish p.c., 2013). The department is considering implementing a program in which they would provide incentives to teachers and a mentoring program in which community teachers are assigned a mentor from the high school teacher pool who will be available by phone to ask questions about instruction.

An interview with the Language Department Director illustrates that the Language Department administrators recognize the need for more communicative teaching methods and is moving that direction.

Example 7.5: Choctaw Language Department Director Interview

Director: *1st L speakers have a lot of experience in how to do that. [Administrator] talks a lot about that. Like showing a picture of an animal. She might ask, "How would you say 'this is a dog?'" The whole focus is to get people to speak the language. People can read and write, but have a hard time speaking. We want them to speak more. We are constantly evaluating to look for better methods to teach them to speak. You can't run a language program and sit back and say, "This is good enough." It is a constant improvement process.*

EK: *How do you evaluate the program?*

Director: C*an they speak? So, in the new program at Southeastern for 1 hour's college credit for Choctaw Nation employees, an in-class evaluation would be to see how much they respond…and to see if it is being used in the community. On the phone, people answer in Choctaw. We start evaluating by greeting staff and seeing if they talk back. Some of it starts with awareness. The teachers are young, the curriculum is young, and the teaching methods are young. The goal is to be in every school in Choctaw Nation. We are a long way from getting there.*

> *We started with the community class curriculum this year.*
>
> *A lot of programs have the goal of fluency, but first you've got to make it a popular thing. First, you've got to get them to the water before they decide how big a drink they want. It's a balancing act…to keep going and increase…to train new teachers for 10 or 20 years from now. Are there more people in the community who know some Choctaw language? Yes. Are they fluent? No, but they know some.*

The Director here illustrates some of the methods that the new community class director models for teachers during trainings. He then goes on to argue that, though fluency is a goal of the program, it is not necessarily the primary goal of the community class program. Rather, language awareness and the familiarity with at least some Choctaw language is a first step toward getting learners to "drink the water."

Several new teacher-training methods have been implemented recently. In addition to the immersion camp for teachers held every summer, which focuses on storytelling, constructing sentences, and dialoging, the Language Department has redesigned their pre-service teacher trainings to focus more on incorporating speaking in the classroom. Recent teacher-training activities focus on more communicative methods, such as dialog practice, learning greetings, and question and answer activities (Parrish p.c., 2013). Though the language program promotes more communicative learning methods, some teachers resist these methods. When confronted with proposed teaching methods inconsistent with their existing ideologies concerning language use and performance, teachers often resist

implementing these new methods (Razfar, 2012). The historic valorization of literacy and expert knowledge of missionaries and linguists, and the resulting reliance of the program on literacy-based methods and the impact of prescriptivism presents a challenge to the Language Department in its efforts to train teachers in communicative methods. Understanding the teachers' ideologies, though, is a first step toward developing trainings that address these ideologies. In addition, overtly training the teachers to be aware of these ideologies may help to mitigate some of their effects in the language-learning classroom.

Reframing Success: Language Awareness, Affinity, and Teacher Training

The Choctaw community classes, though they do not produce fluent speakers, are not necessarily unsuccessful. Given the symbolic performance of the language to index Choctaw ethnic identity, many class participants are able to enhance their sense of Choctawness through learning some phrases, such as greetings, learning religious texts and hymns well enough to perform them publicly, and learning enough vocabulary to insert Choctaw terms into English conversations. In addition, for many class participants, simply attending classes signifies their affiliation with the language and commitment to maintaining the language for future generations, much as described for Chickasaw language workers by Davis (2015).

The language classes are successful in increasing awareness of the Choctaw language beyond the class, as many participants share what they learn outside of

the communities. Shaul (2014) notes that for many Native language programs, fluency is not a realistic goal, but that language awareness is. If we reframe what success looks like for the Choctaw language program away from fluency to supporting independent learning and wider community awareness, the Choctaw community classes are therefore a success. That success can be continued and developed further by incorporating understanding of language ideologies into teacher training.

