NATIVE AMERICAN ENGLISH IN OKLAHOMA:

ATTITUDES AND VITALITY

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Submitted to the Faculty of the
Graduate College of the
Oklahoma State University
in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for
the Degree of
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
May, 2015

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, I would like to offer my sincere thanks to my wonderful family—near and far, biological and otherwise—for their emotional, spiritual, intellectual, financial, and at times even physical support during my graduate studies. I am honored to share the earth with you all. Thanks go out in particular to my wife Amanda and to my daughter Maya who mean more to me than even music.

Second, I would like to thank the individual members of my committee for their encouragement and inspiration. Dennis Preston, thank you for believing in me at every turn, for helping me to find my scholarly niche, for providing shelter from oh so many storms (including several of my own creation), for untold hours of good conversation, and for more than a couple of delicious meals. Nancy Caplow, thank you for being a calm, rational, and intelligent influence and also for exhibiting genuine concern for my wellbeing. Carol Moder, thank you for demonstrating unwavering faith in my abilities and for always challenging me to do my best, even when I was not sure what that might be. Laurie Schick, thank you for always encouraging me to follow my own line of thought, for guiding me through my master's program and into my doctoral studies, for helping me to see what is and what is not important along the way, and for being a most excellent friend. And, Shelia Kennison, thank you not only for your advice and expertise, but also for encouraging Amanda and me to take an active interest in language research way back in our OU days; that is surely where this all began.

Third, I would like to thank my research participants, many of whom invited me into their lovely homes and offered me much gracious generosity. It was a blessing from the Creator to speak with each one of you. I wish you well in all of your endeavors. *Ahó!*

Fourth, I would like to thank my many, many friends from my time at the Kaw Nation who have always been so welcoming, so encouraging, and so important to me. I struggle daily to live up to your example of goodness. *Zaáni kóya wíta, wíblahaⁿ.* I especially thank the late Robert Rankin for, well, everything. I dedicate this dissertation to you, sir.

Finally, I want to thank my OSU family, without whom this work would not be possible. Thanks are due to Gene Halleck for constant guidance and care, the late Ravi Sheorey for wit and encouragement, and Phillip Weirich for hours of great conversation and invaluable help with my maps. Thanks also to my many friends here whose names I just do not have the room to include. Your friendship kept me going through my studies, even when I was unsure of myself. Last but not least, I owe a debt of gratitude to the Graduate College for awarding me both the Robberson Trust Summer Research Fellowship and the Research Excellence award. I am deeply honored to have been selected for both.

Name: JUSTIN TITUS MCBRIDE

Date of Degree: MAY, 2015

Title of Study: NATIVE AMERICAN ENGLISH IN OKLAHOMA: ATTITUDES AND VITALITY

Major Field: ENGLISH, SPECIALIZATION IN LINGUISTICS

Abstract:

This study offers an assessment of the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) of Native American-accented English varieties—or just Native American English (NAE)—among tribal people in Oklahoma through an investigation of the linguistic attitudes of several individual members of the NAE speech community. The mixed-methods assessment involves (a) the thematic analysis of ethnographic interviews about language variety use, (b) the aggregation of responses to a perceptual dialectological mapping task, and (c) the statistical analysis of responses to a computer-mediated SEV survey. Vitality is measured in terms of Native Americans' perceptions about several speech and ethnic community pairings. These pairings include tribal heritage languages among tribal groups, NAE among the supratribal Native American community within the state, and mainstream U.S. English (MUSE) in the broader Oklahoma mainstream.

Twenty-seven mixed-blood Native Americans from across the state ranging from eighteen to seventy-six years of age and claiming various tribal backgrounds participated in this study. Through comparative analysis of collective and individual results from the methodologies employed, NAE is shown to be a vital but domain-specific, geographically-clustered, and highly informal variety of English within its Oklahoma speech community. While comparatively less vital than MUSE, NAE is perceived by study participants as more vital than tribal heritage languages. As such, it indexes and helps to establish a common Native American ethnicity in the state. However, attitudes toward NAE entail numerous conflicts in Oklahoma's Native American community, including perceptions of it having both positive and negative aspects, as well as both authentic and inauthentic status, and of it indexing both Native American and mainstream social expectations about its users.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Opening Remarks

This dissertation presents a recent study of the phenomenon of Native American

English (NAE) among tribal people in Oklahoma, a state with a large Native American

population. It is not intended to be a formalist documentary overview of the variety's

grammatical features or use, nor even a detailed ethnographic view of the speech community.

Rather, it is a discussion of how some Native Americans in Oklahoma regard NAE among

other language varieties in the state, especially as a possible factor in the co-construction of

tribal and/or supratribal ethnic social identity. It also serves as a preliminary exploration of

how this language regard may affect the overall vitality of Oklahoma NAE. In this way, the

goal of this dissertation is not to offer a final word on NAE in the state, but to situate socially

and linguistically any future inquiry into the topic.

I view this study as an extension of Oklahoma State University's ongoing Research

on Dialects of English in Oklahoma (RODEO) project conducted under the direction of

Dennis Preston. Earlier RODEO studies, such as those of Bakos (2013), McBride (2013,

Winter), and Weirich (2013), have focused primarily on Anglo Oklahomans to the exclusion

of other ethnicities within the state. Given the fact that approximately 9% of the population

of Oklahoma is classified as "American Indian and Alaska Native *alone* [emphasis added],"

especially when coupled with the facts that a portion of the 5.8% of Oklahomans who

identify as "Two or More Races" may also be Native American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014)

and that some who identify as Anglo may also claim Native American heritage, RODEO has

thus far excluded one of the state's most significant population demographics. While the

motivation for this dissertation is not documentary in nature, I hope that the data collected for

this study can help to expand what is known of the dialectal situation in Oklahoma.

1.2 Organization

The dissertation begins with a brief introduction (chapter 1), followed by a thorough

review of the literature relevant to the discussion (chapter 2). A brief discussion of the

methodological steps taken comes next (chapter 3). Analysis is presented in two chapters; the

first of these is a review of interview data (chapter 4), and the second is a review of survey

data (chapter 5). The final chapter is a brief summary and discussion of the analysis (chapter

6).

This chapter is organized as follows: I begin with some basic terminological concerns

involving the classification of ethnicities within this dissertation; I then move on to a short

overview of Native American ethnicity and social identity in the U.S. and the main language

varieties used in the expression of ethnicity and identity; next I offer a brief introduction to

the concept of Native American English, focusing especially on its representation in

scholarship and its vitality in Native American communities; and I finally describe the

overall purpose of the dissertation in terms of the research questions I seek to answer.

1.3 Terminology

Before beginning the discussion in earnest, it is necessary to offer a few thoughts on the ethnicity terminology that I will use in this document. I will use the words 'Native American' or just 'Native' as convenient shorthand for the constellation of ethnic classifiers referring to the indigenous people of the Americas, including such terms as 'Indian,' 'American Indian,' 'aboriginal American,' 'First Nations,' and so on. Moreover, I will use 'Native American' or 'Native' to refer to anyone who self-identifies as Native, regardless of their degree of Native lineage. Thus, I will not refer to the so-called mixed-blood Native participants in this study as *part* Native, *slightly* Native, *mostly* Native, or any other such appellations that presume arguments of tribal authenticity based on what is commonly known as blood quantum; if those arguments are to be made in this work, they will come from the participants themselves. Still, I use this terminology with some trepidation. Many Natives do not identify with this supratribal classification of ethnicity, identifying instead with their own tribal groups or comparatively smaller groupings, such as band or clan memberships. Others may simply object to my terms in favor of other terminology. My choices are, however, succinct, and thus they appear in this work as necessary compromises. In turn, the term 'non-Native' will refer to anyone not identifying as Native American, regardless of ethnicity, and the convenient terms 'Anglo American' or just 'Anglo' will likewise refer to 'White,' 'Caucasian,' 'European American,' and so forth.

1.4 Native Ethnicity, Social Identity, and Language Varieties

It may come as a shock to many contemporary Americans to learn that Native American ethnicity in the U.S. (a) is defined largely in terms of other ethnicities and comparatively recent social identities, (b) is regulated through public policy, and (c) glosses

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over more distinctions than it actually clarifies. Consider, for instance, that the term 'native'

connotes an original presence with respect to some visitor or invader. Yet, few if any

educated persons since the first century of western European contact with the people then

known as *los Indios* would claim that the "Natives" of the Americas actually originated here

(Mann, 2005, p. 143). In other words, the Americas' Native populations are only native

insofar as they migrated to the continents before Europeans—some longer ago than others.

Moreover, Silver and Miller (1997) argue from a linguistic point of view that, until some

point after contact with European invaders, no single sense of ethnicity existed to link as

diverse an array of peoples as were living here in 1492: "[A]t the time of European contact

there was no word in any American Indian language that translated the English cover term

'Indian'" (pp. 2-3). The untestability of this argument notwithstanding, Thomas (as cited in

Ahlers, 2006, p. 59) goes so far as to claim that a single Native American ethnicity does not

emerge among U.S. Natives until the 1960s with the advent of the pan-Indian movement in

an era of widespread popular social action.

With respect to the regulation of a common Native ethnicity, note the existence of the

federal-level Bureau of Indian Affairs, a branch of the U.S. government with no counterparts

respecting any other ethnicities. Note also the BIA's control and issuance of the Certificate of

Degree of Indian Blood, the credit card-sized document used to indicate that its bearer is

legally defined as a Native American. The CDIB is a document other U.S. ethnicities neither

desire nor require; after all, people in the U.S. appear not to be so concerned with

demonstrated proof of, say, Anglo, African American, or Asian American identity. Consider

also Article I, Section 8, Clause 3 of the U.S. Constitution, which also specifically addresses

American trade with Natives. Much of this legalistic concern with Native ethnicity has to do

with a nation-to-nation relationship said to exist between individual tribal groups and the

federal government, not to mention the treaty obligations, land claims, and funding

distributions that go along with this relationship, all of which must be legally mediated.

Clearly, there are good reasons for some definition of who is and who is not a Native.

Complicating this legal necessity, however, is the fact that Native American

communities are highly plural societies, characterized by intermarriage with other tribal and

even non-tribal populations. Natives today may have any hair, eye, or skin color, and may

also have Anglo, Latino, African, Asian, or other ethnic heritages. Additionally, no

individual Native society is any more monolithic than any other society; its various members

may have different beliefs and attitudes, hopes and fears, sources of pleasure and disgust, and

the like. There may also be important social divisions within a single tribe, such as band or

clan memberships, ceremonial institutions and offices, and tribal bureaucratic and

administrative organizations. An individual Native American may, thus, identify nowadays

as a member of a particular tribe, yes, but also as a member of an organization within a tribe,

as a member of numerous tribes, as a member of a "supratribal 'American Indian' ethnicity,"

as an American, as a citizen of the world, or even as having no particular ethnicity

whatsoever (cf. Nagel, 1995, pp. 950-954).

It is against this complex social backdrop that a number of solutions to the problem of

identifying who is and who is not Native have been proposed. For instance, Wieder and Pratt

(1990, pp. 49-51) cite the degree of bloodline descent from a documented Native American,

physical appearance such as bodily and clothing traits, and knowledge of Native language

and culture. They view all of these as historically significant but ultimately problematic

means for distinguishing a Native American. More recently, scholars such as Beckenhauer

(2003) have argued that genetic testing, too, though based on proven scientific principles, is also insufficient for making the determination. Ultimately, then, it seems that Native Americans are simply those recognized as such by other Native Americans; indeed, tribal governments enjoy the freedom to establish and maintain their own membership rolls, potentially regardless of *any* of the aforementioned possible factors. This is to say that any Native American ethnicity is in some sense a self-perpetuating and inherently social process based on the observance and recognition of evaluative attitudes and behaviors. In such a case, performativity, i.e., the being through doing, of ethnicity-affirming traits may be one of the most effective means of demonstrating one's Native social identity.

Though social identity is a multifaceted concept, the linguistic components—form and content alike—of its expression are significant. They can, for instance, overshadow other expressions, such as traditional clothing, cultural practices, and so on (Ahlers, 2006, p. 69). Native American social identities in the U.S. can be quite complex, as we have just seen; but what of the linguistic components of that identity? U.S. Natives have at least three language varieties available for the expression of Native ethnic identities. The first is one or more tribal heritage languages (THLs) for which both form, i.e., actual talk, and content, i.e., what is talked about, may serve as potential indices of identity. That is to say, while the topics discussed in THL may signify some tribal identity, merely uttering words from a THL in public may be sufficient to flag someone as Native (cf. Ahlers, 2006) for both non-Natives and other Natives. Nevertheless, diminishing numbers of THL speakers (Silver & Miller, 1997, pp. 251-252) ensure that these varieties are not widely comprehensible in many social

contexts and may, therefore, someday cease to be such an important index of Native social identity[1].

The second variety in much of the country is Mainstream U.S. English or some regional variety thereof, all of which I will loosely term as MUSE (cf. Lippi-Green, 1997, p. 62). When serving, as it can, as an index of tribal identity, MUSE must do so almost entirely through content, not form. Even so, this may only be in highly contextualized scenarios, such as Native Americans discussing tribal business or politics, traditional customs, and so forth. Still, given the rapid obsolescence of THLs and the widespread comprehensibility of MUSE, most Natives nowadays are likely to speak and comprehend MUSE with at least some degree of proficiency.

The third possibility, falling between these two extremes, is a Native American-accented variety of English. Like tribal heritage languages, this variety may index identity through both content and form for those inside and outside of Native communities. Yet, like MUSE, it is more widely comprehensible than THLs. Known alternatively as American Indian-accented English, Native American-accented English, Red English, (American) Indian English, or Native American English, NAE is an ethnic English vernacular that is actually a number of similar but discrete varieties. For example, while one Native American may be able to move freely between use of MUSE and NAE, another may be a THL speaker

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[1] Note, however, that the trend toward the relative scarcities of THL speakers in the larger linguistic marketplace of the U.S. may not diminish what Bordieu (1991, p. 52) has termed the symbolic value of these language varieties within their former speech communities; on the contrary, their value in such contexts may *increase* as partial and would-be speakers "strive desperately for correctness" in their bids for full speaker status and the symbolic power such status connotes; see Hill (2002, pp. 125-127) for a discussion of how Native THL speakers talk about the value of their obsolescing languages.

with only limited MUSE proficiency. Nevertheless, the former's use of NAE and the latter's attempts at MUSE production may both be interpreted as NAE, as perhaps may be the language of a non-Native living among a large concentration of Natives (Leap, 1993a, p. 13; Penfield, 1977, p. 25). Likewise, there may be any number of NAE varieties even within one tribal community, all of which may be called NAE (Leap, 1991, pp. 24-5; 1993a, p. 3).

1.5 NAE in Scholarship and Communities

While the NAE phenomenon is widely acknowledged—and routinely imitated on film (Meek, 2006)—there is little scholarly consensus about it. For instance, multiple origins for NAE have been hypothesized, including the U.S. federal government's 19th and 20th century boarding school and relocation programs that brought together Native youths from very different geographic and cultural backgrounds for the purpose of cultural and linguistic eradication and assimilation (Craig, 1991). There are also competing accounts of THL influence on NAE versus stylistic "Nativization" and regularization of MUSE (Leap, 1993b, p. 213; Bartelt, 2001, pp. 94-98). Moreover, Fadden and La France (2010, pp. 145-146) note a general paucity of research on NAE varieties. The available literature is often inconsistent, disparate in focus, and lacking in a unified theoretical approach. For example, some NAE researchers view it as rule-based, but then provide minimal structural description. Examples include Fadden and La France's (2010) study of Aboriginal English in general and Genee and Stigter's (2010) discussion of Blackfoot English. Others, such as Meek (2006) in her analysis of NAE film portrayals, rely more on sociological than linguistic description. Additionally, much of the literature is more concerned with advancing particular political ideas than with linguistic analyses (McCarty, 2008; Fadden & La France, 2010).

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Regarding NAE use, its prevalence in Native communities today is often taken for granted. It may be assumed, for instance, that NAE is comparatively "healthier" and more stable (i.e., more vital) in its speech communities than either THLs or MUSE. This assumption may arise on the basis of NAE's broad capacity for indexing Native American identity through both form and content. Alternatively, it may arise on the basis of NAE's widespread comprehensibility in inter-group contexts, such as between Natives with different THL or MUSE proficiencies, between Natives of different tribes, and between Natives and non-Natives. There is, unfortunately, very little research supporting this assumption; it may be the case, for instance, that NAE use is declining among Natives—or increasing rapidly among Natives and non-Natives alike. However, there is no study to date on the health and stability of NAE relative to other ethnic communities and/or speech communities in those contexts where its use is expected. Such a study would be an attempt to assess the ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) of NAE.

Garrett (2010, p. 228) defines ethnolinguistic vitality as "the degree of life in a language in a society in relation to ethnic groupings." In other words, EV is a feature of ethnic and speech communities, particularly in the context of other ethnic and speech communities, such as Native American NAE users in the U.S. This lack of EV research is disconcerting because NAE, like tribal heritage languages or other ethnic minority languages, is no doubt subject to language shift and obsolescence. It is conceivable that NAE could cease to be spoken before a full-scale, objective assessment of its EV could be completed.

This sort of research would, nevertheless, be extremely challenging from an ethnographic point of view. It would most likely entail real-time observation of daily communicative interactions between Natives and also between Natives and non-Natives in

various social contexts and conducted across the various geographic areas where NAE use is expected. The scope of the research would be very difficult even if limited to a single state. Take, for instance, Oklahoma, a location of central importance in the history of NAE due to its concentration of numerous and disparate tribal communities from all over the present-day U.S. as a result of the nineteenth century federal policy of Indian Removal (Craig, 1991, pp. 43-46); it is also a state in which tribal communities face a great deal of language obsolescence today (Golla, 2005, p. 340). Still, there are almost forty federally recognized tribal groups in Oklahoma and a total Native adult population of approximately 347,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Objective ethnographic observations of all of these groups would require a large team of researchers.

A more practical approach, on the other hand, would be far more limited in scope. It would involve numerous subjective measures of the EV of NAE among a subset of individuals in a given NAE speech community. These measurements would focus on those internally-held community attitudes toward NAE's vitality across numerous economic, social, historical, linguistic, distributional, institutional, inter-group, and intra-group factors (cf. Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981)—in other words, perceived vitality versus actual vitality. These measurements could then be analyzed both individually and in aggregate to piece together a snapshot of the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality (SEV) of NAE in its speech community. While inherently limited, this assessment would provide at least a toehold into understanding NAE vitality. Furthermore, without such a study, the discovery of the domains in which NAE is actually used becomes guesswork, a fact that may affect the efficacy of any descriptive research.

1.6 Purpose

This exploratory study seeks to reveal something of the attitudes toward NAE held by Native Americans in Oklahoma. While not a classically ethnographic study, the goal here is to investigate, through a combination of interview and questionnaire techniques, the attitudinal layers that serve to promote, suppress, or hold stable the EV of NAE in various social contexts. To this end, interview, survey, and perceptual mapping procedures are necessary to identify conscious and subconscious attitudes. The specific goals of the study, then, are as follows:

1. To identify how Native American members of the expected Native American English speech community in Oklahoma define the variety;

2. To identify key attitudes toward Native American English use and expectation of use in Oklahoma, including especially those attitudes, both conscious and subconscious, that may affect language variety choice in various social contexts; and

3. To investigate the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of NAE within its Oklahoma ethnic and speech communities in comparison to THLs and MUSE, particularly in terms of the social factors that may contribute to language variety choice as well as the social and geographical domains of these varieties, in the hopes of informing future Native American English research.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Organizational Overview

The organizational principle behind this chapter is to identify a number of strands within the body of scholarly texts to provide not only some important background on the phenomena I am studying but also justification for the choices made in the study. It is not intended to be a comprehensive survey of the available literature, but a focused presentation of sources relevant to the larger argument. The volume of sources discussed, however, may obscure that argument. As such, I begin with a brief synopsis of it here for the benefit of the reader. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the literature in sections 2.2 through 2.7, a summary in section 2.8, and a brief glance ahead at methodology and expectations in section 2.9.

Native American English (NAE) has been described in various important ways in the scholarly literature. For instance, it is not a single, monolithic language variety. Nevertheless, in aggregate, it occupies a social space in the lives of Natives somewhere between tribal heritage languages (THLs) and mainstream U.S. English (MUSE) and is associated, therefore, both with bilingualism and bidialectalism. It is also simultaneously associated with a range of cultural and pragmatic behaviors in Native communities and

with ethnic stereotypes in non-Native communities. There are several well-studied

pockets of concentration, but NAE as a whole is ultimately not well studied. Accordingly,

there is no simple definition of NAE. It may well be, then, that a folk linguistic approach

to the phenomenon is a particularly good fit for NAE studies.

Some NAE research offers tantalizing connections to Oklahoma, a state that is of

historical and contemporary importance to Natives in the U.S. The state is, however, very

different in many respects from other states with high Native populations. It is, therefore,

possible that the NAE varieties in use here are subject to different social pressures,

expectations, and attitudes than other places in Indian Country[2]. These social factors may

affect the overall vitality of NAE in the state, and this vitality may be represented in the

choice of NAE versus other language varieties available to Natives in various social

contexts. Let us consider two of these points, NAE attitudes and NAE vitality, in greater

detail.

First of all, in order to explore Oklahoma NAE attitudes as deeply and as

efficiently as possible in a small-scale study, it is necessary to approach things from the

point of view of a relatively small subset of individuals, in this case Oklahoma Native

Americans. It is hoped that in so doing a clearer picture of some of the various attitudes

toward the NAE phenomenon will emerge from within its expected speech community in

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[2] Utter (1993) outlines the criteria for the legal definition of Indian Country as follows:

> (a) land within the exterior boundaries of a federal Indian reservation, (b) land outside
> reservation boundaries that is owned by Indians and held in trust or restricted status by
> the federal government, and (c) all other lands set aside by whatever means for the
> residence of tribal Indians under federal protection (p. 153).

In common parlance, though, it is a collective term for referring to all places where Natives live,
work, and congregate as Native people.

the state. At this point, a number of important questions regarding this subset of Oklahoma Natives must be addressed. For instance, to what extent do members of this subset actually identify as Native American among the many other possible identities available to them? What is their experience with Oklahoma NAE in relation to the other language varieties available to them as Natives? How do they regard all of these varieties—and NAE in particular? And, extrapolating somewhat, to what extent does their regard for these varieties reflect broader ideologies among the larger Native American community within the state? Such questions of ethnolinguistic identity, contact, regard, and ideologies are essential not only in distinguishing NAE from among the other language varieties in the state via a folk linguistics perspective, but also in identifying key attitudes about the variety itself, its speakers, and its domains of use.