First, by understanding that literacy and expert knowledge, as that found in most linguistic and missionary texts, such as grammars and the Byington dictionary, does not necessarily precede or supplant communicative fluency and communicative competency, teachers might be more effectively trained to use communicative methods. The CNO Language Department might consider producing some additional lessons to accompany the literacy-based curriculum. These lessons could identify specific cultural and communicative activities beyond translation and dialog practice, to include the type of activities demonstrated by several teachers. Though some teachers argue that Total Physical Response (Asher, 1977) methods are inappropriate to use with elders, one teacher demonstrated that displacing the action onto a puppet or a paper cutout can be an effective means to employ active learning without relying on any English. Another used games and fun activities, such as bingo, with simple questions and answers. Yet another asked students to describe pictures or to simply say anything they wanted to in the language without correcting the form.

All of these activities could be incorporated into a supplement to the curriculum. Additionally, and importantly for second language learner teachers, the Language Department could produce a list of common classroom phrases to aid in a more immersive language learning classroom in which common commands, such as "open your book to page…" or "work this exercise" are spoken only in Choctaw. Most importantly, though, may be to train these teachers to become familiar with and comfortable using such methods.

Second, by appreciating the impact of prescriptivist ideologies, teachers can be trained to mitigate its effect on learners. Closely related to the ideology of language purism, the prescriptivist ideology often inhibits learners and even fluent speakers from performing Choctaw speech to their abilities. By encouraging even limited and "incorrect" speaking, teachers can encourage learners to engage in comprehensible output, further encouraging continued language use in a variety of contexts. The CNO Language Department could train teachers to value the use of all language varieties by training teachers how to respond to claims that there is only one correct way to speak or to challenges from more fluent speakers of "that's not how my grandmother said it." Being careful to respect the way that any one speaker produces or understands the language will show respect for all forms.

Finally, by understanding the relationship of language purism to ethnic authentication, teachers can strategically employ this ideology to invite more

partial or potential speakers into the language learning community. Teachers can promote Choctawness among all learners, regardless of previous speaking ability, by promoting the kind of language affiliate status described by Davis (2015). When surveyed, students in the community classes were divided in their appreciation of language learning activities. While many stated that they learned best through memorization or translation methods, the activities they most enjoyed were those promoting cultural understanding. As Meek (2010) notes, "language can only be learned in context, in 'culture'. This conceptualization contrasts sharply with the decontextualized image of language found in expert rhetorics" (151). By incorporating more cultural activities and linking them to language content, teachers can make stronger the link between ethnic identity and language learning, whether fluency is achieved. Teachers must be trained carefully, though, to avoid ethnically authenticating only the fluent or "correct" speaker and deauthenticating developing speakers. The focus here may best be viewed as one quite commensurate with the traditional Choctaw ethos of valuing all community members and including all learners as legitimate Choctaw speakers and "authentic" Choctaws. Accomplishing this requires valuing of all speech, whether "correct" or not, so long as learners are speaking, even if they are speaking "Choclish," Choctaw mixed with English.

Each of these suggestions is borne from the discussion in this work of the ideologies circulating among teachers and learners within the Choctaw language learning community. The findings of this research concerning the ideologies of

language purism, prescriptivism, and the valorization of literacy are offered not as criticism of any current practices or thinking, but instead to aid the CNO Language Department and community class teachers in understanding their impact on teaching and learning and to enable them to decide best how to address them. As the most successful language programs are directed from within rather than adhering to any outside model of success, Choctaw language teachers and administrators must, rightly, retain autonomy in planning language work. The decision of which of these methods and even whether these methods are appropriate to the Choctaw language-learning context remains, of course, with the CNO Language Department and the teachers.