Secondly, regarding NAE vitality, ethnolinguistic vitality theory offers a means of assessing the relative strength of ethnic and speech communities in a social context wherein other identities and language varieties are available. This includes, for instance, the assessment of the strength of Native American ethnic identity as well as NAE use in Oklahoma relative to other ethnic and speech community options in the state—even on a situation-by-situation basis. Such assessments typically involve the use of surveys targeting the perceptions of individuals. Despite a long scholarly tradition of the use of such techniques, great care must be taken to adapt them to the individual needs of the communities in question at the time of their application. With proper modification, though, the goal of such research is nothing less than a snapshot of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the communities in question.

Meanwhile, the relative vitality of those communities can be seen in the choice of language variety in various discourse contexts. This choice is a function of a number of factors. They include, for instance, contact with other varieties within the environment, identification with one or more ethnicities indexed by those varieties, and the specific interlocutor details of the context, including the acceptance of bilingualism, code-switching, or identity indices at any given time. Thus, a language variety can be associated with low speech community vitality and still be chosen more often than other varieties in certain contexts that benefit its use over the use of others.

What follows from these basic premises is a research program for studying the attitudes and vitality of Oklahoma NAE and also the theoretical basis for analyzing the data collected from such a program. The program makes use of interview and survey data collected from a subset of Oklahoma Natives. The interview data relate mostly to the folk linguistic definition of and social attitudes toward NAE whereas the survey data include items relating mostly to ethnolinguistic vitality and language variety choice, not to mention important demographic items. In correlating these two broad sets of data, it is hoped that a fuller picture of Oklahoma NAE can be presented wherein attitudes justify linguistic behaviors such as contextualized language choice.

In presenting the full argument, I begin, in section 2.2, by reviewing the scholarly coverage of Native American English. Next, in section 2.3, I discuss the state of Oklahoma in terms of its Native communities and the languages they speak. In section 2.4, I then move to a discussion of the concepts of language regard and folk linguistics and how they relate to the study. A discussion of the compositional nature of ideologies follows in section 2.5, including how ideologies relate to both identity and to community.

In section 2.6, I review ethnolinguistic vitality and identity theories and their applications to NAE research. Finally, in section 2.7, I discuss language variation within minority communities and how such variation relates to the linguistic varieties available to Oklahoma Natives. I pause in section 2.8 to summarize what has been discussed so far and how these concepts inform my study before offering, in section 2.9, a statement of what I expect to find in the study based on the available literature.

2.2 Native American English

Native American English (NAE) is a well-known phenomenon in the history of the U.S. and has been the subject of nearly continuous representation and caricature since the earliest days of popular culture. In his (1982) book on Native stereotypes, Stedman devotes an entire chapter (ch. 4) to portrayals of Native speech in media, including both translations of supposed tribal heritage language (THL) use and NAE. He describes how, as early as 1766, examples of NAE in print "downgrade the Indian by putting infantile sounds in his mouth" (p. 64). Nevertheless, the larger supposition at play is that portrayals of Native speech in media mirror (and thus promote) then current non-Native social attitudes toward Natives, be they overly-romantic and flowery depictions of the speech of so-called "noble savage" orators, comical illustrations of limited L2 English proficiency, or both. It is curious, though, that Stedman closes the chapter by suggesting that the early NAE varieties are no longer a going concern among Native communities as an ironic result of the same media influences:

> The time has passed for fully reconstructing the actual manner in which Indians
> handled English conversation in the days before the mass-media colored all
> language. We have only recollections and rough transcriptions of spoken

exchanges in colonial and frontier days—by persons whose own English phrasing and pronunciation would be far from the standard American of radio and television. Still, if we do not know precisely how to treat Indian dialogue, we know, most assuredly, how not to. The oldtime Indian talk is wrong, dead wrong. Someday, even writers for the popular media will realize that fact. Someday. (p. 73)

In all fairness, Stedman is less concerned with how Natives actually speak or have spoken in the past than with how non-Natives have perceived Native speech. His larger point remains: Native use of English is attitudinally loaded in America and intimately tied to stereotypes.

Meek (2006) picks up this line of thinking in her analysis of several cinematic portrayals of NAE, which she designates as Hollywood Injun English (HIE). In her attempts at identifying its "grammar" and possible motivations, Meek shows HIE as promoting ethnic alterity (i.e., 'otherness') in portraying Natives as childlike and foreign, simultaneously timeless and primordial. She goes on to show how HIE indexes an essentialist racialization as well as a conceptual subordination of the Native population to mainstream society. She concludes by observing that through such portrayals audiences socially acquire the underlying messages on a large scale, resulting in widespread negative images of Native American communication. In this way, the ethnic and speech communities of Native Americans suffer, regardless of whether those communities use THLs or NAE varieties—regardless of the differences between these real varieties and the Hollywood versions thereof. Meek's work offers an implicit call for increased NAE research while providing a strong conceptual background for interpreting Native

American language selection from a perspective of ethnic and speech community identity.

Stedman (1982) and Meek (2006), though they do not concern themselves much with how Natives actually speak English, still offer valuable perspective on NAE. Namely, they point out how portrayals of NAE—regardless of their basis in authentic linguistic performance—help to create and perpetuate largely negative stereotypes of and attitudes toward Native Americans and their linguistic codes within the popular consciousness of individuals in the U.S. and elsewhere. Accurate or not, these stereotypes have in many ways become *the* vision of Natives in this country and the standard to which they may be compared, especially in their dealings with non-Natives. The stereotypes are not all linguistic in nature, of course, but their linguistic and non-linguistic components are in some manner co-indexical; an instance of HIE can conjure up images of the war-bonneted "other" just as easily as such images can conjure up the expectation of stereotypical HIE. Moreover, it would be foolish to think that Natives in the U.S. are ignorant of these stereotypes. While Stedman and Meek do not discuss the matter directly, one could easily imagine a scenario in which HIE actually impacts the use of NAE, intentionally by Natives though language play, unintentionally through uninformed non-Native interlocutor expectations, or even intentionally by Natives suppressing otherwise natural NAE production for fear of accidentally indexing a raft of HIE-related stereotypes. While such phenomena would be quite worthwhile to research, to my knowledge this research has never been done. It would obviously require the study of authentic Native discourse contexts, with Native and non-Native interlocutors alike, as well as research on individual NAE varieties, not just their depiction in media.

Some of the most important scholarship of the last few decades on authentic

NAE, both as a whole and in terms of individual varieties, has come from Leap (e.g.,

1976, 1982, 1991, 1993a, and 1993b). For instance, in his introductory chapter of the

(1976) anthology he edited on the subject, not only does he succinctly set forth many of

the fundamental questions regarding NAE, he also offers some possible answers. For

instance, he speaks to the three-way distinction between THL, NAE, and MUSE

repertoires in Native communities:

> . . . [S]ome members of a community tend to be monolingually fluent only in
>
> Indian English, just as others tend to be fluent only in the ancestral language. It is
>
> just as common to find both Indian and standard English codes within a person's
>
> verbal repertoire. This means that fluency in Indian English requires a particular
>
> kind of balance between Indian English and standard English grammar . . . But
>
> fluency also demands control over the pragmatic rules which determine what code
>
> will be used in each context. (pp. 8-9).

Additionally in this chapter, Leap discusses one of the central issues within this

distinction of language varieties, namely "a set of stereotypes associated with the

contrasts between Indian English and standard English codes"—stereotypes both internal

to and external to Native communities (p. 13). Finally, he notes the frequency of claims

that Native people can often "identify a person's tribal affiliation by the way the person

spoke his English" (p. 11).

Elsewhere, Leap has spoken at greater length about various features of NAE

varieties, including his assumption of their rule-based grammars (e.g., 1982, pp. 4-5, 20-

22; 1991, p. 24; 1993b, pp. 211-213), their great diversity (1982, p. 3; 1991, pp. 24-5;

1993a, p. 3, 1993b. p. 213), and the assessment of THL and English proficiency levels in Native communities (1981, pp. 214-220). Especially important among these features are Leap's observations that, even within a single Native community, there may be great simultaneous deviation and even competition between the NAE varieties used (1991; 1993a, pp. 193-206) and also that the differences between English and THL use—and NAE use by extension—are attributable to a wide variety of social phenomena, including rurality and/or general social isolation of the community in general, the presence of THL-speaking Elders in the home in those communities (1981, p. 218), and individual variation in identity and tribal cultural participation (1993b, pp. 208-209). In short, the NAE phenomenon—if indeed it can be called a singular thing at all—is every bit as nuanced as other languages situated in complicated social environments, and is still greatly in need of additional research, both general and community-specific.

It should come as no surprise that Leap does not view NAE as a monolithic entity. Recall that the people speaking these varieties come from societies that are also hard to pin down to a single mold. There may be consistency between individuals with similar backgrounds and experiences, but there is no reason to assume that any two members of a tribal group—even one with a clearly identifiable NAE variety—will necessarily speak English the same way in the same contexts. That said, it is still possible to speak about NAE varieties using the same term: They are still English vernaculars; they are associated with Native people; and they seem to serve similar roles in American popular consciousness. The main thing to keep in mind is that one must be just as careful when discussing NAE in aggregate as one is when discussing THLs or other loosely associated languages (such as the languages spoken in a large, global city) in aggregate.

Aside from the aforementioned Leap-edited (1977) anthology, others have taken up the challenge of providing more description of NAE and NAE users. In their (1982) anthology, Bartelt, Penfield-Jasper, and Hoffer offer chapters on several community-specific varieties, including a number of formal grammatical features in the English varieties spoken by tribal groups with large L1 THL/L2 English speech communities in the American Southwest—probably the most studied area of NAE use—and the Pacific Northwest including Alaska. Outside of these geographical areas, they include two chapters of significance. The first is by Brewer and Reising (1982) on the Lumbee English in North Carolina. While Lumbee English is a particularly well documented NAE variety, it has no surviving THL speech community, and no THL at all *other than* its own community-specific NAE (pp. 34-35). In this setting, "Lumbees use language as a significant linguistic and cultural marker. Certain words, certain meanings of words, and certain pronunciations signal their ethnic identity and identify outsiders" (p. 34). The other is Hoffer's (1982) discussion of Alabama-Coushatta in East Texas. Hoffer describes an important and intentional connection forged by the Alabama-Coushatta in Texas to Alabama Koasati and other Muskogean people in Oklahoma (p. 57). This connection results in "the presence of 'Oklahoma' or general southwest features" in at least one of the Texas dialects (for instance, these southwest features include centralization, lengthening, and monophthongization of the PRICE vowel, and substitution of KIT for the DRESS vowel, presumably in pre-nasal environments[3], p. 62). To my knowledge, this is the first mention in a scholarly text of a specifically identifiable *Oklahoma* NAE,

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[3] Note that vowels in this dissertation are represented using the Standard Lexical Sets for English vowels (Wells, 1982).

which is apparently not tribe-specific but similar enough to Southwestern NAE varieties to be mentioned in the same breath.

Meanwhile, Bartelt (2001) offers an in-depth look at both NAE speech and writing, especially in inter-tribal contexts, such as powwows. His discussion is worth mention primarily because of three points. First, he implicitly challenges Leap's assertion that there is at least one variety of NAE per Native American THL. He does so by arguing that much NAE variation is a function of regularization and overgeneralization of English rules; it is thus not a product of THL influence (pp. 94-98). Still, he affirms Leap's insistence on rule-based variation and "the variable co-existence of non-standard and standard forms" (p. 95). Second, Bartelt spends much time ruminating on the complexity of NAE discourse contexts, including the social pressure a Native may feel to represent his or her community through language differently in different settings, opting for use or non-use of non-standard English features as conditions dictate, irrespective of mainstream ideals. For example:

> . . . [N]onstandard English monolingualism does not necessarily imply total acculturation to mainstream American values. Though tribal language dominant individuals are often considered "backward" by more acculturated Indians, complete accommodation of standard English preferences is equally shunned. If, in the course of his education, an Indian has been able to attain near standard norms and uses them effectively in mainstream contexts, he must be prepared to switch back to a community version of English when interacting in "Indian" contexts, rural or urban. Failing to make this conscious change could result in alienating the home community. (p. 59)

Finally, he offers an extended look at NAE representations in the writing of Oklahoma

Kiowa author N. Scott Momaday, which Bartelt suggests are indicative of a number of

identifiable grammatical Southwest NAE features, from the phonological (e.g., written

use of *respec', frens, drunkerts, 'bandon,* and *Indi'ns* for *respect, friends, drunkards,*

abandon, and *Indians*, pp. 102-105) to the syntactic (including "pronoun copying" for

focus shifts, such as in *that teacher I seen her at the store*, p. 110).

As far as more recent research into the NAE of individual communities goes,

there have been only a few germane to this dissertation. Genee and Stigter (2010), for

instance, present a description of certain morphosyntactic features of a creolized English

variety exhibiting certain Blackfoot (Algonquian) grammatical features[4]. Their data

derive from Blackfoot English samples from the early twentieth century to the present.

Comparing these data with similar and contrasting morphosyntactic features of

Blackfoot, the authors identify possible substratum origins—or at least THL influence—

of surface-level divergence between Blackfoot English and Standard English, as

evidenced in gender and tense marking, stative *be*-deletion, possessives, and article use.

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[4] Wardhaugh (2002) defines creoles in terms of pidgins as follows:

> A pidgin is a language with no native speakers: it is no one's first language but a *contact*
> *language.* That is, it is the product of a multilingual situation in which those who wish to
> communicate must find or improvise a simple language system that will enable them to
> do so. . . . In contrast to a pidgin, a *creole* is often defined as a pidgin that has become the
> first language of a new generation of speakers. (pp. 60-61, emphasis in original)

For the purposes of this dissertation, the question of whether any particular NAE variety is or is
not a creole is irrelevant; regardless of the nature of Oklahoma NAE, Natives in the state will
have attitudes toward it, may be able to describe some of its features, and may choose it or other
language varieties in any given social context. For an early but important treatment of the much-
debated nature of creoles in general, see Bickerton (1984). See Trudgill (2011, pp. 67-69) for a
brief and more contemporary account.

They conclude that Blackfoot English is not a deficient use of Standard English but rather a rule-based English variety used widely today, even by those who do not speak Blackfoot. Genee and Stigter's more salient connection to the topic at hand, though, is a brief discussion of mainstream Anglophone attitudes conflating divergence (one language variety is different from another) and deficiency (one language variety is not as good as another), the negative consequence of which overwhelmingly accrues to the Blackfoot English speaker. The authors also conclude with an intriguing final thought that NAE varieties are equally worthy of examination and description as tribal heritage languages (cf. Brewer & Reising, 1982, on Lumbee English).

In another relevant study, Fadden and La France (2010) examine Aboriginal English (AE) in British Columbia in contrast to other minority English varieties, including NAE in the U.S. Like Genee and Stigter (2010), Fadden and La France define AE as a collective creole exhibiting substrata from relevant Canadian First Nations languages. Certain non-Standard English phonetic features of AE include, for example, use of alveolar stops for labiodentals, increased retroflexion of [r], and backing of [a] and [o]. Prosodic and discoursal features include "narrow intonation contour on declarative sentences", "intonation peak later in contour", "little or no turn overlap", "longer and more frequent pauses", and use of *init* as a tag question (p. 145). The authors orient the phenomenon of AE within a Standard English-dominant educational context, a source of great consternation for individuals from AE-speaking communities. As a solution, they propose ESD (English as a Second Dialect) training, a strategy that has already become popular in Canada, to promote additive bidialectalism among AE-speaking students; compare this to Leap's (1993b) recommendation that MUSE-based instruction in NAE

contexts be treated as English as a Second Language. Fadden and La France importantly

highlight a crucial drawback of using a non-standard English variety in primarily non-

Native social contexts, namely alienation in an educational system that conflates

communicative divergence with deficiency (cf. Genee and Stigter, 2010). Such alienation

may be a factor motivating language shift in Native American communities, including

movement away from THLs and possibly also NAE varieties.

Ongoing investigations into formal NAE linguistic features also include important

collaborative work involving Dartmouth College and the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe and

funded by the National Science Foundation. This work includes a recent paper from

Newmark, Walker, and Stanford (forthcoming) delivered at the New Ways of Analyzing

Variation conference in Chicago in October 2014. The subject of this particular study is

to look at shared pitch features among a wide variety of Native American and First

Nations individuals at three sample sites in the U.S. (Dartmouth College in New

Hampshire and the Standing Rock Indian Reservation in North and South Dakota) and

Canada (Tulita, Northwest Territories). Through acoustic analysis of recorded audio, the

researchers show a number of pitch features, including contoured pitch accent and high-

falling final pitch, shared among Native participants across the continent despite very

different tribal backgrounds. These features particularly surface in various contexts, such

as in humor and in story-telling. They postulate that these features are indicative of a

common Native ethnic identity that is manifests itself at least in part linguistically.

There have been other studies that have examined NAE and related

communicative phenomena from very different perspectives. Notable here are Wieder

and Pratt (1990) and Ahlers (2006). Wieder and Pratt look at Native-on-Native

interaction in terms of displays of tribal authenticity and, in so doing, describe a number of phenomena that speak to use of NAE indirectly. For example, they discuss the pragmatics of *not* entering into conversation with other recognizable but unknown Natives; doing so then obligates one to a much more inter-dependent social relationship. Similarly, the authors claim that Natives are not likely to disagree with one another in public in order to avoid overt threats to face. Meanwhile, Natives engage in friendly teasing among one another, seldom volunteer or publicly acknowledge any specialized knowledge or expertise they may possess, are open to the possibility of taking on close personal relations with others through formal or informal "adoption" practices, observe silence when dictated by social context, and use or act as intermediaries in public speaking.

Also concerned with verbal displays of Native authenticity, Ahlers (2006) describes the practice of highly contextualized code-switching between THLs and English, including the use of memorized THL speech acts during public introductions or prayers by Natives—possibly even those without any particular THL proficiency—to audiences without corresponding THL proficiency. Ahlers calls this sort of code-switching "Native Language as Identity Marker" (or NLIM, p. 62), which she sees as opening and possibly closing a specifically Native-oriented discourse space within which one can not only express Native identity, but can form in-group and out-group judgments. It is important to note that, for Ahlers as well as Wieder and Pratt (1990), most of this Nativeness-indexing communication occurs in English; indeed, for Ahlers, only the NLIMs themselves are likely to be conducted in a tribal heritage language.

Finally, Craig (1991) discusses numerous possible processes and origin scenarios responsible for the creation and diffusion of NAE. Among the processes, she considers cross-cultural diffusion of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) forms, influence or interference between L1 THLs and L2 English, adaptation of English grammatical rules by those of different L1 backgrounds, and Universal Grammar principles and parameters, perhaps as part of creolization and subsequent decreolization. Origin scenarios include diffusion of a trade pidgin from the East Coast, the Native boarding school phenomenon—especially schools in Oklahoma—and the establishment of Indian Territory in what is now Oklahoma. It is clear in her discussion that Craig feels that the history of Oklahoma is important in the development and spread of NAE.

2.3 The Oklahoma Connection

The Oklahoma connection to NAE is particularly salient. The state occupies a special place in U.S. history for being composed largely of lands the federal government had intended as "an Indian territory in the west" for resettlement of tribes to allow for 19th century Euro-American expansion (Utter, 1993, pp. 113-116). Yet, this fact alone does not tell the full story of Oklahoma's long Native heritage. Between around 800 C.E. and 1450 C.E., the land that is now eastern Oklahoma was home to the Spiro culture, one branch of what is occasionally known as the Arkansas River Basin Caddoan or Caddo culture (Rogers, 1991, p. 63; Perttula & Cast, 2011, p. 365). This culture probably had interactions with the contemporary and influential Cahokia culture located some 400 miles to the northeast, as well as with other Caddoan cultural sites to the south and east (Emerson & Girard, 2004, pp 61-62). This Caddoan group apparently splintered into

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other tribal divisions, including possibly the Wichita and Caddo, both of whom still live in Oklahoma.

A fair number of tribes lived or hunted in what is now Oklahoma prior to the 1800s, among them Wichita, Kiowa, Comanche (Foreman, 1953, p. 322; Jahoda, 1975, p. 253), Caddos, Pawnee, Apache, Quapaw, and possibly Osage people (Gibson, 1981, p. 14). Still, Oklahoma's contemporary Native history begins in the 1830s when the U.S. began to remove tribes forcibly from the lands they occupied at the time and resettle them in a part of present-day Oklahoma then known as Indian Territory. This period is typified by the "Trail of Tears," a period of brutal resettlement of several large southeastern nations commonly called the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, and Seminole) resulting in the deaths of thousands (Kehoe, 1992, pp. 200-201; see Mooney, 1992, pp. 130-135 for a detailed account of Cherokee Removal). The resettlement of tribes into what is now Oklahoma did not end in the 1830s, nor did it involve only southeastern tribes. The federal government removed, for example, the Kaw people, who at the time were living in central Kansas, to Indian Territory in the mid-1870s (Unrau, 1971, pp. 195-215). Worse still, after a long period of exile, various Apache groups were removed to Fort Sill as prisoners of war in the 1890s, from which they would not be released until 1913 (Coppersmith, 1996, pp. 94-158); their still unresolved case makes headlines even today (Massey, 2014). As a consequence of tribal reorganization-oriented policies, Oklahoma is now home to almost 40 federally-recognized tribes (Oklahoma Dept. of Transportation, 2008) from a variety of cultural and linguistic stocks. Figure 1 shows the arrangement of federally-recognized tribes in

the state as of 2008; changes since that time include the recognition of the Delaware Tribe of Indians.