Chapter 8: Conclusion: Understanding Language Ideologies and Community Language Work

The purpose of this research, for which the fieldwork ended in mid 2014, was twofold. The first was to clarify the ideologies present in the Choctaw language learning community toward answering the three questions of concern to my consultant: why learners are not achieving fluency, why individuals who can speak choose not to, and how to better train second language teachers to teach Choctaw. It is hoped that this ideological clarification will aid the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's Language Department in planning future revitalization and education efforts by opening a dialog concerning these ideologies and their role in the language classroom. Understanding the effects of the complex multiple ideologies espoused within the community on the success of the language classes can aide the program administration in planning teacher trainings and awareness activities.

Question 1: Why has the program not produced any fluent speakers?

Language ideologies of purism, prescriptivism, and valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge all appear to be hindering the effectiveness of Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma's Community Class program. Purist ideologies and their relationship to an essentialized equation of language with authentic Choctaw ethnic identity alienate some Choctaws, especially those of mixed ethnic heritage, from the language learning community. An ideology of prescriptivism, the idea

that there is one correct form, dialect, or orthography results in resistance to pluralism, standardization, and the perception of the influence of 1language gatekeepers. The history of linguistic analysis and translation of religious texts by 19th century missionaries has resulted in the valorization of literacy and, consequently of linguistic knowledge, resulting in community language classes focusing on literacy based activities rather than communicative activities, reducing the likelihood that community class participants will be able to achieve some fluency.

Question 2: Why do speakers who can speak Choctaw choose not to?

Taken together, these ideologies create an atmosphere of risk that reduces fluent speakers' willingness to publicly perform in the language. Prescriptivism and the resulting risk of judgment of correctness and authenticity based in an essentialized equation of language fluency with Choctaw identity of one's ethic identity inhibit fluent speakers. Prescriptivist practices, often by these same fluent speakers, in turn inhibit language learners from producing what limited Choctaw they can. At the same, time, though, these ideologies may also serve to motivate some Choctaws to learn the language. The essentialized equation of language and culture is strategically employed by many Choctaws to perform a Choctaw identity, as they can index that ethnic identity through symbolic use of the language, through greetings, for example. Further, Choctaws who feel alienated from their heritage language may also be motivated to attend community classes to learn enough language to symbolically index ethnic identity, but also to engage

in language work as a marker of ethnic affinity. Simply by attending classes, participants can communicate their ethnic identities and their commitment to valuing the Choctaw language.

Question 3: How can Choctaw Nation train second language Choctaw learners to teach the language? Understanding the role of ideology in shaping language and classroom performance and how that performance is used to perform identity may help language planners in training second language learners to be teachers. Training teachers not just in communicative methods, but in understanding how their own language ideologies and those of their students may impact putting those methods into practice in the classroom and aid in mitigating the potentially negative effects of some of those ideologies. Further, reframing the goals of the classes away from one of attaining Choctaw language fluency and toward supporting the goals of achieving literacy articulated by many of the elder fluent learners, the symbolic use goals of second language learner and language workers of to enhance ethnic identity, and increased language awareness in the wider community, increases the likelihood of program success while positioning class participants as language affiliates.

Theoretical Implications

The second purpose of this research was to build on existing language ideology theory to examine the relationship of language ideology to performance within the Native American Language revitalization context. Developing understanding of

the role of ideology and performance within the heritage language revitalization context has implications for how language planners approach teaching and how linguists work with communities.

Implications for Second Language Acquisition Research in the Indigenous/Heritage Language Context

This research illustrates that second language teaching methods and teacher-training methods for Native American and heritage language learning would benefit from a deeper understanding of not only the historical and contemporary cultural contexts in which these languages are situated, but also a richer understanding of the role of language ideologies in affecting classroom performance. Ideologies of purism, prescriptivism, and valorization of literacy and linguistic knowledge all serve multiple purposes in the Choctaw language classroom. They both inhibit the motivation of some learners and encourage others. They also inhibit communicative language learning methods. Future research into best practices in teacher training for heritage and indigenous language learning contexts could focus on researching the effects of ideologies in other indigenous language teaching contexts, with specific focus on the classroom environment. In addition, research is needed in methods to train teachers to incorporate understanding of complex and multiple ideologies' and their impacts on the classroom environments.