Tribal lands in Oklahoma today are generally not organized into ethnically cohesive reservations as they are elsewhere in Indian Country. Large sections of what is now Oklahoma were opened up for non-Native settlement in a series of land runs in the 1880s (Everett, n.d.). Then, beginning in the 1890s, tribal lands were divided up and apportioned to Native individuals in a process known as Allotment (Kidwell, n.d.). Former reservation lands were later re-designated as Oklahoma Tribal Statistical Areas or Tribal Jurisdictional Areas (Internal Revenue Service, 2010, paras. 3-6), and various ethnicities settled in them. There still exist pockets of higher Native concentration in the state, but even these are ethnically plural. Consider, for instance, extreme northeastern Ottawa County, which overlaps no fewer than ten Tribal Jurisdictional Areas—those of the Cherokee Nation, Eastern Shawnee Tribe of Oklahoma, Miami Tribe of Oklahoma, Modoc Tribe of Oklahoma, Ottawa Tribe of Oklahoma, Peoria Tribe of Indians of Oklahoma, Quapaw Tribe of Indians, Seneca-Cayuga Tribe of Oklahoma, Shawnee Tribe, and Wyandotte Nation. Yet, Ottawa County is itself only 19% Native (Oklahoma Dept. of Transportation, 2008; U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). It is important to note, then, that most of Oklahoma's population is non-Native; in fact, only 9% of the population of Oklahoma, or about 347,000 of around 3.9 million, is classified as "American Indian and Alaska Native *alone* [emphasis added]" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).

Figure 1. Tribal Jurisdictional Areas in Oklahoma in 2008. (Oklahoma Dept. of Transportation, 2008)

In sum, Oklahoma tribes are for the most part not as isolated socially as elsewhere in Indian Country, either from one another or from the broader population at large. Perhaps as a consequence of this somewhat more diffuse distribution, not to mention the overwhelming presence of non-Natives in their tribal lands and the various social pressures that go along with this mix, THLs in Oklahoma are rapidly obsolescing. In fact, Golla notes that "[i]n Oklahoma, where 40 indigenous languages are represented, a recent survey indicated that only [Cherokee] was in daily use among children" (2005, p. 340). He further notes that for Cherokee, the most widely spoken native language in Oklahoma with approximately 6,500 speakers, "most proficient speakers are of the grandparent generation" (2005, p. 340).

Compare the situation in Oklahoma to more reservation-oriented states. Lee (2014) argues, "Roughly two-thirds of homes where a Native language is spoken are located in New Mexico, Arizona and Alaska" (para. 1). The U.S. Census Bureau goes one step farther in claiming that nine counties, all but one of which are in Arizona or New Mexico, account for "half of the nation's Native North American language speakers." It is no surprise to learn that these high THL-use counties are associated with tribal reservations (note, though, that Alaska's Indian Country is administered differently owing to the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971). In Arizona, for instance, these include (1) Apache County, which overlaps the Navajo, Fort Apache, and Zuni Indian Reservations, (2) Coconino County, home to the Navajo, Hualapai, Hopi, Havasupai, and Kaibab Indian Reservations, (3) Maricopa County, containing all or parts of the Salt River Pima-Maricopa, Gila River, and Gila Bend Indian Communities and Tohono O'odham and Fort McDowell Indian Reservations, as well as the city of Phoenix,

one of the most populous cities in the U.S., and (4) Navajo County, site of the Navajo, Hopi, and Fort Apache Indian Reservations (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011, p. 5, and National Park Service, n.d.). Yet, the Bureau classifies Arizona on the whole as merely 5.3% "American Indian and Alaska Native alone" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Clearly, there are obvious correlations between high concentrations of Native populations and retained THL use. It is also not surprising that these areas are particularly well studied in terms of their NAE varieties.

2.4 Language Regard and Folk Linguistics

In this and the next few sections, I temporarily turn my attention away from NAE and Native Americans in Oklahoma to focus on a number of theoretical and methodological concerns central to my study. I begin by introducing the topic of language regard and then discuss a number of approaches designed to investigate it, especially those approaches associated with folk linguistics, such as the draw-a-map technique.

2.4.1 Attitudes and the language regard model.
In many ways, language regard is simply a theoretical expansion of the concept of attitude, so it is wise to begin there. In his (2010) book on language attitudes and attitude research, Garrett offers a basic definition:

> [A]n attitude is an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, whether it is a language, or a new government policy, etc. And, as a 'disposition', an attitude can be seen as having a degree of stability that allows it to be defined. (p. 20)

While this definition is rather generic, in placing it in a linguistic context, Garrett argues that the social object in question may be any feature of language: "People hold attitudes

to language at all its levels: for example, spelling and punctuation, words, grammar, accent and pronunciation, dialects and languages" (p. 2). These evaluative beliefs about language are so ubiquitous and far-reaching that it is impossible to imagine a speaker of a human language without them.

While ever-present, attitudes have proven difficult to identify and measure. Henerson, Morris, and Fitz-Gibbon (1987), for instance, point out a number of crucial complications to such a task. To begin with, there is the fundamental problem that "[w]hen we measure attitudes, we must rely on *inference*, since it is impossible to measure attitudes directly" (p. 13, emphasis in original). Additionally, (a) there may be a lack of correspondence between these mental constructs and their seemingly resultant actions, (b) there may be a great deal of flux in these constructs over time, and (c) what may appear as a single construct may in fact be an amalgam of others (p. 13). These factors must be taken into account at the level of research design in order to overcome the challenges they present.

So, it may seem that one means of obtaining reliable information about the attitudes of others is simply to ask them how they feel about certain things. However, this raises additional concerns. Henerson et al. (1987) argue that important among these self-report concerns is the need for assurance that respondents "are able to understand the questions asked of them . . . have sufficient self-awareness to provide the necessary information . . . [and] are likely to answer honestly and not deliberately falsify their responses" (p. 22). The task is not so simple, then. Furthermore, as Bassili and Brown (2005) point out, not only does it appear that respondents to such queries are often not

conscious of their attitudes and beliefs, but—even when they are—the simple act of asking about those attitudes may affect them:

> One may think, for example, that feelings that are accessible, that are held with certainty, that are considered important to the self, and that are felt with intensity, ought to resist the influence of suggestions contained in an attitudinal query. Under most circumstances, however, this is not the case. (p. 547)

Issues such as these arise to a large extent because, as Bassili and Brown (2005) argue, there are actually two kinds of attitudes, deliberate/explicit and automatic/implicit (p. 543). These two kinds express themselves through different channels: ". . . [W]orking memory acts as a way station in the expression of explicit attitudes, whereas the expression of implicit attitudes goes through a relatively direct path" (p. 564). As such, they argue that careful instruments targeting both channels through different means is one way of correlating and measuring the two. "Explicit measures typically target the attitude object directly (e.g., one's feelings toward an outgroup), whereas implicit measures are indirect and relative (e.g., response latencies from trials involving exemplars from an ingroup compared to . . . an outgroup)" (p. 565). In other words, interview data alone are not likely to provide a thorough understanding of the implicit attitudes of respondents, and timed-response electronic surveys involving the same respondents are not sufficient for understanding their explicit attitudes. Together, though, the two methods can be used to present a more complete picture of both sets of attitudes.

As an extension of the concept of the language attitude, language regard is both more general and more specific. On the one hand, the term 'regard' encompasses attitudes as well as other sorts of beliefs. Preston (2011) offers that ". . . beliefs are not

necessarily evaluative, and evaluation is taken to be a necessary component of attitude"

(p. 10). On the other hand, Preston, who coined the term, intends language regard to refer

specifically to a system of beliefs so central to one's language faculty that it "interacts

with or, better, influences language production and comprehension, particularly the

latter" (p. 10). Much as language itself is acquired piece-by-piece through social

interaction over time, a speaker builds up a system of language regard, including

deliberate and automatic attitudes, through social interactions with others over the course

of a lifetime.

A central tenet in this view of language regard is that it has behavioral

ramifications, namely conscious and subconscious responses to social and linguistic

stimuli that may be noticed in the environment, especially linguistic forms adhering to or

violating certain expectations within the regard system. Noticed forms pass through a

processual chain that may involve classification within the regard system, imbuing of

secondary traits associated with the classification, and any of various reactions triggered

by those traits. This can occur either as a full classificatory process or as an iconized and

automatic process involving a "short-cut" through working memory based on repeated

exposure to the stimuli; consider parallels here between explicit and implicit attitudes.

For example, suppose two people, Speaker (S) and Hearer (H), are engaged in

conversation. If H notices S using, say, a linguistic form that violates one of H's

expectations about S, H may classify this violation as language associated with a

particular sort of person (P). Of course, H has other beliefs about P, and may now react to

S in a manner in line with H's beliefs about P (cf. Preston, 2010, pp. 100-107). Consider,

for instance, that H hears S utter the phrase *habeas corpus*. H may classify this form as

belonging to the legalistic jargon of attorneys, a group with positive associations owing to the fact that both of H's parents were attorneys. H may then react more receptively to what S has to say. Alternatively, H may have very negative associations with attorneys from a time when H was in trouble with the law as a youth, and may then immediately start to distrust what S is saying.

Returning briefly to the context of NAE in Oklahoma, suppose H has negative regard for both NAE and Native Americans stemming from years of exposure to mid-20th century western films chock full of unflattering Native stereotypes. Upon noticing that S has used a form associated with the Hollywood Injun English of these western films, H immediately classifies S as a Native American and begins to associate S with a number of negative ethnic stereotypes. Notice, though, that this can work in other ways, too. S, knowing that H may put stock into such negative stereotypes, may avoid using NAE altogether, opting instead for MUSE, a variety S hopes H will find more agreeable.

2.4.2 A folk linguistic approach. Having dealt cursorily with the issue of language regard, it is a fair question to ask why it is salient to the discussion of Oklahoma NAE in the first place. The simple answer is that, in the absence of basic research into NAE varieties in Oklahoma, it is natural to turn to the members of its expected speech community for information about it, specifically in terms of the sorts of people who are or are not using it, how often, in what contexts, and why. Such inquiry into the attitudes of speakers has for many years been an accepted part of at least the variationist sociolinguistic tradition, ". . . where respondents were used as *reactors to*[emphasis added] as well as performers of variation" (Preston, 1993, p. 333). An important thing to notice, however, is that the people whose attitudes, beliefs, and regard are being targeted

in this sort of research are themselves not linguistics experts. Rather, they are everyday individuals whose exposure to the language varieties in question comes through their normal social interactions. It is not a surprise, then, that this branch of study is known as *folk linguistics*.

Aside from the interview and survey techniques already discussed, one major methodology in the folk linguist's toolkit, particularly in terms of language regard involving place, is the perceptual dialectological mapping technique made famous in the U.S. by Preston (e.g., 1986, 1993). In fact, he argues that "[t]he most straightforward way of discovering what respondents believe about area is to have them draw maps" (Preston, 1993, p. 335). This technique involves the use of sparsely detailed pre-drawn maps for which "written instructions [invite] the informants to 'outline and label the different speech areas of the United States'" (1986, p. 224). Many such maps are then compared and compiled into a single map that may reflect both individual and collective beliefs the respondents have about the social environment in which they live—as well as the environments they do not call home. While aggregation of arbitrary, hand-drawn lines on maps may at first blush seem somewhat removed from the assessment of regard, bear in mind that the drawing of borders has everything to do with who is perceived as the same and who is perceived as different, as well as the reasons for those differences. When border lines are coupled with labels that may represent more conscious attitudes toward the people so defined, it becomes very clear how powerful the technique can be.

2.5 Ideologies and Communities

In this section I offer a theoretical framework that attempts to unify theories of language regard and language ideologies (which Garret, 2010, p. 34, describes as "a

patterned but naturalised set of assumptions and values about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or cultural group") in such a way as to build up related definitions of concepts as disparate as identity and community. It begins with a definition of ideology that deconstructs into a number of claims about its generic and modular nature.

So far, I have played somewhat fast and loose with the concept of language regard. For instance, I have said that it is composed of attitudes, some of which are deliberate, meaning presumably that an individual may have access to or some degree of conscious say over them at a given time, and some of which are automatic, meaning that an individual may not even be able to identify them except through the implicature of certain reactive behaviors. Yet, I have used the term *system* to describe them. Moreover, I have claimed that careful attitudinal and folk linguistic methods applied across a set of individuals can yield important information about a community's overall language regard. However, I have not talked at all about how regard may be shared among individuals. Let us look at these problems more closely.

With respect to individuals, Bassili and Brown (2005) co-opt Rosenberg's term *attitudinal cognitorium* to refer to one's dense network of attitudes, beliefs, and "microconcepts" (p. 552), any number of which may be activated, with or without the interference of working memory, by certain stimuli and imbued with related evaluative characteristics. Given the on-again, off-again relationship between the attitudinal cognitorium and working memory, sometimes this process is performed automatically, and sometimes it is more consciously controlled. In fact, "the main difference between explicit and implicit attitudes is the involvement of controlled processes at output" (p.

553). In the language regard framework, Preston (2010) talks about the microconceptual nodes and the connections between the nodes within the attitudinal cognitorium as being strong, weak, not present, or inhibited, giving rise to some regard reactions that are faster and/or more salient than others for a given individual. Still, these two frameworks, while similar, are not entirely the same; perhaps they can be united in some manner. As for the attitudes of groups, the best we can say so far for either of these models is that there may be some sort of statistically measurable overlap between individuals. There is no meaningful way to talk about shared cognitoria, and the thought of somehow relating strong regard connections in one individual to nodes that are not even present in another is a difficult stretch of reasoning. What is needed here is some more general framework that can be scaled upward and downward to capture both the individual and groups of individuals without sacrificing important theoretical concepts associated with both levels. I believe the concept of language ideology can be modified to do just that.

2.5.1 Definition. Although there are many different definitions of and approaches to language ideology, for the purpose of this dissertation I will use one based loosely on that of Silverstein (1979, p. 193) but appearing in McBride (2009):

> A language ideology is a set (consistent or otherwise) of beliefs (conscious or otherwise) about the nature and practice of language, particularly in social contexts. This conceptualization is intentionally vague on the topics of (a) [the] identification of the origin and seat of ideology—be it originating in the individual and visible in the group only by shared happenstance, or emanating from the group and only adopted by the individual by default through membership in the group, or some other mechanism entirely—(b) the relationships between the

ideology, those who hold it, the language, and those who use it—that is, this

definition is general enough to encompass, say, [an] English speaker's beliefs

about [a] Spanish speaker's use of Spanish in the US—and (c) competing

ideologies at all levels of analysis—the definition allows for multiple ideologies

at play even at the level of the individual. (pp. 30-31)

I would additionally add that the definition is vague with respect to the constitution of the

belief set—though composed of individual ideological tenets (the attitudes and beliefs

that make up language regard), there is no universal list of binary tenets that all possible

ideologies are drawn from.

Despite its indistinctness, this definition is flexible enough to capture any number

of ideologies for a wide variety of purposes, including the four common "strands" of

ideology described by Woolard (1998, pp. 5-7)—a fundamentally mental or ideational

strand, a strand concerned with the experience of a particular social group, a strand that is

concerned with power relations, and a strand that examines how power is enforced

through the application and distortion of certain viewpoints. The main benefit of this

model of language ideology is as a complete analytical framework for various

ideologically-charged contexts. Its four primary vaguenesses (i.e., origin and seat of

ideologies, social relationships associated with ideologies, competition of ideologies, and

constitution of ideologies) are key to understanding any applications of the concept, thus

each deserves detailed treatment.

2.5.2 Multiplicity of sets. For starters, we begin with the basic set nature of

ideology. In the most general of terms, a set is composed of some number of object

elements (the concept of a null set is quite difficult to imagine in ideological terms), and

also excludes certain objects from a larger universe. In the case of ideologies, a set

permits only a specific sort of ideational objects as elements, and these include

principally the beliefs and attitudes discussed above as language regard. I have termed

these collectively as *tenets* of language regard. It is important to note that while a tenet

may be expressed in simple binary terms as either an element or not an element of a

particular ideological set, it may not necessarily be evaluated as strictly true or false;

tenets, after all, are not simply facts. For example, the following tenet is an attitude, but

not a fact:

(1) All members of the _____ community should speak the _____ language.

Still, it is a perfectly acceptable tenet of a broader ideology.

In the simplest of contexts, i.e., a single set (S) of finite tenets (t_1, t_2, … t_n) held by

an individual, one could theoretically identify each discrete tenet—an admittedly

impossible enterprise in real life given the attitude measurement problems discussed

above—label each with a unique symbol, and thus categorize in graphic terms a complete

ideological inventory. This could be expressed algebraically as S = {t_1, t_5, t_{87}} or some

other similar representation. As I shall demonstrate later, however, this view is, of course,

overly simplistic; ideologies are not necessarily consistent, and even a single individual

may subscribe to multiple ideologies in conflict with one another. Nevertheless, the point

stands that on the most basic level, it is possible to describe tenet sets (ideologies) in this

manner.

In fact, this method could reduce an individual's complete ideology to a single

set—warts and all. That is to say, a set could theoretically contain all of an individual's

extant tenets relating to all possible topics and contexts. However, assuming one had

access to all this knowledge in the first place, it would make sense to classify each tenet with others of a similar nature. For example, all tenets relating to, say, THL use would be grouped into a single set, all tenets relating to English language teaching would form a second set, and so on (cf. Henerson et al., 1987, p. 13 on the compositionality of attitudes). Each of these sets would constitute a complete ideology in and of itself. This is what is meant by the multiplicity of individual ideologies that may or may not be consistent with one another.

Note that this sort of algebraic representation of an individual ideology holds true only for some period of time during which the tenets are static. For the most part, however, "[w]e have no guarantee that the attitude we want to assess will 'stand still' long enough for a one-time measurement to be reliable" (Henerson et al., 1987, p. 13). While one may assume that tenets are consciously or unconsciously evaluated from time to time, for instance, on such occasions when one comes into direct conflict with the individual's perceptions of context, their inherently dynamic and conflicting deliberate and automatic natures may work against this assumption. So, for a complete ideological portrait of an individual, such static ideological snapshots would have to be produced in sequence almost moment to moment. Bear also in mind that, from this dynamic perspective, any two ideological moments may be in conflict with one another, even on top of the routine inconsistencies of constructs at any one time. That is to say, the very passage of time makes dynamic ideological states inconsistent with one another; tenets are experience-driven, and new experiences require constant ideological adaptation.

Additional complexities emerge when the analytical focus is moved to the level of the group. While at the level of the individual, tenets can be expressed as single sets, such

a task would be counterproductive at the group level. There may be many individuals

holding some of the tenets, and a few holding others. Thus, there may be tension between

the group's complete ideology—in whatever sense that might convey—and the

ideologies of the individual group members. This tension could be alleviated by

somehow weighting tenets, perhaps in terms of the number of individuals holding them.

Better yet, it could be accomplished by affirming the persistent importance of individual

sets among the group, highlighting those tenets that seem to be the most or least common

among individuals, and extracting them to a separate set. Either way, it is likely that

certain ideological sets would fall out as being more or less common than others over

time. This suggests a dynamic core/periphery relationship of tenets among any contextual

grouping—though in some cases the common or core ideologies may contain fewer

actual tenets than the periphery. The structure of an ideological core set, then, has an

analogous relationship to the concept of the semantic prototype (see, for example,

Wittgenstein, 1986, pp. 31-32, on the network of "family resemblances" between games,

and Rosch, 1994, on the psychological nature of conceptualization), which also consists

of a relatively small and more or less statistically-based center of abstraction amid a

much larger "fuzzy perimeter" of exemplars within the conceptual category (Schneider,

2004, p. 67).

In fact, it is the patterning of tenets that is said to be where ideologies gain

traction. For instance, Garrett (2010) defines ideology as follows:

> . . . [I]deology comprises a patterned but naturalised set of assumptions and values
>
> about how the world works, a set which is associated with a particular social or
>
> cultural group. (p. 34)

Thus, moving somewhat out of the hypothetical groupings of random individuals and into the realm of actual human social contexts, such as families, neighborhoods, places of business, or, in this case, ethnolinguistic groups, the idea of core tenet sets begins to make more sense. Despite outlying tenets, the core in such cases may be immediately recognizable from both within and without. This is, in effect, a bottom-up view of some variety of *community*. In particular, the sort of community described in this way is a community of belief. Common behaviors within this community could likewise be seen as indicative of a community of practice[5], although this definition of the term is quite different from that of, say, Lave and Wenger (1991).

2.5.3 Multiplicity of analytical levels. I have already shown that ideologies may be held by individuals, groups, and communities, but mostly I have just postulated a method by which tenets can be described. I have not really explained how tenets actually come to be held, nor have I established the primary level of ideological analysis—is it the individual, the community, or something else entirely? Let us begin with the question of where ideologies come from. I have stated that individual members of a community may not hold every tenet of their community's collective ideology, but the ones that are held most in common within the community constitute a core set. This is, in effect, a principle of group *inheritance* of core tenets; recall here that language regard is built up over time through social interaction. Individual members may furthermore subscribe to tenets well

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[5] In the more than two decades since the theory of the community of practice first emerged, this model has been discussed in great detail, including its basic tenets (e.g., Lave, 1991), its many applications—such as sociolinguistic investigations of variation between groups (e.g., Mallinson & Childs, 2005; Rock, 2005; Scollon, 2004)—and its refinements arising in reaction to recent expansions of its associated contexts (e.g., Eckert & Wenger, 2005).

outside of the core—i.e., a principle of individual *selection* of the periphery—but on the whole, the group may still be identifiable at any one time simply by the core ideology. Just as a community's membership and contexts are dynamic over time, so are its ideological tenets. As contexts change, individual tenets and ideologies affect those of the community and vice versa: The makeup of both the core and the periphery are subject to change. In this way, it is impossible to say at any one time whether the sum of individual or community ideologies are primarily inherited or selected.

Moreover, it must be mentioned that the individual belongs to a multiplicity of groups and communities of all different sizes and types. As an example of this, consider that a speaker of a particular language may be a member of a group of language speakers, but also a member of a dialect group, a racial and/or ethnic group, a socioeconomic group, a family group, a religious group, an age group, a gender, etc. Now, the individual may be barely conscious of some of these groups, but for others she may *identify* herself as part of an actual community as opposed to a merely hypothetical grouping. That is to say, she may derive some degree of her *social identity* from her membership in the community; identity in this sense is a function of the process of identification with one or more communities.

In fact, for the purpose of this dissertation, I will henceforth use the term 'group' to describe any contextual groupings an individual belongs to but does not identify with and the term 'community' to describe those an individual both belongs to and identifies with. I will use '(contextual) grouping' as the general term for both, as well as for groups the individual may not belong to.

It is important to note that an individual may derive more of her social identity from membership in some groupings than from others. Indeed, it is possible to say that an individual has not only multiple ideologies but also multiple identities. The interplay between these various identities is important for how one experiences reality, forms beliefs and thoughts, and relates to others both in and out of various groups and communities, i.e., how one forms and practices ideologies. This graded identification across a matrix of possible social and contextual groupings is important in two key ways. First of all, social identity can serve to *isolate* individuals. It stands to reason that, with so many possible layers of community membership and a continuum of identification (from unconscious membership on one end to radical identification on the other) for each, one's own characteristic tableau of identities is not likely to be shared by many. After all, an individual is indeed unique, even among the closest of peers and kin. That said, it seems humans are by nature compelled to join socially with others, and thus one's various group memberships relate one to another in so many ways. This is the second way one's identities are important: Social identities can serve to *unite* individuals as easily as they can isolate individuals.

With respect to investigation of ideologies, while there are multiple *levels* of identity for both individuals and communities, identity itself is invariably the *locus* of description and analysis. Consider for instance, the case of a THL in a Native community. There are numerous possible levels for ideological analysis in this context. In terms of community, there may be groupings of individuals that use the language, i.e., speech communities, and those that do not; all will have specific language ideologies. Moreover, there may be dialect groupings—which may be either distinct or hard to define

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and which may be valued or stigmatized by others—societies of specialized practice, including religious orders, cultural activity factions, or other contextual groupings that use language differently from one another (cf. kiva speech among Arizona Tewa in Kroskrity, 1998; 2000). While each of these could serve as a level of analysis, it is not clear how an attempt to describe the tenets of any single individual community member, per se, would result in a valid ideological portrait of the community. Rather, its ideological constitution lies in the shared core identity among its body of members.[6] Furthermore, from the perspective of an individual, she may or may not identify to some degree as a member of a speech community, a clan, band, or other tribal division that may affect her language use, the official tribal enrollment, a stock of related tribal or cultural groupings, the whole class of Natives, and so on. This says nothing of her possible identities in local, state/province, national, or global political units. For any of these possible levels, ideological analysis must begin with one or more of her social identities, not simply with her as an individual.

     2.5.4 Multiplicity of relationships. So far I have provided a bottom-up approach to identity to match the bottom-up approach to community discussed above. But there are numerous kinds of identities that are visible from the top-down, all of which are defined in terms of relationships to specific contexts. Norton (1997) describes several different kinds of identity, including social, cultural, sociocultural, and ethnic. She defines social identity as "the *relationship* between the individual and the larger social world, as mediated through institutions such as families, schools, workplaces, social services, and law courts [emphasis added]," and cultural identity as "the *relationship* between

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[6] It is possible, for instance, to define a set of core tenets for a community the totality of which no single individual member of that community would be able to claim as part of her own ideology.

individuals and members of a group who share a common history, a common language, and similar ways of understanding the world [emphasis added]" (p. 420). Norton's conceptualization of sociocultural identity is simply a collapse of these two. Ethnic identity, by extension, may be thought of as an individual's relationship to one or more ethnic communities—along with all their social and cultural trappings—be they nationalities, racial or heritage groupings, tribal divisions, or what have you. Each of these cases is analyzable in terms of three entities, i.e., an individual, a context, and a relationship between the two. By Norton's reasoning, this is the essential nature of identity. One could, therefore, speak of any number of potential identities, including gender, socioeconomic status, educational level, and so forth. All would be classified as relationships between an individual and a context—in each case, a particular potential community. The idea here is that identities are not simply describable in terms of relationships; identities *are* relationships.

Relationships exist both between the communities to which an individual belongs and those to which an individual does not belong. In terms of language ideologies, such out-group relationships are essential. Leung, Harris, and Rampton (2009), for example, argue that the default English-speaker identity in the U.K. includes only Anglo monolinguals. This group's members are thought to 'own' British English. But, what of people of African heritage, South Asians, bilinguals, or others? Within their social context, the Anglo mainstream stigmatizes them with respect to their use of English, and no degree of English proficiency can change this (even in the case of L1 speakers). Such a socially enforced etic identity has all sorts of social and cultural ramifications. For instance, can a bi-racial child of a Jamaican and a Bengali growing up bilingual in

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London ever hope to be 'English' (an ethnic identity), participate fully in the culture of the U.K. (cultural identity), or attain the same degree of legal justice as others (social identity)?

Bear in mind also, that the relationships that comprise identities are not purely conceptual. They also include, for example, sociocultural behaviors, such as socializing with friends, attending worship services, and so forth, all of which may be thought of as tenets as put into practice. Indeed, Garrett (2010) describes three necessary components of attitudes—the stuff of ideologies that relationships help to define. These are the cognitive ("they contain or comprise beliefs about the world"), affective ("they involve feelings about the attitude object"), and behavioral (they involve "the predisposition to act in certain ways, and perhaps in ways that are consistent with our cognitive and affective judgments") components at the core of ideational tenets (p. 23).

2.5.5 Multiplicity of tenets. One last area of concern regards the nature of the tenets themselves. I have already said that tenets include the various mental constructs of language regard. Still, I have not yet described them in terms of their ideational makeup. While some tenets may be true-false binary propositions, such as (2), others are not, such as (3).

(2) The _____ language is impossible for English speakers to learn.

(3) Members of other communities should not be teachers of the _____ language. Additionally, some 'untestable' propositional tenets cannot be evaluated by routine observational means, such as the following:

(4) The way our ancestors spoke the _____ language is the way the Creator
     intended it to be spoken.

But despite the disparate varieties of tenets, there is still some degree to which tenet statements can be described and manipulated using the tools of the most routine symbolic logic. Thus, propositions, both strict and untestable, and non-propositions alike can in some manner be reduced to symbols and manipulated with logical operators such as 'not,' 'and, 'or,' 'if-then,' etc. Additionally, tenets can be derived from others and reduced to one or more fundamental forms. That is to say, a tenet such as (4) presupposes tenets regarding the existence of the Creator, the capacity for individuals to know the Creator's intentions, and so on (again, consider the claim by Henerson et al., 1987, p. 13, about the compositionality of attitudes). Each of these derivations is presumably, but not necessarily, a tenet elsewhere within the ideological set that yielded (4).

This brings up a number of issues specifically relating to ideological veracity, completeness, consistency, and consciousness, some of which I have already mentioned in passing. First of all, it is certainly possible for an individual to profess a tenet without actually believing it! Recall here Henersen et al.'s (1987, p. 22) warning about truthfulness in self-report. Second, ideologies need not be complete to be real. For instance, an individual subscribing to (4) may not have a conscious opinion either way about the capacity for individuals to know the Creator's intentions; this does not diminish the importance of (4) for that individual *at some particular time*. Consider Bassili and Brown's claim that "it has become increasingly apparent over the past several decades that attitudes are not necessarily enduring mental representations that are retrieved from memory at the time of judgment" (2005, p. 566). Third, I have already described how ideologies even for a single individual may be in conflict with one another. Thus, the same individual who may subscribe to (4) with regards to language may hold a religious

conviction that humans are profoundly unable to know the mind of the Creator. Fourth, I have already noted that individuals may not be consciously aware of their tenets or the ideologies they comprise. So, the same hypothetical individual who espouses (4) in public, may not be conscious of the derivable consequences of subscription to (4).

Finally, it may be obvious—but it is nonetheless necessary to mention here— that the primary means by which tenets are transmitted and expressed is through our ongoing socialization interactions, and much of this socialization is likely to take the form of language. As such, everything from community ideologies to individual identities is constructed and practiced jointly between like and unlike individuals in a social universe, largely as a function of language's constantly re-negotiated place in that universe. Furthermore, language, then, is a function of the sum of such interactions, which are also constantly in flux. This complex, cyclical point of view aligns my framework closely with those thinkers and researchers falling under the general banner of social constructionists. For instance, Ochs (1986) and Kulick and Schieffelin (2004), argue that socialization itself is a two-fold social process, involving "socialization through language and socialization to use language" (Ochs, 1986, p. 2). I would merely add that ideology and identity ride on the coat-tails of language at every stage in this process. Likewise, Larsen-Freeman (2002) and van Lier (2002), for example, advocate an acceptance of the inherent complexity of language and language learning systems that stresses the primacy of emergent connections and interrelationships within complicated systems. For Larsen-Freeman, this view takes the form of chaos/complexity theory, as opposed to van Lier's ecological-semiotic perspective. While my framework is not exactly like either of these, it fits easily within the holistic approach taken by both.

2.6 Ethnolinguistic Identity and Vitality

I have already shown how ethnic and linguistic identities can be built up from the ideological model presented above. I now turn to a more formal means of measuring the strength of these identities in various social contexts. In particular, I first discuss ethnolinguistic identity and ethnolinguistic vitality theories and then, in sections 2.6.1 and 2.6.2, show how the methods used to assess ethnolinguistic vitality can be applied to Oklahoma NAE.

Ethnic identity and linguistic identity are complex notions, involving both the individual and collective attitudes of group members. Plus, ethnic communities frequently overlap with one or more speech communities. Therefore, it is often convenient to speak of these groups together as *ethnolinguistic groups*. Examples of this kind of group include speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in communities throughout the U.S., Amish settlements in the Midwest, members of urban Chinatown and Little Italy communities in large metropolitan areas, and others. An important feature of such groups is their *ethnolinguistic vitality*. Matthews (2007) defines ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as the following:

> Cover term for various factors, objective and subjective, seen as determining the ability of a community to maintain its identity and form of speech in the face of contrary pressures. These include its size, its perceived status in a larger society, and so on. (p. 128)

In other words, EV represents the likelihood of an ethnolinguistic group to think and act as a more or less cohesive unit in inter-group settings, such as Latino Spanish speakers in majority white communities or Native American families in diverse urban communities.

EV also involves how much a group views the world from its own cultural perspectives. As such, it can also indicate how difficult it is for outsiders to become members of the group or how difficult it is for insiders to give up their group membership in favor of joining other groups (Ehala, 2010, pp. 204-205). It is further thought that if a minority group has a comparatively high EV, it will face less danger of mainstream cultural integration, assimilation, segregation, marginalization, or language shift.

Since the late 1970s, scholars have attempted to assess the EV of various ethnolinguistic groups, especially minority ethnolinguistic groups. Examples include studies of Greek ancestry populations in Australia (Bourhis, Giles, & Rosenthal, 1981), Cajuns in Louisiana (Landry, Allard, & Henry, 1996), Italian speakers in Australia (Hogg & Rigoli, 1996), Altai and Kazazh people in Russia (Yagmur & Kroon, 2006), Võro people in Estonia (Ehala & Niglas, 2007), and so forth. The two major varieties of EV assessment are classified as objective (OEV) and subjective (SEV). Objective measurements typically rely on detailed analyses of the following features:

> . . . [T]he history of the area and its demography: the background of the respective groups in the region, the numbers and concentration patterns of speakers, rights and recognition of speakers; status factors: degree and extent of official recognition of respective languages and also their functional value in social and educational life, association between respective languages and economic status, type and strength of association between language and religion, group and language representation in the media; institutional support factors: degree of language standardisation, patterns of language transmission and/or acquisition,

language teaching in schools, language proficiency and attitudes of speakers, and

finally current language maintenance efforts. (Yagmur & Kroon, 2006, p. 245)

Such assessments often involve large-scale artefact analyses to provide ample data to

make a determination of the OEV of an ethnolinguistic group, not to mention wholesale

ethnographic observation. Meanwhile, SEV measurements tend to make use of

specialized questionnaires distributed among certain members of an ethnolinguistic

group, for instance, young adults. These questionnaires, called Subjective Ethnolinguistic

Vitality Questionnaires (SEVQs), reflect the same sorts of sociolinguistic categories as

play a role in OEV assessment but are targeted instead at the perceptions of linguistic and

social reality, i.e., language regard, of members of the ethnolinguistic groups.

In their landmark article on designing SEVQs, Bourhis et al. (1981, p. 147) argue

that SEV measurements are just as important as OEV measurements and can, in fact, get

at fine-grained distinctions that could otherwise be missed in an objective assessment.

Their SEVQ model for distribution among Greek Australians in Melbourne features some

22 items comparing the Greek Australian and mainstream British-lineage Australian

ethnic communities, as well as Greek and English speech communities within the city.

All but one of these items is a two-part, seven-point Likert scale rating of either the two

ethnic communities or the two speech communities according to a particular

sociolinguistic category. For instance, item 2 is as follows:

2. How highly regarded are the following languages in Melbourne?

Greek

not at all   ___:___:___:___:___:___:___: extremely high

English

not at all   ___:___:___:___:___:___:___: extremely high (p. 151)

The 22 items are divided among five main sociolinguistic categories, I. Vitality, II.

Status, III. Demographic, IV. Institutional Support and Control, and V. Intergroup

Contact, each of which may be divided into one or more subcategories. For instance,

survey item 2 above is one of two items corresponding to the Language Status

subcategory of Status. The idea behind the authors' SEVQ is that analysis of its resulting

data will lead not only to an understanding of the attitudes the Greek community has

toward its own community's place in its inter-group context but also to an understanding

of the attitudes that Greek Melburnians have toward the mainstream. In other words,

analysis would reveal two vitality scores, one for the Greek ethnolinguistic community—

i.e., an amalgam of ethnic Greeks and Greek speakers in Melbourne—and one for the

mainstream, both through the perspective of Greek Melburnians.

      The ideas at the root of these sorts of objective and subjective EV assessments lie

in the social identity theories of Tajfel from the 1970s which themselves are extensions of

work done by Goffman in the 1950s (cf. Goffman, 1959). Hildebrandt and Giles (1983)

offer a historical perspective on ethnolinguistic identity (EI) theory identifying several

factors, such as individual mobility and border permeability, that contribute to a group's

EI as well as to its resulting intra- and intergroup behaviors, e.g., social creativity and

competition, which in turn impact the degree to which group members identify with their

language and ethnicity. Applying this theory to a discussion of English instruction in

Japan, a nation characterized by a particularly robust EI, the authors argue that this

radical identity masks an undercurrent of ethnolinguistic *insecurity* in global intergroup

contexts, particularly in the face of an ever-expanding tide of a global variety of L2

English seemingly devoid of ethnic culture. The authors term this variety Englic, which presages the concept of the English as an International Language (EIL) by several years. While the notion of such a culture-free variety is somewhat farcical insofar as its lack of overt culture is itself a tenet of some sort of underlying ethnolinguistic identity, the idea is of contrastive interest to any complete discussion of the intergroup contexts of NAE varieties within a context dominated by MUSE.

If Bourhis et al. (1981) and Hildebrandt and Giles (1983) represent the infancy of EV and EI studies, Hogg and Rigoli (1996) represent adolescence. Here, the authors present a survey of young professional second generation Italians in Australia from the perspective of EV and social identity theories. The authors challenge the typical view that SEV and social networks ought to be predictive of an overall EV score. Their instrument is a 146-question survey covering identification, SEV, social networks, Italian competence, and societal (media) support. Using a wide range of statistical calculations including descriptive and basic inferential statistics, factor analysis, and multiple regressions, they confirm their seemingly unintuitive hypotheses, finding that mass media support of Italian is a primary factor in this particular group's EV score.

Nevertheless, the authors are surprisingly reticent about revealing what motivates their suspicions about social networks and SEV, and they, too, seem legitimately surprised about how small a role these two factors (that is, social networks and SEV) play in their data. Their results, moreover, are not strictly generalizable given the uniqueness of the target population. It is unlikely the situation of Oklahoma NAE, for instance, would be parallel given the relative lack of mass media support for NAE, which, outside of a few locally-produced programs, including "Cherokee Voices, Cherokee Sounds,"

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and a few national broadcasts, such as "National Native News" or "Native America Calling," is probably not heard very often by most Oklahomans on television or radio. Additionally, they include no sample questions from their survey. Still, their analysis is intriguing, as is their lengthy discussion of social identification and societal-level support. The article is useful to future research as an example of EV survey methodology as applied to a minority population in an English dominant plural society—a population not unlike Native American communities in the U.S.—and also as a means of using a second interpretive theory, in this case social identity theory to interpret findings. Moreover, they suggest a three-way division of speech communities, including (1) English, (2) standard Italian, and (3) local Italic languages, which a large portion of the target population opts to use instead of standard Italian; this three-way division is similar to that separating MUSE, NAE, and THLs.

More recent work on EV assessment includes Yagmur and Kroon (2006), Ehala and Niglas (2007), and Ehala (2010). The Yagmur and Kroon study is of note in that the authors use both OEV and SEV techniques to draw conclusions about the comparative vitalities of Altai, Kazakh, and Russian in Russia's Republic of Altai. While both languages are seen as endangered, Altai has much greater vitality than Kazakh, a fact borne out primarily through the subjective assessment. The work involving Ehala, including Ehala and Niglas (2006) and Ehala (2010), is rather more numerically-oriented and is intended to provide something more akin to an objective measurement using SEVQ data. Ehala and Niglas, for example, focus on an extremely algebraic calculation of an EV score concerning the Võro-speaking population of Estonia. While the authors admit that the survey was mostly conducted to test their elaborate 60-item questionnaire

and analytic model, they describe the results stemming from an EV survey instrument targeting more than 700 Võro-speaking 9th graders. Võro is shown to have a less than stable EV score. Still, as the model is new, little comparison or reflective interpretation is possible. It is also worth mentioning that the formula appears to have been refined recently to the point where the lead author feels it is now worth expanded application. Ehala (2010) posits a definition of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) as either the disposition toward collective action by an ethnolinguistic group in intergroup (i.e., dominant-subordinate, host-immigrant, etc.) contexts, or the degree of its ethnocentrism and impermeability of its ethnic borders. Additional factors of importance include perceived group strengths, intergroup discord, social distance of the two, and the overall orientation toward utilitarianism or traditionalism. Resulting scores predict the likelihood of several outcomes, including integration, assimilation, segregation, and marginalization of a group. While the author's model is indeed ambitious, Ehala does not provide adequate scales and guidelines for the creation of the ordinal data necessary to use the formula—a disappointing flaw.

As far as the state of the art of EV assessment is concerned, it seems that the most important refinements to come along are adaptations to contexts involving more than two ethnolinguistic communities, such as Hogg and Rigoli (1996) and Yagmur and Kroon (2006). Meanwhile the concepts of EV and EI set forth in the early 1980s still seem to be important touchstones; Ehala (2010), for example, does not stray far from Bourhis et al.'s (1981) SEVQ, but rather adds to it. In other words, the foundations of EV/EI studies are strong, and SEV assessment in particular, insofar as it involves direct inquiry of members

of ethnolinguistic communities, seems to be of value in assessing the overall vitality of ethnic and speech communities in inter-group settings.[7]

It may seem, then, that any researcher attempting to measure the vitality of an ethnolinguistic community today would do well to hew close to some of the landmark subjective vitality models, including Bourhis et al.'s original (1981) questionnaire and Hogg and Rigoli's (1996) adaptation of this model to a three-way community division. Likewise, one could argue that the other available models appear not to have advanced the theory in demonstrably important ways. However, contributors to a 2011 special issue of the *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* devoted entirely to ethnolinguistic vitality have attempted to show, instead, that classic SEVQ-based approaches to EV assessment are insufficient in terms of their overall validity:

> SEVQ scores underestimate actual language maintenance behaviour . . . do not
> depend on the nature of the immediate sociolinguistic environment . . . and do not
> correlate with ethnic media usage and the extent of bilingualism . . . yet correlate
> with the perceptions of inter-ethnic discordance . . . These findings seem to
> suggest that the vitality scores are not directly related to the subjects'
> ethnolinguistic behaviour. As the whole idea of this instrument is to differentiate
> between subjects who are likely to maintain their language and those who might
> prefer social mobility into the dominant majority, its inability to differentiate is
> critical to the validity of the instrument. (Ehala, 2011, p. 188)

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[7] EV studies also constitute a potentially a "high mileage" research program wherein further ethnographic observation in the field can be used, say, to assess any predictive conclusions for a given ethnolinguistic community.

Nevertheless, I contend that the benefits of EV assessment extend far beyond mere attempts to identify "those who might prefer social mobility into the dominant majority". Rather, I see the use of the EV assessment as a useful window into the language ideologies of respondents, particularly as a means of piecing together an overall view of the more automatic attitudes that might be missed through interview. As such, I am less concerned with EV as a pure methodology in and of itself than I am with its use as a single tool in the broader context of language attitude research. While the criticisms of SEVQs may well be valid, I will leave these to social psychologists to sort out and will see fit to remain with a methodology that is still proudly used today, even by its fiercest detractors: "Four of the papers in this volume have used Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaires (SEVQ) as part of their empirical research" (Ehala, 2011, p. 187). I will, however, modify it as needed to apply specifically to my particular interest and research contexts.

2.6.1 Available repertoires and ethnolinguistic identities. A word or two about repertoires and identities is in order, particularly in the context of Native Americans. McCarty (2008) establishes new definitions for the concepts of mother tongue and heritage language to promote consideration of Native American languages (THLs) as members of both classes, i.e., as heritage mother tongues, even in contexts of extreme obsolescence, such as when there is no THL speech community. She does so in the context of examining key issues in the language shift of such languages. What is especially intriguing about this is that her classification of Native American languages as heritage mother tongues runs counter to common definitions of both terms, which presume the existence of identifiable speech communities. However, McCarty argues that

these languages are durable indices of identity and sovereignty for ethnolinguistic communities even when unspoken for generations; she cites the case of Wampanoag—revitalization attempts after a century of disuse of the THL—as a meaningful example of ethnolinguistic survival despite the complete loss of a speech community.

If McCarty is right about this, then it is reasonable to assume that Natives may view their THLs as available repertoires even when they do not speak them—indeed, even when no one speaks them. While the code itself may be immediately unavailable to individual members, its powerful ethnicity indices still remain, including solidarity with other members of the group who share a collective self-identity. In this way, collective knowledge and/or use of a word or two of a now dormant—as opposed to extinct—THL may be viewed as sufficient for conceptualizing a viable speech community for a tribe (consider also Ahler's, 2006, description of Native Language as Identity Marker).

Anderson (1991) discusses similar phenomena in the context of the rise of the contemporary nation through shared senses of identity. He calls these institutions "imagined communities," which he defines as "an imagined political community—and imagined as inherently limited and sovereign" (p. 6). The most salient part of his definition in terms of the discussion at hand is what Anderson has to say about the notion of community: ". . . regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" (p. 7). Note that such fraternalism cuts both ways: If the assumption of knowledge of all available repertoires for a particular ethnolinguistic community is extended to all members, then not using one or more of these repertoires in contexts that members have deemed

appropriate may be seen not only as an intentional challenge to the community itself but also as out-group rather than in-group social identity.