Implications for Language Ideology Theory

Language ideologies in the Choctaw language learning community influence teacher and learner performance. Performance, here, relates not just to the artistic, such as formal narrative, singing, and oration, but also to the mundane, including conversation, emergent narrative, class discussion, and even class activities. This use of performance extends Bauman's (1977) definition of performance as public display of communicative competence and Goffman's (1959) as any public action in which the actor is responsible to an audience to the Native language classroom. Choctaw language teachers and learners, then, are performing their language ideologies. In turn, their language ideologies are influencing their performance.

Silverstein (1979) defined language ideology as a "set of beliefs" about language. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) build on this definition to point out the relationship of language ideology to performance of identity and belief. Here identity informs performance. Bucholtz and Hall (2007) develop the concept even further, indicating that ideologies emerge within a context and are performed through interaction within those contexts. The case provided here, in the Choctaw language learning community, indicates that this relationship between language ideology and performance is reciprocal. Language ideologies, therefore, are contextualized sets of beliefs about language that are performed through language and influence performance of language and language related activities.

Further research is needed into the effect of language ideologies for the Choctaw

language community, both in the context of language learning and in the wider community. In addition, as the role of language ideology and performance in Native American language contexts is still limited to a few language groups, examining this relationship of language ideology and performance in other contexts should help develop this young field. Finally, more in-depth ethnographic research is needed in general concerning the role of ideological clarification, as called for by Kroskrity (2015), in the interactions of language workers and the communities within which they work.

Implications for Ethnographic Practice

My own experience working within the Choctaw language learning community has helped me to acknowledge my own ideologies and their influence not just on framing my research and assumptions, but also on how I interact with members of the community. My understanding of the relationship of language to identity developed from one of equating language with "authentic" ethnic identity to one of understanding how these ideologies can both harm communities and be employed by community members to perform identities within context. In addition, my understanding of the role of the researcher in conducting research has developed. When I first started working with the Choctaw Nation in 2005, I approached my work and the community from a position of linguistic privilege. In addition, I had not taken the time to understand and respect the discourse norms of the community, which resulted in some disconcerting interactions. Through the patient guidance of a few community members, though, I was able to learn a more

Choctaw way of interacting and understanding and knowing, which ultimately made this research more meaningful to me both academically and personally, and hopefully, more useful to the Choctaw language learning community.

If we hope to assist communities in accomplishing meaningful progress in language revitalization, we must be sensitive to the needs of the individuals within the community and the needs of the community as a whole. In addition, we must be able to maintain effective working relationships in support of communities' and teachers' goals rather than imposing our own agendas on the collaborative effort of revitalization. Our role as linguistic anthropologists is a supporting one. We, as linguists and researchers, are not the narrators of the revitalization movement, but are merely characters in the story. If researchers are to adopt an ideology embracing indigenous linguistic sovereignty, we must let the communities decide and speak for themselves. Co-authorship and reciprocally reflexive authorship may help to recast the teachers and community members as agents in their own stories. I have tried to do that here. If I have failed, the blame is my own. If we have succeeded, the praise is due to the community members, teachers, learners, and administrators who taught me along the way.

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Appendix A: University of Oklahoma Institutional Review Board Approval

The University of Oklahoma®

OFFICE OF HUMAN RESEARCH PARTICIPANT PROTECTION - IRB

IRB Number: 13301
Approval Date: January 26, 2011

January 27, 2011

Elizabeth Kickham
Anthropology
455 W. Lindsey Street, DAHT 521
Norman, OK 73019

RE: Doctoral Dissertation research: Choctaw Language Ideologies and Their Impact On Teaching and Learning

Dear Ms. Kickham:

On behalf of the Institutional Review Board (IRB), I have reviewed and granted expedited approval of the above-referenced research study. This study meets the criteria for expedited approval category 6, 7. It is my judgment as Chairperson of the IRB that the rights and welfare of individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected; that the proposed research, including the process of obtaining informed consent, will be conducted in a manner consistent with the requirements of 45 CFR 46 as amended; and that the research involves no more than minimal risk to participants.