2.6.2 Vitality metaphors. Finally, it is worthy of mention that the concept of vitality, as famously codified in Fishman's (1991, p. 87) eight-stage Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) of endangerment, is somewhat different from the notion of ethnolinguistic vitality. Nevertheless, the two rely on the same metaphor of biological health to convey meaning. While Fishman's vitality is a measure of how many and which speakers are using a language and with whom, EV is essentially a measure of the community's sense of self. It is true that part of that sense of self is linguistic and not just ethnic. The other side of that coin, though, is that part is ethnic and not linguistic—both components are part of an EV assessment. Consider, for instance, the case of a Native ethnic community without a corresponding THL speech community, such as the Wampagoag case in McCarty (2008). In the Fishman model, there is no THL vitality whatsoever in this community, but EV scores may still be quite high since community members have a strong sense of ethnic identity, even in the absence of a viable THL speech community. They may use different speech repertoires as an index of ethnic identity than their forebears did, but they still identify strongly with the ethnic community. In this way, 'vitality' is something of a misleading term in both models, owing in no small part to its reliance on certain metaphors to convey a sense of meaning. Biological vitality conveys a sense of life and health, and the mapping of this to ethnicity and language is not altogether unproblematic.

In fact, as McBride (2013) points out, some critics (e.g., Crawford, 1998; Jaffe, 2007; Muehlmann, 2007) have taken specific issue with the ideological implications of

metaphors employed to frame the discourse on language shift in the sorts of inter-group settings that are common in Indian Country. They challenge what I have termed the *Vitality metaphor* of language, a set of animation- or personification-framed reified mappings of the Topic (real world) domain 'language' with various Vehicle (metaphoric) terms in the domain of 'life,' such as 'endangerment,' 'revitalization,' 'health,' 'revival,' 'living,' 'death,' 'strength,' etc. within the larger frame of biodiversity and the endangerment and protection of biological species. The Vitality metaphor lends itself easily to various biological extensions that make no logical sense in an ethnolinguistic domain.

For instance, Crawford's (1998) discussion of Native American language obsolescence offers a critique of Darwinian extensions of the Vitality metaphor which attribute inadequacies—lexical, for example—to some languages in contemporary social contexts, rendering them less suitable for contemporary use. He argues that language, unlike biological species, is a purely social phenomenon among those with various interests, attitudes, and ideologies (1998, p. 155). Likewise, Muehlmann (2007) argues that the Vitality metaphor relies on concepts of ecological/biological diversity privileging romantic notions of purity and inter- (as opposed to intra-) linguistic variation, thus perpetuating not merely an imagined indigeneity, but an essentialist and monolithic indigeneity as defined by the mainstream rather than, in this case, minority speech communities. This results in an institutional denial of agency of the obsolescing speech communities. Similarly, Jaffe (2007), in discussing Corsican's polynomic status, characterizes this sort of essentializing discourse as 'ecological/biological metaphors of language diversity' (Vitality metaphor) plus a belief that a language is a unique

conceptual code that can be documented and enumerated alongside the individuals

possessing that code (an additional property-based reification of speech varieties); this

belief presupposes a relationship between language and community devoid of natural,

internal complexities (2007, p. 66). Jaffe offers an alternative mapping of language, not

to code or biology, but to practice. Furthermore, it is this practice that is actually at stake

in any situation where Vitality metaphors may dominate the discussion. The most

important thing to bear in mind in discussions involving the term 'vitality,' then, is that

the concept, be it in the Fishman or EV sense, carries with it much metaphorical baggage

that complicates its application.

2.7 Language Variation in Minority Populations

A number of studies have looked at the situation of choice of language variety in

settings where minority ethnic and speech communities come up against larger

mainstream communities. For instance, Pease-Alvarez (2002) discusses the persistence of

Spanish use among immigrant populations in the U.S. as a challenge to traditional three-

generation models of minority population bilingualism decay. Pease-Alvarez employs

sets of intergenerational interviews spaced seven years apart among Mexican Americans

to assess the choice of available varieties, in this case English-only, Spanish-only, or

English-Spanish bilingualism. While results demonstrate the community's enthusiasm

toward all varieties, Spanish remains a key index of Mexican identity. Additionally, the

author shows that parents promote Spanish mostly out of variety insecurity, and are

generally less accepting of code-switching. She compares the change in language use

contexts over time to argue that no existing model explains all bilingual trajectories.

These findings are interesting affirmations of additive bilingualism (i.e., one that

preserves L1 use while encouraging L2 use) over subtractive models (i.e., those that emphasize replacement of L1 by L2), and they also demonstrate alternatives to language obsolescence, especially inasmuch as a Spanish bilingualism model enjoys high EV despite similar threats faced by Native American communities, which may have comparatively low EV scores.

Like Pease-Alvarez, Chavira (2013) looks at the powerful poles of Spanish and English in the ethnically mixed community of El Paso, Texas. It is interesting to note here that the Spanish-English bilingualism discussed above takes on the loosely corresponding form of *Spanglish,* which Chavira defines as an intrasentential code-switching-intensive amalgam of Spanish and English, and one that is perceived within its speech community as a separate variety from both Spanish and English. She arrives at this definition through interview data with respondents. Chavira's study, which is based largely on Gal's (1978) work on German and Hungarian language choice in Austria, involves the careful examination of language choice in a number of discourse contexts and compares these across various sociolinguistic demographic variables, including sex, age, and social class. In this way, she is able to show the domains for which each variety has particular salience for which groups of people. This study is of particular importance to the discussion of NAE and its EV insofar as the situation among Natives in Oklahoma also involves the choice between three codes that are hard to tease apart at times: Bear in mind Leap's (1976) observation of the simultaneous availability of separate English codes for individual speakers and also Bartelt's (2001) conjecture about context-specific code choice in Native communities.

Another related code situated somewhere between Spanish and English may have especially strong analogies with NAE. Chicano English (CE) is a mostly monolingual English vernacular spoken by Latinos in the U.S (Wolfram & Schilling Estes, 2006, p. 197). Fought (2003) offers a particularly detailed view of CE as spoken in Los Angeles. She describes it as a non-standard but grammatical rule-based English variety spoken mostly by Mexican Americans, including both English monolinguals and Spanish-English bilinguals from across the socioeconomic spectrum. She notes that CE is especially distinct from Spanglish in that it is not particularly code-switching-intensive. Note that a typical language choice scenario for the monolingual English segment of CE speakers consists of two English varieties, MUSE and CE. For these individuals, Spanish may be best described as a heritage language, one that may still be used from time to time in the home or local community, or perhaps one for which a CE speaker may have some degree of receptive proficiency. But, Spanish availability is not guaranteed for every CE speaker; for some, English mono- and bidialectalism are the primary options in any given social situation. This is very much like the expected case among Oklahoma Natives, who may not have command of a THL given the overwhelming trend toward obsolescence in the state, and who may have to choose between MUSE and NAE as the context dictates.

In a specifically Native-oriented study, Romero-Little, McCarty, Zepeda, and Warhol (2007) report on a large-scale, five-year research study of Native American language shift consisting of both surveys and interviews of hundreds of school children in Native communities in the Southwestern U.S. Preliminary findings of the study show that all youth surveyed value speaking English, and nearly all find speaking a Native American language important. Ironically, though, less than half of those surveyed find

learning heritage languages important. Most want more acquisition and use opportunities, but conflicting educational policy prevents success without extensive family and community support. The authors' discussion affirms a form of additive bilingualism that recognizes the legitimacy of English varieties and directly indexes both NAE varieties and THLs. In this way, the study offers useful conceptual grounding for viewing both NAE and THL use as two communicative options available to the same ethnolinguistic community. Along with Ehala and Niglas's (2007) study of the minority Võro population of Estonia, which has also experienced extensive shift toward a dominant language, this study highlights how young people are excellent sources of data on the linguistic landscape of a community. Also, the article clearly presents the major challenges to Native American ethnic and NAE speech community EV.

2.8 Summary

Native American English (NAE) is a well-known and stereotyped but complex social phenomenon in the U.S. and Canada existing as a set of Native-oriented ethnic English varieties. NAE varieties may operate in tribal communities side by side with mainstream English varieties, from which they may diverge to a greater or lesser degree. They may occasionally operate side by side with tribal heritage languages (THLs), too. NAE is a comparatively understudied phenomenon. Pragmatically, NAE use involves a host of features, verbal and non-verbal, that serve in the establishment of a sense of ethnic authenticity and solidarity. The history of NAE is tied tightly to the history of Oklahoma. Within the state, there are certain identifiable features of NAE that, at least in the 1980s, bore some resemblance to features of Southwest NAE, but these are very poorly described. Also owing to the history of the state, Native communities in

Oklahoma, while still concentrated in their former reservation areas, have substantial social contact with non-Natives. The heritage languages for these communities are rapidly obsolescing, and mainstream U.S. English use is widespread in the social environment.

The language regard framework offers a perspective on how beliefs and attitudes—conscious or subconscious, even those that may have more to do with social rather than linguistic phenomena—affect linguistic behaviors, particularly the reception of noticed stimuli, through reactions. A folk linguistic approach is especially suited to investigating such beliefs and attitudes through the use of techniques targeting the non-expert whose systems of regard have been informed by everyday social interactions. Some techniques associated with this tradition include interviews, surveys, and perceptual maps.

Some of the conceptual inconsistencies between the language regard of individuals and groups can be alleviated by describing them in terms of language ideologies. These are patterns of language regard tenets shared in part or in whole by members of communities of belief. Ideologies are characterized by their multiplicities of possible sets of tenets, multiplicities of levels of observation (individual-to-group or group-to-individual), multiplicities of associated social relationships and identities, and multiplicities of individual beliefs and attitudes.

Ethnolinguistic identity is a feature of ethnic and speech community groupings that view themselves as distinct. These groups may be said to experience some degree of ethnolinguistic vitality (EV) that allows the group to operate in a more or less cohesive fashion with respect to other groups in the social environment. High EV groups may fare

better socially than low EV groups, who may suffer stigmatization and possibly language shift. There are several methods for assessing EV, including questionnaires submitted to members of the community for the purpose of gathering data on various social factors believed to play a part in EV. These subjective EV questionnaires (SEVQs) take several forms, but all measure individual community member perceptions of the comparative vitality of the groups in question. In Native communities, it is possible that the EV of the ethnolinguistic group is such that, even without established THL speech communities, members may still identify with THLs and view their use as indices of shared nationality. There are problems associated with the metaphoric use of the term 'vitality' that may work against its application in minority language settings.

Minority ethnolinguistic communities have a number of repertoires available to them depending on discourse context. In the U.S., these repertoires may involve heritage languages and mainstream U.S. English, but also other English varieties that exist in the discourse spaces between heritage language-dominant and mainstream U.S. English-dominant contexts. Examples of such middle varieties include Spanglish and Chicano English for Latino communities and NAE for Natives. Among Natives, choice of repertoire is complicated by the availability (or absence) of THL learning opportunities, their strong ethnic index, and their perceived lack of daily importance.

2.9 Looking Forward to Method and Expectations of Findings

Let us quickly review the three-fold purpose of this research. First, I sought to identify how Oklahoma Natives define Native American English within the state. Second, I sought to identify any of their attitudes that might affect choice of Native American English in various social contexts. Third, I sought to uncover something about

the ethnolinguistic vitality of the overall community across several different levels of

identity. I hope that it is now clear how I went about pursuing these objectives. I adopted

a folk linguistic approach, recruiting a number of non-linguist Native Americans in

Oklahoma as my primary research participants. Through a combination of interview,

computer-mediated survey, and perceptual mapping techniques, I uncovered information

about the participants' attitudes toward the three sets of language varieties in question,

namely the state's tribal heritage languages, Native American English varieties, and

mainstream U.S. English or its regional analogs. Through the interviews and maps, I

learned more about their mostly conscious attitudes as well as their definitions of the

language varieties in question. In the survey, my aim was to learn more about their

mostly subconscious attitudes regarding the vitality and domains of use for these same

varieties. Finally, I considered the data from both an individual and a group perspective

in terms of language ideologies.

At the onset of the study, I expected to find a multitude of competing individual

definitions of NAE from which a more or less stable core would emerge that could be

used as a starting point in future research on Oklahoma NAE, as well as some intriguing

peripheral features that might yield interesting results through increased study. This

turned out to be the case. I expected to find my respondents' attitudes about NAE perhaps

equally disparate, mostly as a function of the social position Natives occupy in a state

where Natives and non-Natives are not isolated from one another to the degree they are in

a reservation state. This also turned out to be the case. Still, I expected to find that they

could identify the locations of the highest NAE use in large Native population centers;

the respondents were able to do this, even given a number of logistical challenges which I

will discuss in chapter 4. Given the comprehensibility of NAE coupled with its ability to

index Native ethnicity, I expected to find its vitality rather high—certainly higher than

THLs and possibly even higher than MUSE. As a result of my analysis, I came to a very

different conclusion than my initial hypothesis, namely, that NAE had very low

subjective EV for the participants. I also expected to find a great deal of difficulty in

modifying the subjective vitality survey instrument for this context and then interpreting

the data that it might yield. This was most definitely the case.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I outline the steps taken in the design and implementation of my

study as well as the analysis of the data collected therefrom. I begin with a recap of the

research questions and a very brief overview of the methodology showing the broad

strokes of how the steps I took attempted to address those questions. This is followed by

a number of sections that provide much finer detail about the population and sample, the

materials used, the data collection procedures, and analytical treatment of the data.

3.1 Purpose

The specific goals of my study were as follows:

1. To identify how Native American members of the expected Native

   American English speech community in Oklahoma define the variety;

2. To identify key attitudes toward Native American English use and

   expectation of use in Oklahoma, including especially those attitudes, both

   conscious and subconscious, that may affect language variety choice in

   various social contexts; and

3. To investigate the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of NAE within its

   Oklahoma ethnic and speech communities in comparison to THLs and

MUSE, particularly in terms of the social factors that may contribute to language variety choice as well as the social and geographical domains of these varieties, in the hopes of informing future Native American English research.

3.1.1 Organization. This chapter is organized as follows. I provide a basic overview of my research study in section 3.2. I discuss the population and sample in section 3.3. In section 3.4, I discuss all the materials used in the study. Finally, in section 3.5, I discuss the procedures I followed to conduct the study and analyze the data.

3.2 Overview

Over the course of fifteen months, 27 self-identified Native American adults of various tribal affiliations ranging in age from 18 to 76 and residing in Oklahoma were recruited from a convenience sample to participate in this study. Because of the folk linguistic approach of the study, none of these participants were linguists, although two (Jack and Wazhazhe) were professional teachers of THLs. All 27 completed a sociolinguistic interview that featured a reading task and an optional perceptual dialectological draw-a-map task that 23 completed (see Appendix A, p.288). The items in this instrument were designed to provide participants opportunities to provide background information about themselves and definitions of NAE across numerous levels of linguistic analysis (cf. research question 1), and also to elicit attitude-rich responses about the nature of their THLs, NAE, and MUSE (cf. research question 2). Additionally, 26 participants also completed a computerized component that included a combination of SEVQ instrument and a language variety choice-by-context task (cf. research question 3). Note that the one participant (George) who did not complete the computerized

component was confined to a hospital bed at the time of participation, making the placement of the computer unwieldy.

After the data collection, the data from the interviews were transcribed and coded using a theme-based approach, mapping data were compiled and analyzed in geographic information systems (GIS) software, and numeric data from the computerized section were analyzed using various statistical treatments. Thematic analysis of the interview data, the resultant perceptual dialectological maps, and various trends in the numeric questionnaire data were then compared for the purpose of discovering meaningful connections and patterns. A series of general statements about the EV of NAE and some of the attitudes that affect it were then generated based upon this comparative analysis. This discussion was then expanded with observations regarding the extent to which individual subjects, as potentially representative of the broader community of Natives in Oklahoma, appear to employ NAE in the co-construction of ethnic social identities, not only with respect to their individual tribal affiliations but also to pan-Indian and other such ethnic communities within the state and beyond.

3.3 Population and Sample

3.3.1. Overview. Basic demographic breakdowns for the participants are given in Tables 1 and 2. Several important notes about the demographic categories used in the tables are in order. First, all participants are known by pseudonyms. All but eight participants chose these names for themselves. The others either opted not to choose a pseudonym or chose a predictable variant of their given name (e.g., Bill for William); these participants were simply assigned pseudonyms in the interest of de-linking the participants' data from their signed consent forms. Note that several participants chose

two-word pseudonyms; these have been shortened to only one-word to save space.

Second, from the outset of the study, two social variables, sex and age, were chosen for

the purpose of filling statistical cells during recruitment; other variables were under

consideration during the analysis, but these two act as the primary divisions between

participants in Table 1. The sex breakdown is 15 females to 12 males. Age is divided into

two groups, 18 to 47 (classified as younger, n = 15) and 48 and up (classified as older, n

= 12)[8]. Third, categories of tribal affiliation, blood quantum, and THL proficiency relate

only to the single tribal group with which a subject identifies the most; this tribal group,

which the participant was entirely free to specify, was known during data collection as

the participant's Primary Tribe (PT) of affiliation. Fourth, an asterisk (*) beside PT

affiliation indicates additional tribal affiliations for a given participant. A subject with

multiple tribal affiliations will obviously have a larger *overall* blood quantum and may

have proficiency in additional THLs. Fifth, blood quantum refers to the degree of lineal

descent from a PT as claimed by a participant regardless of certification of this figure on

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[8] The age break of 47, though seemingly arbitrary, represents both the mean age of all participants
as well as the mean of the two extreme participant ages, 18 and 76; the median of all participant
ages is 45. There are obviously other ways of discriminating older participants from younger
ones, including, perhaps most noteworthy, Title VI guidelines for the classification of tribal
Elders for the purpose of nutritional and support service eligibility determination. However, such
eligibility guidelines are not universal. Consider this description of Title VI from the federal
Administration on Aging's website:

> Unlike Title III, which requires participants to be at least 60 years old to receive services,
> Title VI allows [Indian Tribal Organizations] and agencies serving Native Hawaiians to
> specify the minimum age (which generally ranges between 45 and 60) for participants to
> receive nutrition and support services. (Ponza et al., 1996, ch. 1, para. 15)

Thus, the break not only fits the data, but also falls within guidelines for Native American Elder
determination found elsewhere.

a Bureau of Indian Affairs-issued Certificate of Degree of Indian Blood. Finally, THL

proficiency refers to a participant's self-selection of productive proficiency level in the

THL(s) associated with a PT from one of five otherwise undefined categories: "nothing, a

few words or phrases, beginning speaker, intermediate speaker, advanced speaker."

Table 1
Primary demographics of female research participants (by age, n = 15)

Participant	Age	Residence	PT Affiliation	PT Blood Quantum	THL Proficiency
Christy	18	Round Rock, TX [a]	Keetoowah* [b]	1/2	Words & phrases
Niclup	26	Tulsa	Chickasaw	5/32	Nothing
Angela	27	Newkirk	Ponca	1/4	Nothing
Raven	28	Ponca City	Apache	1/4	Nothing
Miss	38	Pawhuska	Osage*	1/4	Intermediate
Susan	42	Red Rock	Ponca	1/4	Words & phrases
Pooh	43	Stillwater	Cherokee [b]	1/4	Words & phrases
Sefil	44	Pawhuska	Osage	3/8	Beginning
Jackie	45	Claremore	Kiowa*	1/2	Words & phrases
Hanwegumi	51	Ponca City	Otoe-Missouria	3/8	Words & phrases
Amanda	55	Ponca City	Ponca	1/2	Words & phrases
Dina	60	Ponca City	Cree*	1/8	Words & phrases
Wazhazhe	61	Pawhuska	Osage	3/4	Intermediate
Nelly	65	Pawhuska	Cherokee [b]	1/2	Beginning
Maryanne	74	Okmulgee	Mvskokee*[c]	5/8	Words & phrases

Notes: [a] Christy is originally from Oklahoma. She moved to Texas as a child but has maintained close ties with relatives back home. While she currently resides in Stillwater, Oklahoma to attend college, she still considers her parents' home in Texas her permanent address.
[b] There are two federally-recognized Cherokee tribal groups in Oklahoma, the Cherokee Nation and the United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma, listed above as Cherokee and Keetoowah, respectively.
[c] Participants provided spellings for their own PT affiliations. There are numerous spellings referring to the people of the Muscogee (Creek) Nation, including Muscogee, Muskogee, Mvskoke, Mvskokee, etc.

Table 2
Primary demographics of male research participants (by age, n = 12)

Participant	Age	Residence	PT Affiliation	PT Blood Quantum	Primary THL Proficiency
James	26	Miami	Quapaw	1/32	Beginning
Rowdy	33	Clinton [a]	Kiowa	1/4	Words & phrases
John	36	Hominy	Osage*	1/8	Beginning
Jack	41	Claremore	Osage, Quapaw* [c]	3/8	Intermediate
Jesse	43	Pawhuska	Cherokee	3/16	Words & phrases
Richard	45	Midwest City	Osage*	1/2	Words & phrases
Harold	48	Park Hill	Cherokee	1/4	Words & phrases
Bobby	55	Tulsa [b]	Osage*	1/4	Words & phrases
Denvvis	63	Norman	Caddo*	1/2	Words & phrases
Tenuhpuh	63	Pawnee	Comanche	1/2	Beginning
Little	65	Ponca City	Kaw*	1/4	Words & phrases
George	76	Okmulgee	Creek [d]	15/16	Advanced [e]

Notes: [a] Rowdy is originally from the Oklahoma City metro area, where he spent most of his life. He moved to Clinton for work just two months prior to his participation in this study.
[b] Bobby is originally from the Tulsa metro area, where he spent most of his life. He moved to Pawhuska within the last several years, but still considers himself a Tulsan.
[c] Jack considers himself equally Osage and Quapaw but has additional tribal affiliations.
[d] There are several federally-recognized Creek tribal groups in Oklahoma. Maryanne from Table 1 and George from Table 2 both belong to the Muscogee (Creek) Nation.
[e] George is an L1 Creek speaker, L2 English speaker.

3.3.2 Recruitment. Recruitment occurred in three phases beginning in the fall of 2012 (n = 7), continuing through the summer of 2013 (n = 10), and ending in the winter of 2014 (n = 10). The 27 total participants were a convenience sample of non-linguist Native American adults recruited mostly from northern Oklahoma households by means of Internet-based recruitment postings to the social networking site Facebook and also via several listserv postings from the Coordinator of Multicultural Affairs at Oklahoma State University. Other recruitment made use of snowballing, i.e., friend-of-a-friend

associations from other participants. A mixed-blood Cherokee and a novice-to-intermediate speaker of Cherokee, Osage, and Kaw myself, I was personally acquainted with 16 of the participants; shared ethnicity and personal connection, when available, was assumed necessary for candid discussion and spontaneous use of both NAE and THLs (spontaneous THL use occurred in twelve of the interviews, primarily Osage and Cherokee). The vast majority of participants, 19, completed their interviews at private residences in northern and central Oklahoma, while six were interviewed at places of business, and two in university libraries—Oklahoma State University-Tulsa and University of Central Oklahoma in Edmond. Figure 2 shows the residences of the participants within the state of Oklahoma. After completion of the research participation, the seven participants from the first recruitment phases were registered for a drawing for two $50 gift cards as participation incentive; the drawing was held in July of 2013. Due to a later-awarded dissertation fellowship (the Robberson Trust Summer Dissertation Fellowship), the final set of participants were each paid $20 for their participation.
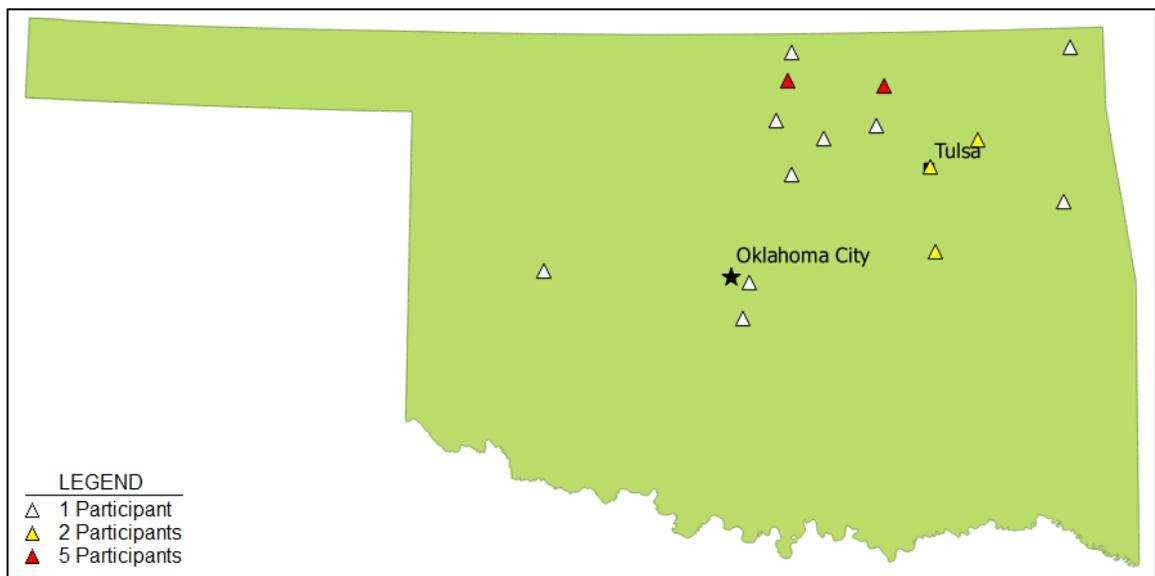
Figure 2. Residences of Research Participants.

3.4 Materials

The materials used in this study consisted of those used for collecting and analyzing the interview data (including those used for collecting and analyzing the perceptual mapping data) and those used for collecting and analyzing the survey data. Let us look at each in greater detail.

3.4.1 Interview materials. See Appendix A (p. 285) for a complete copy of the interview instrument. The instrument consisted of a series of questions divided into six sections: Personal History; Early Attitudes and Experiences; "Talk like an Indian"; Current Attitudes and Experiences; Elicitation; and Debriefing. All but the last two of these sections consisted of a single, very general question, and a number of possible follow-up questions. The idea here was to allow for both (1) those participants who may be reluctant to provide additional information without careful prompting, and (2) those participants who may be loquacious enough to touch on many of the desired follow-up topics in their responses to the general question. For example, the "Talk like an Indian" section began with the general question: *What does it mean to "talk like an Indian"?* Some of the possible follow up questions included: *Can you tell a person here is Native just by talking on the phone with them? If so, what is it about their voice or their speech sounds that gives it away? What words, phrases, or sentences do Natives from Oklahoma use more frequently than others? How about less frequently?* And so forth.

The Personal History section consisted of questions for eliciting basic demographic data, including age, tribal affiliation(s), blood quantum, primary level of identity (e.g., member of a tribe, Native American, Oklahoman, American, etc.), provenance, and general life history. The Early Attitudes and Experiences section

consisted of questions pertaining to childhood exposure to Native ethnic and speech communities. It included questions regarding the participant's L1, any L2 proficiency, proximity to tribal people, experiences with family or friends speaking a THL, contexts for THL use, and basic attitudes about THLs and NAE.

The "Talk like an Indian" section was designed specifically to help elicit definitions of NAE across several levels of linguistic description. For instance, one series of questions related to voice quality, phonology, and prosody[9], while others related to lexical and syntactic features, discourse topics and contexts, general NAE attitudes, and the sociolinguistic variables of age, sex, and rurality. This section also contained the prompt for the perceptual draw-a-map task, which consisted of a blank outline of Oklahoma with simple shapes representing Oklahoma City and Tulsa, the two largest

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[9] I was particularly interested in these phenomena owing to the fact that they often represent the feature of NAE most talked about—both in the scholarly literature and on the street. Consider, for instance, Leap's comment below from a larger discussion of NAE stress, pitch, and juncture:

> I infer that Indian English intonation contours are generally somewhat distinct from those of standard English, given the observance of non-Indians that Indian English speakers talk in subdued tones, show little expression or emotion in their voices, speak in a monotone, or speak in a singsong voice. Non-Indian schoolteachers make these comments, and so do others who interact regularly with Indian English speakers in contexts characterized by unequal distributions of power. There is overlap, and possibly reinforcement, here with the rules of verbal etiquette that structure discourse in these settings; the interplay of phonology and pragmatics here has not been examined, to my knowledge, in any study of Indian English intonation. (1993a, p. 52).

Elsewhere, Leap says of Cheyenne English, "such usage results in sentence constructions . . . which sound 'choppy' and 'syncopated' to non-Indian listeners and reinforce negative conclusions about other areas of the speakers' English skills" (1993a, p. 50). For a very recent study on NAE pitch and prosody, particularly in its enforcement of shared ethnic identity among Natives in the U.S. and Canada, see Newmark, Walker, and Stanford (forthcoming).

metropolitan areas in the state. Instructions invited participants to draw areas representing areas of the state with the strongest and weakest Native American-accented English. Additionally, participants were verbally encouraged to label these areas however they saw fit.

The Current Attitudes and Experiences section contained questions concerning participants' use of language(s) nowadays, including THL code-switching, self-assessment of degree of NAE accent, listener expectations in social contexts, general attitudes about THLs and MUSE, self-assessment of MUSE proficiency, and assessments of the MUSE proficiency of Natives as a whole. Following this section, participants were asked to read a one-paragraph reading passage and a word list, which were also used in several other studies from Oklahoma State University's RODEO project, including Bakos (2013), McBride (2013, Winter), and Weirich (2013); note, however, the addition of several words to the list to provide additional contrasts that were underrepresented in the original, such as those relating to the PIN/PEN merger. These reading materials were printed on a single sheet of paper, which was then folded, yielding the paragraph and the list above and below the fold, respectively. While this was not an ideal situation for the reading list insofar as seeing the end of a line can yield unintended intonation effects, the participants managed to maintain fairly consistent intonation, perhaps as the result of the fact that reading aloud from lists is not a typical reading behavior; this fact, though, carries with it additional undesirable ramifications regarding careful and casual speech. Finally, there was a single-question briefing inviting the participants to share additional information, ask questions, or provide commentary about the study itself.

This semi-structured interview instrument was intended for use in a relaxed, conversational style with a fair amount of spontaneous back-and-forth between the participants and me. All of the interviews during the first phase of the study were recording using a Zoom H4n Handi-Recorder and its built-in stereo microphones at a distance of several feet from the participants. After receipt of the Robberson Trust Summer Dissertation Fellowship award in 2013, however, additional equipment was purchased, including two high-quality AKG condenser microphones and head-mounts (regrettably, though, the arrangement of later interview spaces did not always facilitate the use of the condenser microphones, which required additional power and long cords). Recordings were made, regardless of the microphones used, at standard CD-quality, i.e., two-channel/stereo format using 16-bit PCM encoding at a 44.1 kHz sampling rate. These were then converted to .wav files for storage as digital files and to .mp3 files for transcription purposes. The analytical treatment of the interview data involved the use of two pieces of software. Nuance Dragon Naturally Speaking 12.0 voice-to-text software was used in the rough transcription of the interviews. QSR Nvivo10 was used for aligning those transcriptions to interview audio, for coding the responses to the interview questions by participant, for qualitatively identifying recurring themes in the responses, for coding those themes as such, and for organizing all codes for sorting by any number of categories. Final analysis of interview data was conducted on a Toshiba Satellite L850 laptop.

Pre-drawn maps for the draw-a-map tasks were printed off on single sheets of paper that could be easily distributed, drawn on, and labeled. Completed maps were scanned in at 300 dpi and then processed in GIS software; QuantumGIS 2.0.1 Dufour was

primarily used, but Esri Arc 10 was used for final aggregation and smoothing operations using techniques as described in Montgomery and Stoeckle (2013). Map processing included the georeferencing of scanned map images, the generation of polygon vectors and attribute table references for each participant-defined area (the attributes contained demographic facts about the individual participants and information specifically related to the polygons they submitted, including any labeling and/or shape concerns—e.g., labels without corresponding shapes or vice versa), aggregation though self-union of vectors and overlap frequency calculation, and final statistical smoothing of the resulting raster images, which were then converted to .pdf format.

3.4.2 Survey materials. The computer-mediated instrument was presented via Cedrus SuperLab 4.5 experimental stimulus software, first on an Apple MacBook on loan from Oklahoma State University's Linguistics Lab and later, after my receipt of the Robberson Trust Summer Dissertation fellowship, a Toshiba Satellite L850 laptop of my own. The instrument (see Appendix B, p. 291) consisted of four sections, a demographic data collection section, a randomized 24-item SEVQ modeled largely on work done by Bourhis et al. (1981), Hogg and Rigoli (1996), and Ehala and Niglas (2007), a randomized nine-item questionnaire about language choice in various social contexts, and a lengthy experimental photographic judgment routine that will not be discussed further in this dissertation. Let us look at each of the first three sections in greater detail.

The demographic section introduced the mechanics of entering responses and walked the participants through items, both multiple-choice and open-ended, concerned with the collection of basic background information. The items collected information on participant sex, age, provenance, Primary Tribe(s) of affiliation, other tribal affiliations,

blood quantum for Primary Tribe(s), self-assessment of proficiency with the THL(s) associated with Primary Tribe(s), an assessment of the number of beginning-level THL proficiency speakers in the Primary Tribe(s), a self-assessment of the degree of activity in Primary Tribal activities and affairs, and first-and-foremost identification (e.g., a member of the Primary Tribe(s); a Native American; a citizen of a city, county, or state; an American; or something altogether different), which the participant could identify.

The Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality questionnaire (SEVQ) component in this study was adapted from that of Bourhis et al. (1981) for use in a three-way division (cf. Hogg & Rigoli, 1996) between the ethnic groupings[10] of Primary Tribal affiliation (PT), Native Americans as a whole (NA), and the Oklahoma mainstream (MS), as well as the speech-based groupings of THLs, NAE, and MUSE varieties of language use—or, rather, for the presumption of the participants' perceptions of identifiable PT, NA, and MS ethnic groupings and THL, NAE, and MUSE speech-based groupings. This is because the subjective perception of groupings (e.g., ethnolinguistic communities) is actually the closest an SEVQ assessment can come to either the ethnicity or language.

In the original SEVQ—which deals with Greek-Australians in Melbourne—for each item in the questionnaire, an impressionistic question is asked regarding the vitality of three ethnic or speech groupings within a specific social domain. Respondents are then prompted to rate the two ethnolinguistic communities on a seven-point Likert scale specifically tailored for each individual question. While several items specifically target

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[10] Recall from section 2.5.3 above (p. 43) that, in this study, the word 'group' describes any contextual groupings an individual belongs to but does not identify, 'community' describes those an individual both belongs to and identifies with, and '(contextual) grouping' is the general term for both of these, and may also refer to groups an individual may not belong to.

the speech side of the ethnolinguistic community, most questions deal instead with facts about the corresponding ethnic grouping. For example, an ethnicity-related item from the Bourhis et al. SEVQ is as follows:

1. Estimate the *proportion* of the Melbourne population made up of the following groups:

People of British Descent

0%   ___:___:___:___:___:___:___: 100%

People of Greek Descent

0%   ___:___:___:___:___:___:___: 100% (p. 151)

Meanwhile, a speech-related item is as follows:

2. How highly regarded are the following languages in Melbourne?

Greek

not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___: extremely high

English

not at all ___:___:___:___:___:___:___: extremely high (p. 151)

In the SEVQ used in this study, there was a three-way division in these ethnic and speech groupings. For example, items from this study corresponding with those above are as follows:

Please estimate the percentage of the Oklahoma population made up by the following groups.

	0-17%						84-100%
PT		1	2	3	4	5	6
	0-17%						84-100%
NA		1	2	3	4	5	6
	0-17%						84-100%
MS		1	2	3	4	5	6

On the whole, how much regard is there for the following language varieties in

Oklahoma?

	no or low regard						very high regard
THL		1	2	3	4	5	6
	no or low regard						very high regard
NAE		1	2	3	4	5	6
	no or low regard						very high regard
MUSE		1	2	3	4	5	6

There are several things to note about the modifications needed to go from the

Bourhis et al. (1981) SEVQ model to the one used in this study. First of all, notice that

the original seven-point Likert scale has become a six-point scale. This was done to force

a relatively positive or negative response rather than to allow for responses in the middle.

Next, notice that the wording was changed. This was done on the recommendation of an

anonymous Kaw respondent in an informal pilot study (whose response data does not

appear in this study); the wording change was felt to make the items sound more

naturalistic in an Oklahoma context. The same informal pilot participant found the

random re-ordering of ratings objects on an item-by-item basis confusing; notice the

British/English objects appearing first in item one and second in item two in the Bourhis et al. model. While this is an intentional feature of the original model—as is a random re-ordering of scales, from right-most positivity to left-most positivity, on an item-by-item basis—the modification was made for this study to facilitate ease of response by participants.

Most importantly, note the ethnic and speech-based groupings themselves. These three Oklahoma ethnolinguistic groups rather than the original two were operationally defined earlier in the instrument using the loosest of terms (e.g., NAE as "sounding like an Indian when speaking English") to minimize priming effects while maximizing activation of subject attitudes. Be aware also that, while it would, of course, be a mistake to treat all of Oklahoma as a single ethnicity, the fact remains that Native American ethnicities, whether tribal, supratribal or otherwise, do in fact contrast with non-Native ethnicities. All of these groups are pluralistic in nature and composed of individuals with a multiplicity of ethnic identities; even the mainstream as used here includes ethnic Native Americans who would not strongly identify as members of either their tribal or supratribal heritage groups. In other EV studies, say, of African Americans, Vietnamese, etc., Native Americans may well be lumped wholesale in with the mainstream in contrast with such groups. The ethnic composition of the mainstream in even a moderately populated state like Oklahoma is a complex and socially performative (and identity-based) matter far beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say, the mainstream in general is an ad hoc, heterogeneous grouping that can be more or less conceptually durable, as defined largely through contrast with some more cohesive ethnic groupings. Thus, for the purposes of this study, the Oklahoma mainstream is *principally* non-Native.

There were a few other modifications to the original Bourhis et al. (1981) SEVQ. One involved the assessment of contact between the ethnic groups in question. In the original SEVQ, this is handled in a single item:

22. In general, how much contact is there between people of British and Greek descent?

very much___:___:___:___:___:___:___: none at all (p. 155)

All attempts to accomplish the same results in a single item for the present questionnaire resulted in confusing and awkward wordings and ratings procedures that were hard to code in SuperLab. This was because not two, but *three* ethnolinguistic communities were to be compared: PT to NA, PT to MS, and NA to MS. Thus, this single item in the original questionnaire became three separate items in the present study, yielding 24 items for my SEVQ rather than the original 22. Additionally, a brief practice routine using the same general steps introduced the present SEVQ component; no such practice items was available in the original print version of the questionnaire.

The interpretation of SEVQ scores is again based on modifications to Bourhis et al. (1981), and also on Ehala and Niglas (2007, where the variable is known as *cultural mass*), where scores represent the SEV of ethnolinguistic communities as measured across different social factors (called *categories* in this study to avoid ambiguities with the statistical term *factor*). These were general Vitality, Status, Demographic, Institutional Support and Control, and Intergroup Contact. Most of these were further subdivided, though clumsily; ethnic and speech-based grouping measures appeared as separate Status subdivisions but were combined in Institutional Support and Control, which was further divided into somewhat arbitrary formal versus informal subdivisions.

In the present study, the categories have been re-organized into seven categories. These are as follows: General-Ethnic (e.g., "How strong and active do you feel members of the following groups will be within Oklahoma in 20 to 40 years from now?" for future vitality), Status-Ethnic (e.g., "How wealthy do you feel members of the following groups are in Oklahoma today?" for socioeconomics), Status-Speech (e.g., "On the whole, how much regard is there for the following language varieties in Oklahoma?" for in-state regard), Demographic-Ethnic (e.g., "To what extent do members of the following groups in Oklahoma marry other members of the same group?" for endogamy), Institutional-Ethnic (e.g., "How much political power do members of the following groups have in Oklahoma?" for political power), Institutional-Speech (e.g., "How often are the following language varieties used in churches and places of religious observation in Oklahoma?" for religious use), and Contact-Ethnic (e.g., "On average, how much social contact is there between members of your Primary Tribe and Native Americans in general in Oklahoma?" for Primary Tribe versus Natives as a whole). See Figure 3 for a visual representation of the SEVQ taxonomy used in this study.

Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality

I. General	II. Status		III. Demographic	IV. Institutional		V. Contact
Ethnic Community	Ethnic Community	Speech Community	Ethnic Community	Ethnic Community	Speech Community	Ethnic Community
Vitality Now	Cultural Pride	In-State Regard	Birth Rate	Cultural Presence	Business Use	Tribe-Natives
Vitality Later	In-State Regard	Out-of-State Regard	Concentration	Economic Influence	Educational Use	Tribe-Mainstream
	Socioeconomics		Endogamy	Political Power	Government Use	Natives-Mainstream
			Percentage		Media Use	
			Relocation into State		Religious Use	
			Relocation out of State			

Figure 3. SEVQ category and item taxonomy (adapted loosely from Bourhis et al., 1981, p. 149 to fit the present study).

The uneven distribution of ethnicity- and speech -related categories permits more

to be said about ethnicity as a whole than about language variety as a whole, while

allowing the scores to be broken up into three broad super-categories: Ethnic community

vitality; speech community vitality; and overall SEV. With respect to ethnic vitality,

scores are expressed in terms of the subjects' primary tribal ethnicities (PT)[11], Native

American supratribal ethnicity (NA), and the broader mainstream grouping of Oklahoma

(MS) to which Native Americans can conceivably also contribute (see above). Speech

community vitality scores are expressed in terms of THLs—again, treated as an awkward

single grouping—NAE, and MUSE. Overall scores are combinations of both ethnic and

speech communities, expressed as a conflation of primary tribal ethnicities and heritage

languages (PT/THL), Native MUSE (MS/MUSE).

All scores, regardless of sub-category, category, or super-category, were

calculated from Likert-scale ratings as pure percentages of the maximum for each

individual subject, and involved three scores—one for each grouping in question. Thus, a

Likert-scale rating of 1 corresponded to 0% of the highest possible rating for one

grouping on that particular item (which may indicate no vitality for that grouping with

respect to that item), and a rating of 6 corresponded to 100% of the highest possible

rating (which, again, may indicating maximum vitality for that grouping on that item).

Say, for example, that for a single item, a participant rated one speech community as a 6

and the other two as 1s. This would yield a 100% score for one speech community for

this item and 0% score for the other two communities. In short, then a rating of 1

represents 0%, 2 represents 20%, 3 represents 40%, 4 represents 60%, 5 represents 80%,

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[11] I fully admit that treating several tribal groups as a single ethnolinguistic grouping is something

of an overgeneralization, and one that limits how individual and collective scores are discussed.

and 6 represents 100% of the maximum possible rating for any one sub-category. The scales change somewhat depending on the number of items in categories and super-categories (sub-category minimums and maximums must be summed and then compared to new minimum and maximum percentages), but these scores can be calculated using a generic scaling formula:

$$f(x) = \frac{(max_{new} - min_{new})(x - min_{old})}{(max_{old} - min_{old})} + min_{new}$$

Let us see an example. Imagine that a participant scored the Status-Speech category as follows: For the in-state regard sub-category item, she rated THL as 3, NAE as 2, and MUSE as 5; for the out-of-state regard sub-category item, she rated THL as 1, NAE as 1, and MUSE as 4. She, thus, scored the three groupings as having 40%, 20%, and 80% of maximum in-state regard, respectively, and 0%, 0%, and 60% out-of-state regard, respectively. For the larger Status-Speech category as a whole, the new maximum for any one grouping was 12 (6 + 6), and the new minimum 2 (1 + 1), meaning that 2 was now 0% and 12 was now 100%. Applying the scaling formula, we see that she rated her THL as 20% vital in terms of Status-Speech, NAE 10% vital in terms of Status-Speech, and MUSE 70% vital in terms of Status-Speech. In this same way, we could build up a total speech community super-category vitality score by including the other speech category, Institutional-Speech, as well as a total Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality score by including the total ethnic community super-category vitality score. In the end, we would be able to calculate these as simple percentages of subjective vitality of the ethnolinguistic communities in question, PT + THL, NA + NAE, and MS + MUSE, for this participant.

MS Excel 2010 was sufficient for calculating all such percentage of vitality scores in this study. Additional statistical treatment was conducted using IBM SPSS 21.

The third component of the electronic survey component consisted of nine item-randomized questions regarding the subject's social context-dependent language variety preferences for use in determining the extent to which the subject engages in each variety. The nine contexts consisted of auditory materials, close family, close friends, cultural events, print materials, shops/services, sports/hobbies, work/school peers, and work/school superiors. Participants were simply instructed to choose which of the three language varieties they used most often in each context, THL, NAE, or MUSE. These items were integrated into the speech community-oriented items of the SEVQ so that the same operationalizations could be used. Scores here were also calculated using both Excel and SPSS.