This letter documents approval to conduct the research as described:

Consent form - Subject Dated: January 24, 2011 Student Interview - Revised
Consent form - Subject Dated: January 24, 2011 Teacher/Administrator Interview - Revised
Consent form - Subject Dated: January 24, 2011 Student Observation - Revised
Consent form - Subject Dated: January 24, 2011 Teacher Observation - Revised
Other Dated: January 24, 2011 Recruitment Script
Protocol Dated: January 24, 2011 Revised
IRB Application Dated: January 24, 2011 Revised
Grant Application Dated: January 18, 2011
Other Dated: December 20, 2010 NSF Award Letter
Other Dated: August 05, 2010 Site Sprt Ltr - School of Choctaw Language

As principal investigator of this protocol, it is your responsibility to make sure that this study is conducted as approved. Any modifications to the protocol or consent form, initiated by you or by the sponsor, will require prior approval, which you may request by completing a protocol modification form. All study records, including copies of signed consent forms, must be retained for three (3) years after termination of the study.

The approval granted expires on January 25, 2012. Should you wish to maintain this protocol in an active status beyond that date, you will need to provide the IRB with an IRB Application for Continuing Review (Progress Report) summarizing study results to date. The IRB will request an IRB Application for Continuing Review from you approximately two months before the anniversary date of your current approval.

If you have questions about these procedures, or need any additional assistance from the IRB, please call the IRB office at (405) 325-8110 or send an email to irb@ou.edu.

Cordially,

Lynn Davenport, Ph.D.
Chair, Institutional Review Board

1816 West Lindsey, Suite 150 Norman, Oklahoma 73069 PHONE: (405) 325-8110

Ltr_Prot_Fappv_Exp

Appendix B: Statement of Support from Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Director, School of Choctaw Language

Richard Adams
Director, School of Choctaw Language
Assistant Director, Choctaw Language Program
Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma
P.0. Box 1210
Durant, OK 74702-1210

August 5, 2010

Susan Vehik
Chair, Department of Anthropology

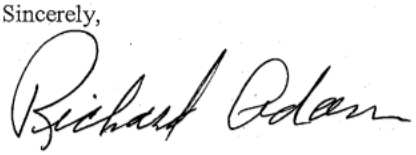
and

Institutional Review Board Personnel
University of Oklahoma
521 Dale Hall Tower
Norman, OK 73019

RE: Kickham Dissertation Project/Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Language Program Observation

As a representative of the School of Choctaw Language and the Choctaw Language Program, I approval of Elizabeth Kickham's dissertation research project. Ms. Kickham is a Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Oklahoma. As part of her dissertation project, Ms. Kickham will be investigating the teaching methods and ideas surrounding language teaching and learning among participants in the School of Choctaw Language classes and other language events. During her research, Ms. Kickham will be granted permission to observe various Choctaw classes and language events and interview School of Choctaw Language staff, students, and community members, and other personnel as needed, on a voluntary basis. I, and other staff and administrators, will be working with Ms. Kickham to develop project goals that support the mission of the School of Choctaw and to generate resources useful to the Choctaw Language Program, its instructors and students. Please feel free to contact me at the Choctaw Nation offices at the address listed above or by phone (580- 924-8280) if you have any questions.

Sincerely,



Richard Adams

Appendix C: Statement of Support from Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma

Executive Director of Education

Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma
Education Department
P.O. Box 1210 • Durant, OK 74702-1210
(580) 924-8280 • Fax (580) 920-3161

Gregory E. Pyle
Chief

Gary Batton
Assistant Chief

June 26, 2012

Dannielle Branam,
Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Institutional Review Board
Administrative Director and
Research Support Coordinator

Dear Ms. Branam,

This is a letter of support for Liz Kickham's dissertation project. We are pleased that a Choctaw is working on ways to help the Language Department meet their goals.

When the project is complete, the Language Department and the Institutional Review Board will have the opportunity to look at the finished project and give their approval.

Thank you for your help and concern for the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma.