Note that there were three different versions of the computerized survey instrument, owing mostly to the fellowship award which allowed for the purchase of new equipment and the subsequent expansion of instruments that the ability to pay participants for their time afforded me. Participants from the first phase of recruitment (Dina, Little, John, Miss, Nelly, Sefil, and Wazhazhe) completed an item-randomized, computer-mediated survey instrument combining a 10-item demographic survey, an 18-item rather than 24-item SEV questionnaire and a nine-item language variety choice-by-context task. The remainder of subjects completed one of two surveys featuring a 10-item demographic component, a 24-item SEV questionnaire, and a nine-item language choice task. These latter two versions were identical except for the order of items in the photographic judgment task, which is not being reported as part of this study. The

differences in the SEVQ between the first and second two versions, however, were substantial. The concentration and percentage sub-categories of Demographic-Ethnic were omitted, as were the out-of-state regard sub-category for Status-Speech and the business use, educational use, and media use sub-categories for Institutional-Speech. The motivation for these time-based omissions, especially those of the speech community vitality items, while regrettable, was simply an awareness of the fact that businesses, schools, and media institutions in the state have historically been hostile to THLs, which in turn are seemingly not known well outside of the state. In the statistical analysis of these categories, empty cells were simply treated as missing data.

3.5 Procedures

In general, the procedures for this study consisted of those relating to data collection and those relating to analysis. Let us look at each more closely.

3.5.1 Data collection. The data collection procedures, while largely the same between the three recruitment phases, differed somewhat between the first group of participants recruited and the latter two groups. The difference was a result of the receipt of fellowship funds, which allowed for the purchase of equipment, the expansion of instruments, and the reimbursement of participants for their time. Thus, participants from the first phase of recruitment (Dina, Little, John, Miss, Nelly, Sefil, and Wazhazhe) were recorded exclusively using the built-in condenser microphones on the Handi-Recorder, completed the shorter of the two main versions of the computerized instrument on an Apple MacBook on loan from Oklahoma State University, and were compensated for their time on a raffle basis; two $50 gift cards were available for drawing as participation incentive. The final set of 20 participants had more sensitive head-mounted microphones

available for recording as conditions permitted, completed longer computerized

components on Toshiba Satellite L850, and were each paid $20 for their participation.

Although an established order for the two major components of the data collection

sessions—interview-based (see Appendix A, p. 285) or computer-based (see Appendix B,

p. 291)—was not a concern in the research design, and all were given the option of

completing the computerized component or not, most participants first completed the

computerized component and then then immediately participated in a semi-structured and

audio-recorded sociolinguistic interview; one from the first group (Miss) and eight from

the latter two groups (Christy, Hanwegumi, Jack, Jackie, Maryanne, Niclup, Raven, and

Tenuhpuh) opted to participate in the interview first. I encouraged paired and group

interviews of all participants to provide opportunities for spontaneous NAE and THL use

between subjects as well with me. Nevertheless, only Dina and Little of the participants

in the first recruitment phase opted for a paired interview. More of the last twenty

participants completed paired interviews. These included pairings of Amanda and

Angela, George and Maryanne, Hanwegumi and Raven, and Jack and Jackie.

The interview questions were open-ended and loosely paralleled the computerized

questionnaire; the subjects also completed mapping and reading tasks during the

interview. The interview questions, which focused mostly on a subject's deliberate or

conscious attitudes (an admittedly all too binary division that serves merely as a quick-

and-dirty division of attitudinal layers) about the SEV of NAE, were designed to allow

opportunities for a subject to expand verbally on topics from the questionnaire, including

descriptions of the language varieties in question. I, therefore, encouraged moderate

drifting from topic to topic (within reason) in hopes of stumbling upon attitudes that were

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not immediately present in the first responses offered. Running times for the interviews ranged between approximately 20 minutes (Nelly) and 150 minutes (Jack and Jackie), with the others lasting on average anywhere from 45 to 65 minutes.

In contrast to the interview, computerized items focused primarily on subjects' automatic or subconscious attitudes (as if they could be separated cleanly from the conscious) toward the social relationships between PT(s), Native Americans as a whole (NA), and the larger Oklahoma mainstream population (MS)—the primary ethnic groups under investigation—and toward THL(s), NAE, and MUSE—the corresponding language varieties—and how these play a role in ethnolinguistic judgments. On average, participants took approximately 30 minutes to complete this component. Note that one participant, George, who was confined to a hospital bed during the data collection session, opted not to complete the computerized component.

3.5.2 Analytic procedures. After data collection, interviews were first converted to .wav and .mp3 formats and then roughly transcribed using Dragon Naturally Speaking. The audio and text components of each were aligned in NVivo. Coding was completed in a two-stage process[12]. First, all interviews were coded by participant for responses to questions from the interview instrument. Thus, a table could be constructed of each participant's response to a given question. Furthermore, at this time demographic information was coded for each participant so that these responses could be sorted by, say, variables of sex or age, Primary Tribe, etc.

Second, the coded response texts were reviewed again for their thematic content. This step was conducted using a classical content analysis of recurring assertion themes

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[12] The reading passage and word list data were not analyzed for the purpose of this study, but I plan to retain these data for future acoustic analysis.

(see Bauer, 2000) in the responses regarding subjects' attitudes on the use of NAE in comparison to the target ethnolinguistic communities. That is, I was looking for patterns of recurring or prominent themes among all the interviewers. For an item to count as a recurring theme from among the responses, it must have been discussed by at least three individuals across all interviews. So, for example, all participants were asked if they could determine if an unknown telephone caller was Native by voice cues alone. If, however, in answering this question, three or more of them responded that they could on the basis of, say, that caller's singsong intonation, then a code would be developed for "singsong intonation." In this way, a single strip of talk was often doubly-coded, once as a response and once as a theme.

Moreover, after re-coding the responses for themes, I then reviewed all interviews looking for themes in the un-coded sections. Note that, on the first pass, I created some would-be theme nodes in Nvivo by virtue of their being mentioned as particularly important for a single individual or being discussing at great length. Some of these themes turned out not to make the cut as a theme in the end because they were not mentioned by at least two other individuals. Likewise, some themes did not emerge as such until the last sets of interviews were re-coded. As such, I had to re-code several interviews to ensure that they were fully dealt with in terms of their theme content.

Bear in mind that coding of a strip of talk as an example of a theme is not sufficient; there can be great disagreement within that theme. For instance, consider the case of "singsong intonation" from above. It may be that one participant claimed that NAE was characterized by its singsong quality, another one said, "I've heard it characterized as singsong, but I don't have an opinion on that," another one began the

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interview by saying NAE had a singsong quality and ended up saying that it did not, and still another rejected the claims of others that NAE has a singsong quality. All four of these examples would be coded in the "singsong intonation" theme, whose existence is justified by numbers, but there was no real agreement to speak of among them. This sort of conflict was dealt with by assigning a '+' code to any strip of talk with a positive or affirming stance on the theme, a '−' to any with a negative or denying stance, and a '±' to any contradictory stance or stance that less than full positivity or affirmation. In this way, it was easy to see at a glance on a table of themes which of the participants made use of a given theme and which tended to agree with one another about it.

Meanwhile, draw-a-map data was analyzed. This involved first scanning each individual map into raster format, georeferencing in QuantumGIS using available GIS data for the state of Oklahoma, tracing all hand-drawn shapes to create vector polygons, and entering attribute data for each polygon, including demographic information for the participant and any labels added to the shape (or, alternatively, labels without shapes). After all of the maps had been entered in this way, the various maps were compiled into a single map image. Places of residence, places where interviews were conducted, the locations of tribal headquarters, and the sites of both Oklahoma City and Tulsa were extracted from Oklahoma GIS data for the purpose of final aggregation. This step was done first by extracting all locations described as having "less Native accent" and all locations described as having "more Native accent." From these two primary compilations, aggregated maps showing level of agreement between participants were generated in ArcGIS, where agreement lines were also statistically smoothed and color coded. Note that the transition from QuantumGIS to ArcGIS involves different means of

handling the very same coordinate reference systems. Thus, the final maps generated in ArcGIS have a slightly different look to them than the working maps in QuantumGIS; namely, there is notably less curvature on the northern border of the state and seemingly more east-west stretching and north-south compression.

With respect to the computerized survey component, demographic section data were compiled and summarized using Excel to present a fuller description of the participants and to provide background information to help in the interpretation of other findings. Next, the SEVQ component data and the language variety choice data were both independently summarized in Excel to determine individual and aggregated vitality scores for PT + THL, NA + NAE, and MS + MUSE, as well as the overall determination of language choice. Meanwhile, numeric data from the computerized component were descriptively analyzed in Excel and SPSS. Parametric statistics were not appropriate given the distribution of item responses, so non-parametric statistics were used. Specifically, χ^2 and Fisher's Exact Tests were used, where appropriate, to determine within-group and between-groups differences and any degree of statistical significance. These tests were not, however, powerful enough to locate the source of such significance, nor were they powerful enough to deal with multiple variable groupings simultaneously, such as sex (female and male) and age (younger and older). Recall here that each SEVQ item involves measures across three ethnolinguistic community conditions, and the analysis ideally involved attention paid to interactions between SEVQ category, sex of participant, and age of participant, and participant provenance—that is distance of residence from the headquarters of her primary tribal community.

CHAPTER IV

INTERVIEW RESULTS

In this chapter, I outline some of the main results of the analysis of the interview data. I begin with a brief review of the purposes of this chapter, and then offer a paragraph about each interview participant to help situate their contributions to the study. Next, I go over the responses to a number of interview items intended to help provide a functional definition of Native American English (NAE) across several levels of linguistic description. I then look at some of the main themes that emerged from the interviews, especially those related to attitudes that may affect choice of NAE in various social contexts. Next, I review the results of the perceptual mapping task and show how they reinforce some of the participant attitudes on NAE. Finally, I offer a brief summary of the results. In so doing, I hope to show not only how the study participants view NAE as a variety of English, but also some of the deeply rooted contradictions inherent in their attitudes toward NAE. I also conclude with an editorial comment about the deeper social realities beneath these conflicting attitudes evident among the expected NAE speech community; namely, if NAE is to have any future in the state, there must be a change in social attitudes—in both Native and non-Native communities—towards Native American people and their linguistic heritage.

Excerpts of interview data will be presented as evidence for particular points brought up in this chapter. Short, clear, and monologic excerpts will appear simply in quotes attributed to the utterer. Larger, more complex, and dialogic excerpts will appear in close vertical transcription form as adapted from Goodwin (1990, pp. 25-26—see Appendix C, p. 305, for transcription conventions). In all excerpts, research participants are denoted by one- or two-letter initials, and I, as the researcher, am denoted by 'R.'

4.1 Purpose

You may recall that the first two research questions in this study are as follows:

1. To identify how Native American members of the expected Native American English speech community in Oklahoma define the variety; and

2. To identify key attitudes toward Native American English use and expectation of use in Oklahoma, including especially those attitudes, both conscious and subconscious, that may affect language variety choice in various social contexts.

You may also recall that studies of language regard or attitude are concerned with uncovering something of the conscious, deliberate, or explicit attitudes of individuals toward an object, as well as the subconscious, automatic, or implicit attitudes toward the same object. Interview methods can get at both, but features pertaining to conscious regard are most susceptible to discovery. As such, the results from this section pertain to the first question and also to the more conscious side of the second question.

4.1.1 Organization. This chapter is organized as follows. In section 4.2, I provide brief profiles of the individual participants in the study to help situate the findings. I then offer, in section 4.3, a loose definition, for lack of a better word, of NAE based on

participant perceptions as revealed in the interviews. In section 4.4, I discuss other beliefs and attitudes that came up in the interviews, especially those that could potentially affect one's choice of whether or not to use NAE. I move on to the results of the mapping task in section 4.5 before offering a closing summary of key findings in section 4.6.

4.2 Participant Profiles

A short paragraph is offered below for each interview participant. It is hoped that these profiles will help situate the findings and reinforce of the degree of diversity of personalities and histories among even this small sample of Oklahoma Natives.

4.2.1 Amanda. Ponca tribal member Amanda was interviewed in her Ponca City home in the summer of 2013 along with her co-worker Angela; while they both work for the same tribal administration, it is not that of their own tribe. Amanda, who was 55 at the time of the interview, was born and raised in the Ponca-settled areas of Kay County, where she still resides, surrounded by other Natives. Passionate about her faith, Amanda identifies as herself in this way: "I am a Christian first, child of God, and then Native American." She grew up with some exposure to her THL: "My grandmother would speak in nothing but Ponca, and my mother could understand her, but she would respond in English." For her part, Amanda today knows only words and phrases of her THL.

4.2.2 Angela. Also a Ponca, Angela grew up away from her tribe in Nowata, about 90 miles to the east. While there were members of other tribes around her when growing up, she recalled that "they don't look Native and they're not generally traditional, at least in the part of Oklahoma where I am from." In fact, Angela did not meet another Ponca until later in life. At 27, she has worked for several tribal groups, including her own, and is currently a university student. She identifies as an American.

4.2.3 Bobby. Bobby is a 55-year-old Osage and Choctaw man interviewed at his home during the winter of 2014. When asked how he identifies, Bobby responded, "Native American, truly Oklahoman, an Osage dancer = tribal dancer." Although he grew up in north Tulsa, in his youth he would often visit his Osage family in Pawhuska. He began participating in the Osage *ilǫ́ǫška* ceremonial dances as a teenager. Although he has been living in Pawhuska for eleven years, he still has strong enough associations with Tulsa to have responded on the computerized component as being a Tulsan. It became apparent during the course of his interview that Bobby views NAE as little more than the use of certain slang and THL words inserted into English by Natives. Furthermore, he identifies strongly with the regional mainstream English variety of the state, even while adopting some of the prosodic breaks that people often associate with NAE. "To me (0.6) Oklahomans have perfect English (0.7) you know. (0.8) And you go to (0.9) other places (0.6) around United States and (0.6) ~you can *tell* a little bit o' (0.6) *acce:nt* or *di:ale:ct* (0.7) but everybody's tryin' to speak *English* right."

4.2.4 Christy. Christy is an 18-year-old (the youngest female participant) multi-tribal woman attending college in Stillwater. She is originally from Tahlequah but has spent much of her life in and around Austin, Texas, even while maintaining strong ties to eastern Oklahoma. Christy's tribal background is complex: She is Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole. "I was a member of the Creek Nation until recently and I switched to Keetoowah Cherokee. But, most of my childhood I was a, a card-holding Creek Nation member." She also says that her motivation to identify as a member of the United Keetoowah Band was political. Christy feels that her ethnolinguistic community is poorly understood by other Oklahomans. She relates a story about an Anglo friend whom she

had invited to attend a Cherokee church service with her and her grandmother: "She turned around to me and thought they were speaking Chinese. 'Why are they speaking Chinese here?'" She relates the fact that people throughout the state are rarely able to identify her ethnicity—incidentally, she claims to be "three-quarters Native American." While she is often mistaken for Hispanic, especially in Texas, this is not always the case in Oklahoma. "When I first moved up here, a couple people will just come up to me and they just flat out ask, 'What are you? I don't know what ethnicity you are.'" Christy's interview, which was conducted on the campus of Oklahoma State University, featured much use of Cherokee language, her grandmother's L1.

4.2.5 Denvvis. Caddo and Delaware, Denvvis is one of three interviewees (others include Jackie, a Kiowa-Caddo, and Tenuhpuh, a Comanche) originally from the heavily Native-populated region of southwestern Oklahoma, home to many tribal groups, both large and small. Denvvis has served as an administrator for various tribes all across the state, but wears many other hats; he is also a prolific poet and writer, and arrived at his interview site—a friend's rural Osage County ranch house in the cool of the evening in mid-summer 2013—driving a tractor. His primary identification reflects an equally wide scope: "I think given the state of the, of America right now I have I'd have to say that I claim to be Caddo first. That's different than ten years ago." In his early childhood, he was a speaker of Caddo, but has lost this ability. "I wasn't fluent, but I could talk. And unfortunately my age now and having spent, you know, all those years in the big cities not exposed to it, I can understand some." Meanwhile, he views MUSE as more than just his everyday language. "Well, (2.3) I mean, I *love* English. (1.1) I'm a *word*smith. (1.2) It's got *so: many wo:rds*. (h) (1.0) It's got the *perfect* word if you can just *find* it."

4.2.6 Dina. Dina was interviewed with her husband, Little, at their rural Kay County home during the fall of 2012. Dina is unique in the study for being the only Canadian First Nations participant; she is a Cree who has lived in the U.S. for many years. Like her husband, she is very active in Native religious practices; to be able to sing the songs needed for these, Dina says that they listen mostly to Native music.

4.2.7 George. George was interviewed with his wife, Maryanne, in their Okmulgee home in the winter of 2014. Not only is he the oldest participant in the study, he is unique among them for being the only L1 speaker of a THL, having grown up on a remote rural farm in eastern Oklahoma; only one member of his family, his grandfather, knew any English. As a consequence, George did not learn English until he attended a small rural school some years later with a handful of other Creek children. He recounts:

> We'd probably be over in the corner and (0.8) spoke *Creek* you know. (0.9) *They didn't get after us* or anything like that for talking *Creek* but you know (1.1) uh (2.0) they *would* kinda get upset. Of course 'cos they were trying to get us to be speaking *Eng*lish so everybody would know. (George)

Probably due to this fact, he is the most divergent of all participants in his impression of NAE insofar as he did not seem to be able to think of any differences in the way Natives speak English versus the mainstream; he said he could only identify his sisters' voices as Native because he grew up with them. Since George was confined to a hospital bed, he could not complete the computerized component.

4.2.8 Hanwegumi. Hanwegumi is a 51-year-old Otoe-Missouria woman who has spent many years working in tribal administration. She was interviewed at her home in Ponca City, where she has spent much of her life, with her cousin-in-law Raven in the

summer of 2013. Hanwegumi identifies strongly as a Native and a member of her tribe: "I've always: (0.6) only ever considered myself a Native = I've never considered myself anything else (1.4) never, don't know what that would *be* if I *did*. (h)"

4.2.9 Harold. One of two doctorate-holding participants in the study (the other is Maryanne), Harold is a 48-year-old Cherokee man, who was interviewed in his Tahlequah classroom in the winter of 2014. He identifies as both an American and "citizen of the world." Having moved around a lot, he did not begin to acquire any knowledge of his THL until late in life, living and working at schools in the Cherokee Nation Jurisdictional Area. During the interview, Harold explained to me that he was concerned about discussing NAE because it felt somewhat like stereotyping:

> You know it is, it's one of those things that I know what it is but it would be hard
> for me to describe or for me to imitate and especially without sounding- To me it
> would be almost, how would you say it? I don't want to be offensive.

Meanwhile, he offered that, as an educator, he prefers to "try to set a good example" with his use of language.

4.2.10 Jack. Jack was interviewed along with his wife, Jackie, in their Claremore home in 2013. Although he is Osage, Quapaw, and Cherokee, he considers his Primary Tribal affiliation Osage-Quapaw. He is a THL language teacher. This interview was the longest, at over two hours in length, made all the more intriguing in that the instrument items had been exhausted by 1 hour and 26 minutes; the rest of the time was spent in frank conversation about language-related issues facing Natives today. Jack is the only male participant (recall that Amanda identifies primarily as a Christian) who does not

primarily identify as either some sort of Native or as an American: "I'm just a simple man from Claremore, Oklahoma."

4.2.11 Jackie. Jackie is Kiowa and Caddo, though she identifies primarily as Kiowa. Like Denvvis and Tenuhpuh, she is originally from the Anadarko area, far to the southwest of her present-day home in Claremore. Jackie works in healthcare and claims understanding of only a smattering of her heritage Kiowa language, which she still attempts to model for her children daily. Her interview was of note because she was "almost offended" by the "Talk like an Indian" section of the interview questionnaire and offered, in her defense, an extended and thoughtful response about the lack of monolithic Native culture in the U.S. and the inability to generalize across them.

4.2.12 James. The youngest male participant is James, who was interviewed in his office at his Quapaw tribal headquarters in the extreme northeastern city of Quapaw. Like Raven below, James was raised in a military family, but one that emphasized its tribal roots; James identifies first and foremost as a member of his tribe—so much so, in fact, that he offers, "I don't claim other tribal affiliations but I do have other tribal affiliations." James is a multi-lingual, with proficiency in Quapaw, Wichita, Cherokee, Osage, and Kiowa; also, "I can actually get myself to the point of thinking in Spanish if I try hard enough."

4.2.13 Jesse. Jesse, a Cherokee, is the son of another participant, Nelly. He was interviewed in winter 2014 at his home in Pawhuska. He has worked for the Osage Nation for many years. Although he grew up in heavily Native-populated Pawhuska, is very aware of his tribal heritage, and earns a living working for a tribe, he considers himself first and foremost an American: "We're all Americans and then maybe a, (0.6) a

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tribal member after that or, you know, a religious or ethnic group second." Nevertheless, in the demographic portion of the survey, he rated himself a Native American (fellow Cherokee Harold also gave conflicting answers to these items—American and citizen of the world).

4.2.14 John. John is Osage and Cherokee and has spent his professional life working for various tribal administrations across the state. He identifies strongly with his Osage roots. John is an active participant in the Native American Church and a beginning speaker of Osage. He was interviewed in 2012 at my home in Pawhuska.

4.2.15 Little. Little is multi-tribal, but considers himself primarily Kaw. He was interviewed with his wife, Dina, in rural Kay County in the fall of 2012. Although he moved around much as a result of military service, education, and professional life, he has fond memories of his childhood among the Kaws near the site of their former headquarters, Washunga, which was later flooded to create Kaw Lake. Little, 65 at the time of the interview, is active in Native religious practices.

4.2.16 Maryanne. While Maryanne, the retired wife of George, grew up wanting to learn Creek (she is also Seminole and Cherokee), her parents encouraged her to speak English to get a good education. She achieved this goal; she is one of two participants with a doctorate (the other is Harold) in education. She was interviewed in her home in Okmulgee in the winter of 2014. She is 74-years-old, the oldest female participant.