Sincerely

Joy Culbreath, Executive Education Director
Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma

A Nation of healthy, successful, and productive Choctaws

Appendix D: Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma Approval Letter

CHOCTAW NATION OF OKLAHOMA
Institutional Review Board

GREGORY E. PYLE
Choctaw Chief

GARY BATTON
Assistant Chief

OHRP FWA Number: 00001128
OHRP IRB Number: 00004293

Sylvester Moore
Chairman

Mickey Peercy
Federal-Wide
Assurance
Institutional Officer

July 6, 2012

Elizabeth Kickham
Dept. of Anthropology
1517 Ann Arbor Dr.
Norman, OK 73069

NOTE: Please regard bold passages of this letter that contain important information.

RE: **Choctaw Language Ideologies and Their Impact on Teaching and Learning**
CNIRB Protocol Number: **12-0156**
Protocol Approval Date: **July 3, 2012**
Dates Covered by this Approval: **July 3, 2012 through May 31, 2013**

Dear Ms. Kickham:

The Choctaw Nation Institutional Review Board (CNIRB) has reviewed and granted full approval of the above referenced research study. This study meets the criteria of the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma, following the guidelines set forth in 45 CFR 46, and the principles of the Belmont Report, for the protection of human research participants. It is the judgment of the CNIRB that the rights and protection of the individuals who may be asked to participate in this study will be respected; and the proposed research, including the informed consent process, will be conducted in a manner consistent with the requirements of 45 CFR 46 or 21 CFR 50 & 56 as amended. The research will also be conducted in a manner that insures no more than minimal risk to participants as outlined in the submitted research proposal.

As principal investigator of this protocol, it is your responsibility to insure this study is conducted as approved. Any modifications to the protocol or consent process will require prior approval by the CNIRB. All research study related records, including copies of signed consent forms, need to be retained in a manner consistent with the intent of the Health Information Portability and Accountability Act (HIPAA), for a minimum of three (3) years following the termination date of the research project.

Approval from the CNIRB requires that you ***promptly*** report to the CNIRB any unanticipated adverse events experienced by participants during the course of this research study, whether or

not these events are directly related to the research study protocol. For multi-site protocols, the CNIRB must be informed of serious adverse events at any and all sites, not only the Choctaw Nation sites. ***Failure to promptly report any unanticipated adverse events, or any legal or ethical issues encountered, may jeopardize not only your research protocol, but any and all protocols supported by your sponsoring institution, and active with the Choctaw Nation Institutional Review Board.***

This initial approval granted by the CNIRB **expires on May 31, 2013**. In order to maintain this protocol in an active status beyond that date, you will be required to provide the CNIRB with a Request for Continuing Review, which will include a Progress Report summarizing research study results for the year. **You are ultimately responsible, as the Principal Investigator, to submit a Request for Continuing Review, or Protocol Closure (if the research project is complete), no later than May 1, 2013.**

The CNIRB does reserve the right for editorial review and comment on any material to be published, or presentations given to individuals not affiliated with the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma. The CNIRB should be notified well in advance of any intent to publish material related to this research. It is your responsibility to allow the CNIRB at least 20 days for this review, and approval must be obtained prior to final submission of the material for publication or presentation.

As Principal Investigator, it is your responsibility to insure that you and your institution are covered by professional liability insurance appropriate to this research study's activities. In the event your sponsoring organization's IRB takes any action to modify or suspend this research protocol, the CNIRB must be notified in writing (e-mail is acceptable) within 10 business days for modifications or 3 business days for suspension. Notification must include the action taken and the rationale for the action.

If you have questions concerning these procedures or need any additional assistance from the CNIRB, please contact me, David Wharton, CNIRB Scientific Co-Chair at 580-286-2600 or dfwharton@cnhsa.com; or Dannielle Branam, CNIRB Administrative Director at 918-302-7317 or debranam@cnhsa.com.

Sincerely,



David Wharton
Scientific Co-Chair
Choctaw Nation Institutional Review Board