4.2.17 Miss. Miss is an Osage and Prairie Band Potawatomi woman who identifies as an Osage. She grew up in a household where her parents (including research participant Wazhazahe) emphasized Osage language use. As a consequence, Miss considers herself an intermediate speaker of the language. Additionally, she participates

in many tribal cultural institutions, including various gatherings and the Native American Church. She was interviewed in her Osage Nation office in the fall of 2012.

4.2.18 Nelly. Cherokee Elder Nelly has lived most of her adult life in Osage County, far from where she grew up in Wagoner County; she currently works with developmentally challenged people in Pawhuska. She did not learn much of her THL as a child, even though her father and many close relatives and neighbors were all L1 Cherokee speakers; she considers herself to be only a beginning speaker these days. Like her son Jesse, Nelly identifies as a Native American. She was interviewed in her home in fall 2012.

4.2.19 Niclup. The sole Chickasaw participant is also the only current Tulsa resident (Bobby is a former Tulsan who still considers it his home, at least in the computerized component, even though he has lived in Pawhuska for several years). Niclup is a student in her mid-twenties who identifies as an American. She was interviewed in winter of 2014 at a university library in Tulsa. She did not grow up around many other Natives in her local environment save for a Creek neighbor with whom she has long been friends. She is aware of her own tribal heritage, though she feels removed from it. She is, thus, not a very active participant in her tribal affairs; she has attempted to learn Chickasaw vocabulary but has had no real success. Niclup does, however, participate in sweat lodge ceremonies, especially when in mourning.

4.2.20 Pooh. Pooh is a Cherokee woman in her early 40s working as a teacher in Stillwater. She grew up mostly among Osages in rural Osage County. Pooh has a Pawnee spouse, and feels that she has more interaction with his tribe than with her own. In this way, Pooh is somewhat like Raven. However, Pooh identifies as a Native American (like

the other participants who claim Cherokee as their PT group, save for Christy). She is the niece of Nelly and the cousin of Jesse. Her interview was conducted in her home in the summer of 2013.

4.2.21 Raven. Raven is a 28-year-old Apache woman and a member of Hanwegumi's extended family; they were interviewed together in the latter's Ponca City home in the summer of 2013. Raven grew up away from her tribe as part of a military family and, accordingly, she has "no real affiliations with that tribe." In fact, at several times during the interview, Raven identified herself as "a white girl" married into an Otoe-Missouria family and learning Native ways for the first time after having grown up removed from tribal culture. It is not surprising, perhaps, that her primary level of identity is as an American.

4.2.22 Richard. Multi-tribal Richard, a construction worker in his mid-40s, has spent much of his life between the Oklahoma City metro area, where he currently lives, and Osage County, where he spent significant portions of his childhood in the home of Nelly; he is, then, what is commonly known as an "Indian way" brother to Jesse, though the two are not biologically related. Although Richard is Osage, Cherokee, Sioux, and Modoc (he says he does not claim his Modoc heritage), he identifies as an Osage. He was interviewed at his home in Midwest City in the winter of 2014.

4.2.23 Rowdy. Busy urban professional Rowdy has spent much of his life in and around Oklahoma City with frequent and regular forays to the Carnegie and Anadarko area to visit his Kiowa relatives. These individuals include the late Kiowa linguist Parker McKenzie, friend and consultant of the documentarian John Peabody Harrington. Rowdy considers himself a Kiowa above all else but has not had much time due to work

commitments to engage actively with the culture as much as he wishes. "I mean if I had

to retreat to Indian Country, I would go for Anadarko. You know in, like, an *apocalypse*

or something like that. (h)" His interview was conducted in winter 2014 in a university

library in Edmond, Oklahoma.

     4.2.24 Sefil. Sefil, an Osage in her mid-40s, lives on the semi-autonomous parcel

of federal reservation land immediately adjacent to the city of Pawhuska known as the

Pawhuska Indian Village or colloquially "Indian Camp"; it is technically one of three

such Osage districts in Osage County that was specifically excluded from the official

dissolution of tribal lands in Oklahoma. Born and raised around traditional tribal customs,

Sefil identifies strongly with her Osage heritage. She was interviewed on the porch of her

aunt's house in the village in the fall of 2012. Her interview was filled with words and

phrases from a variety of tribal languages and much of what she termed "Native slang."

     4.2.25 Susan. Susan was interviewed in the summer of 2013 in her office at Otoe-

Missouria tribal headquarters near rural Red Rock, Oklahoma. Susan identifies strongly

with both her Ponca and Czech heritage—she had fluent speakers of both languages

among her grandparents' generation—but claims to be a Ponca foremost, perhaps spurred

on by deep familial roots in the American Indian Movement. She is an active participant

of numerous tribal and pan-tribal cultural institutions which extend into many "Indian

way" relations across the country: "I have uncles that are Apache and Seminole and, and

various other tribes, so a lot of people I consider my family that are various other tribes."

     4.2.26 Tenuhpuh. Tribal administrator, educator, and powwow emcee, the 63-

year-old Comanche man Tenuhpuh was interviewed in the kitchen of his work place at

the old Pawnee Indian School, now Pawnee Nation College, just east of Pawnee,

Oklahoma. He is originally from the densely Native city of Anadarko, and identifies as a Native American first, and then as member of his PT group (along with Bobby, Jesse, Nelly, and Pooh). Growing up, he was surrounded by various THLs of the Anadarko area, including especially Comanche and Caddo, and he has strived to learn Comanche throughout his life. He describes the Comanche language as "a butterfly floating on the wind."

 4.2.27 Wazhazhe. Osage Elder Wazhazhe—whose full pseudonym, *wažáže wakʔó*, means 'Osage woman' in Osage—is the mother of Miss and an L2 Osage speaker living in Pawhuska. Her interview was conducted in her home in the fall of 2012. It is by far the most THL-intensive of the interviews, as she bounces in and out of Osage throughout. Growing up in a household only two generations removed from Elders without English names, Wazhazhe learned a deep respect for her THL from her fluent speaking grandmother, and has striven most of her life to learn it and promote it to others.

4.3 Defining NAE

 4.3.1 Overview. I now turn my attention to how the participants collectively define NAE across several levels of linguistic description. This was accomplished by asking a series of questions in each of 22 separate interviews with the 27 participants, comparing responses to these questions, and identifying common related themes among the responses as well as elsewhere in the interview. It is through these responses to direct questions and themes found throughout the interview data that a functional definition of the variety can be built up to help situate later empirical research. A key goal of this section, then, is simply to help lay the groundwork for one day deciding if Oklahoma NAE can even be said to exist in an empirically measurable manner, or if it is just an

important ethnolinguistic construct that happens to be shared by Natives and non-Natives alike for different social reasons. Bear in mind, also, that the interview data are very rich and cannot be considered in their entirety. As such, I focus in this subsection only on those responses to interview questions that help to define NAE.

A brief review of method is in order. I roughly transcribed the interviews using Dragon Naturally Speaking and aligned transcriptions with the recorded audio in NVivo for purpose of coding using a content analytic approach (cf. Bauer, 2002, p. 149). I created from this process a total of "nodes," a simple container within the software for storing coded interview data, representing responses to direct questions and potential thematic information. This included a total of 43 response nodes and 136 potential theme nodes. The latter were ultimately reduced to 104 themes reaching an arbitrary threshold level of appearance in the individual utterances of three or more participant mentions.

In the analysis that follows, I go over the most pointed definition-oriented questions asked, namely those relating to the following levels of description:

1. Voice quality, phonology, and prosody;

2. Lexicon and syntax;

3. Discourse and pragmatics;

4. Sociolinguistic variables of sex, age, and rurality/urbanity; and

5. General NAE regard.

For each, I first present a selection of representative facts from the response nodes before delving into the major thematic trends. Further explanations and connections are made in subsequent paragraphs below this presenting interview evidence as necessary to demonstrate key points. I also provide a general summation of what was discussed for

each. Finally, be aware that is common for the same interview evidence to support numerous responses or themes.

4.3.2 Voice quality, phonology, and prosody. To get at the participants' knowledge of the sound of NAE as a feature unrelated to other cues that might be evident in social interaction, I had to rely on a hypothetical situation, i.e., a telephone conversation with a stranger for which other cues, such as general physiognomy, clothing, setting, and so forth could be ignored. The interview question, then, was as follows: *Can you tell a person here is Native just by talking on the phone with them? If so, what is it about their voice or their speech sounds that gives it away?*

Responses to this question varied greatly; if one adds the word 'generally' to the statement, the answer is still only a resounding *possibly.* A total of 11 (Amanda, Angela, Denvvis, Dina, Harold, Little, Nelly, Niclup, Rowdy, Susan, and Wazhazhe) offered affirmative responses, though some of these affirmations were hedged or otherwise qualified. Another 11 (Bobby, Christy, George, James, Jesse, John, Miss, Pooh, Richard, Sefil, Tenuhpuh) offered even less than full agreement or contradictory responses. Only the remaining five (Hanwegumi, Jack, Jackie, Maryanne, Raven) rejected the proposition.

For Denvvis, the question is a simple one to answer, though not without some hedging. "In *mos:t* cases, yes." Harold offers a more typical and more hedged though generally affirmative response:

> *I, I* believe I could, yeah. I, I be°lieve I- (0.8) Especially, uh, now- But see a*gain* it
> would be:- (0.8) We:ll? (1.7) I was going to say that it would be primarily
> *Che*rokees that I would be able to identify but, (0.6) I think that, that *most* (0.6)

Native Americans to a certain extent, um, I'd probably be able to tell if they-

(Harold)

Although Harold begins strong, by the middle of this passage, he has already limited the positive condition to only his tribal group. He ultimately concludes that such a determination would still generally be possible, but seems somewhat unsure.

Tenuhpuh immediately falls in the less-than-full agreement camp when asked this question, but unlike Harold, he remains there: "Not one hundred per cent of the time, (0.9) not by *ac*cent, (0.7) but I would be *able* to te:ll (1.1) by their *last na:me*? (1.2) Or the *wo:rds* they *u:sed* in a *lo:nger sent*ence." Meanwhile, Jack (represented below as 'Jk') and Jackie ('Je') simply reject the possibility altogether, as seen in Excerpt 1.

Excerpt 1		
No Voice Cues for Oklahoma Natives		
1	R:	So, when you're *talk*ing to somebody on the *phone* from Oklahoma that you've never
2		*met* before, could you *tell* that they're Native or not?
2	Je:	(2.5) I couldn't. No. !!Not from Oklahoma.
3	Jk:	(2.1) No. Not at all.
. . .		
4	Je:	*Really*, if *I* saw- if *I* heard someone I thought had an a:ccent, I would think they weren't
5		from Okla*ho*ma. I would say they were from (0.7) New Mexico? (0.9)
6	Jk:	*Yeah*? I mean, I, I w- I, [(h) I would agree with that, yeah. S-
7	Je	[or (h) Ari*z*ona !! or even South *Dako:ta*
8		= 'cos they, *they* talk a little different. But *we:'re?* I think *we::*- (1.4) *cu:lt*urally,
9		I mean, as a whole, of all the tribes in Oklahoma we sound like *O*kies. We sound like
10		*sou:thern O:kies*.

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In this excerpt, not only do both Jack and Jackie feel that Oklahoma Natives have no identifiable accent, they also make the case that having a Native accent is a sign that a person is actually from some other state with a high Native population. Meanwhile, Jackie goes on to say that Oklahoma's Native population is highly influenced by Southern American English.

A common theme in the larger set of data relating to the question of voice quality, phonology, or prosody, is use of the words *broken English* in describing NAE. This theme is difficult to assess because it is hard to say for sure if the participants are describing NAE prosody as somehow broken (or simply choppy, possibly as a result of stress or syllable timing issues out of sync with MUSE; see Coggshall, 2008) or are simply using the term to refer to NAE, a terminology that is impressionistically very common throughout the state for people of all ethnicities referring to the way Natives speak. Little provides a good example of this when describing his grandfather. This man lived in Washunga, the former seat of the Kaw Agency and historical center of Kaw life that is now beneath Kaw Lake, but worked as a sheriff in Kaw City, a nearby and largely Anglo settlement at the time: "It was like when he rode, *drove* back onto, (0.7) drove across that bridge headed into Wa*shun*ga, he switched from (0.6) speakin' English that everybody can understand to speakin' the *broken* English." Also supported here are perceptions that NAE tends to be spoken around other Natives and that the dialect can be "switched" on and off.

Nevertheless, some participants reject the brokenness of NAE. Angela, for example, in describing NAE voice quality says, "It's a *rhy*thm and it's slower (0.8) it seems like to me. . . !!Definitely not *bro:ken* English or anything like *tha:t*. It's just, um-

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(1.1) Maybe the in*flec*tion is *dif*ferent on *some* words?" Here, while she denies the

dialect's broken prosody, she still affirms its slow pace and its general rhythmic nature.

In Excerpt 2, Nelly discusses NAE prosody at length and provides some

evaluative statements about the phonic qualities of NAE, which may be evaluated

differently outside of the Native American community. Note that in this excerpt, Nelly

had just been speaking about her older, now deceased Cherokee-English bilingual family

members.

Excerpt 2		
Audible Qualities of (Cherokee) NAE		
1	R:	Just in English, what, (0.6) what does it sound to talk like an Indian talks?
2	N:	It's a *slower*, it's *slower*, (0.7) more pronou*n*ced, uh- (3.0) It's a *prettier* language to me.
3		It's, it's kinda- (1.8) *I* don't *know,* it's just kind of a rhythma-, rhythm to it.
4	R:	Mm-hm. (2.5) Um, if you were just talkin' on the *phone* to somebody that, that you didn't
5		(2.4) that you didn't *know* at all and you heard 'em just *talkin'*, (0.7) would you be able to
6		tell if they were an Indian or not?
7	N:	(1.5) *Most* people you can tell if they're an *Indian* or not. It's just the- Even when
8		they speak *English*, it's a *slower*, (0.7) uh, (2.3) *more thought out*, when Indians speak
9		it after they've spoke Cherokee. (3.0) They don't wanna make mistakes so they take their
10		time seems like more.
11	R:	So you can tell the difference from, what, like the *voice quality* or anything?
12	N:	Mm-hm. It's a lower (1.6) pitched. (2.0) They don't get *excited* as much (1.4) in their
13		language. (2.0)
14	R:	Ah.
15	N:	It's just different.

Beginning in line 2, she claims that NAE is "a prettier language to me," one that she describes largely in prosodic terms, including its slow speed (lines 2 and 8), low pitch (line 12), noticeable rhythm (line 3), and overall difference (line 15)—qualities with which Angela's quote above shares much agreement. Interestingly, she explains some of these features in culturally positive terms with respect to the speaker. Thus, for her, the slow speed is a deliberate result of the variety being "more thought out" and conscious of potential errors (lines 8-10), and the lower pitch is a symptom of traditional stoicism (line 12). In this way, the mere voice quality, let alone other descriptive features, of the NAE speaker in using her variety is potentially a powerful index of Native ethnicity.

Nelly is not the only one to offer such an assessment of the sound of NAE in Oklahoma. In their interviews, John and Sefil also describe NAE principally as "slow" (though John says there were a handful of Osage families, those whose English was recorded in the 1930s and 1940s, "that talked really, really fast"). Sefil and Wazhazhe describe it as featuring a "drawl," with Wazházhe saying that to speak it, one must "take different breaths" and "*dra::g* on some words." Curiously, while Nelly and Sefil describe NAE as "monotone," Dina and Pooh describe it as "singsong-y." Recall that Leap (1993a, p. 52) makes just such an assertion about the duality between monotone and singsong qualities of other NAE varieties.

In sum, there appears to be a difference of opinion on whether NAE varieties in Oklahoma can be identified exclusively in terms of sound. However, a great majority of the participants do not reject the possibility out of hand. It is also interesting to note that those qualities that may be found relate primarily to its rhythmic gait, overall slowness, and perhaps something involving intonation that could make some participants describe

its general character as monotonous and others as singsong. It is obvious from these conflicting ideas and statements that an empirical, phonological study of the recordings of these participants and other Oklahoma Natives would be fruitful and may go a long way toward discovering if there actually are prosodic differences between Oklahoma NAE and, say, the regional English varieties situated near Native communities.

4.3.3 Lexicon and syntax. The question associated with this level of description was as follows: *What words, phrases, or sentences do Natives from Oklahoma use more frequently than others? How about less frequently?* Only two participants (Christy and Rowdy) claimed to have no knowledge of specifically Native lexical or syntactic choices. Others generally divided their responses into discussions of "Native slang," the use of THL words and phrases in English, and the use of English words and phrases with a specifically Native meaning perhaps unknown to Standard English variety speakers. Because instances from any of these categories are apparently perceived as occurring in English, and because they seem to be associated with non-standard meanings or use, the categories themselves were hard to tease out from one another and are still very blurry.

Nearly all of the participants (all but Bobby, Christy, George, Miss, Niclup, Pooh, and Rowdy) mention specific Native slang words and phrases as a very important component of Oklahoma NAE, and several describe it as featuring the frequent use of (rarely written—there is probably no standard spelling for any of them) interjections such as *buh* [bʌː], indicating surprise, and either *aye chynnah* [eɪː ˈʧaɪnə] or just *aye* [eɪː], signaling or acknowledging teasing humor. Richard relates a memory of a group of Osage girls, ordinarily quiet at school, cutting loose with Native slang any time they were in all-Native social environments.

The *girls*'ll cut up a *lot more*, you know what I mean, with th-, that !!*A:::ye*! I

mean, just loud as fuck, you know what I mean? But they didn't do that at school,

as loud and stuff like that, like they acted totally different, do you know what I

mean? (Richard)

Maryanne tells a similar story of a group of Pawnee schoolgirls she once overheard

talking in the gym while touring a school in the city of Pawnee. The girls were suddenly

overcome with a fit of *ayes* after a funny story was told.

They started laughing and they all started saying, '*A:ye!*' And they said it all

together, '*A::ye!*' And then they realize they were in the *gym* and they were in

Pawnee and then that made them laugh even more = they just couldn't stop

saying, '*a:ye*,' because they just kept saying, '*a:ye*,' to each other. (Maryanne)

Meanwhile, the Canadian subject Dina jokes about the ubiquitous use of NAE *aye* in

Oklahoma and its near homophony with Canadian English *eh*: "[T]hey always give me a

hard time 'bout saying *eh* all the time. And yet I think they say it down here just as much

as I do!" Also common was mention of the word *(the) rez*, short for 'reservation,' to refer

to the locations of especially high concentrations of Natives, such as the three Osage

Indian Villages.

Aside from these sorts of slang words, there is another set of common NAE words

and phrases derived from various THLs (it is unclear if this is also true of words such as

aye chynnah), especially words related to hygiene and racial epithets (Jackie and Pooh

specifically mention potentially offensive Kiowa and Pawnee words for African

Americans). For instance, several mentioned the widespread use of *(the) o* for 'bathroom'

across northern Oklahoma; this is a contraction of the Osage word *ožéhci* [oˈʒɛʰtsi],

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'bathroom [literally: in-defecate.house].' Jesse explains the use as follows: "Like (0.9), you know, if you're going to the restroom or something, they say *o* (0.6) instead of, (1.1) 'I'm going to go to the restroom' or something, (1.1) for *ožéhci*."

Angela, Denvvis, Jack, Jackie, James, and Tenuhpuh also mention the use of certain MUSE words with specifically Native connotations when used in reference to Native Americans. These include terms such as the following: *(be) traditional*, for the adherence of individuals to tribal customs in daily life (Angela); *(go) into the tipi* and *(be) sweating*, for participation in Native American Church and sweat lodge ceremonies, respectively, and *grass* and *jingle*, for two different styles of powwow competition, male and female, respectively (Denvvis); *keen*, for very good, and *skin*, for Native American, a term considered derogatory when spoken by a non-Native (Jack and Jackie); *ennit*, *talk/speak Indian,* and *those people back there*, for *isn't it*, the use of THLs, and for tribal ancestors, respectively (James); and *homeplace*, a term used in opposition to *hometown* for distinguishing between where one lives currently and where one grew up (Tenuhpuh).

Additionally, while none of the participants offered a definition of code-switching, several of them did mention the use of THL islands in their English productions. The major difference here is the context and size of those islands. It is one thing to greet someone in passing with a quick instance of *siyo*, a contracted and informal Cherokee greeting that Nelly and a Native co-worker of hers typically did. It is a very different thing to offer a prayer in Osage and then translate some or all of it into English for the benefit of non-speakers within earshot, as Wazhazhe often finds herself doing. While the matrix language in each case is English, it is difficult to say whether the use of

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an occasional greeting or even an entire prayer in a THL transforms that English into NAE by virtue of its strongly Native-indexing component.

Comments relating to a possible NAE-oriented syntax are few in the data and are not direct responses to the prompt. They include a rather lengthy description and imitation by Jack of early L1 Quapaw and Osage speakers (born circa 1880) as heard on recordings from the mid-20th century.

Their English was (1.0) hard to understa:nd. (1.1) Their English ha:d, (1.5) you know, a Quapaw? or an Osage *a:c*cent (0.6) and, an', an' I, I, I- and I'm not- (1.2) This has happened numerous *ti:*mes. (1.0) I've been listenin' those *au*dio fi:les, a:nd (1.5) *I* didn't understand what they said in *Eng*lish, and the only way I figured it *out* was because (0.8) I understood the, (0.9) the Quapaw or the *O*sage (0.6) and then, that, that, then I was like, "O:h, that's what they're saying (0.6) in *Eng*lish." Their, their *Eng*lish was, was, was, was, uh, (0.7) wasn't very *pro*per, wasn't very good = you know, there's a lot of sentences (0.7) I hear these, these older ones *sa:y* (0.8) and, uh (1.0) the *Eng*lish side of it is just *ve:*ry- (1.0) I mean, it's sure enough *bro*ken, you know, uh- (0.8) ((imitating)) good many, you know, good many, many, here (0.7) come (0.6) good, ((resuming)) you know, but, and, but, (0.6) you listen to (1.6) that, that individual's, you know (0.8) uh, Native language beforehand, the speech he *ma:de*?, (0.7) bo:y, it's just, just, you know, it's just, it's just *beau*tiful, it *flo:ws*. But his, the English was (0.6) ba:d. (Jack)

James also offers short memory of an Osage elder describing traditional customs:

I can remember °[the Elder], (1.4) ((chair slides)) like, [the Elder] says, uh, (1.0) like, instead of saying, like, you know, (1.2) !!"The Osage tri:be does this, or

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does that," he'll say, !!"Osages is (0.6) such and such, like, Osages is stubborn,

(0.8) Osage is stubborn." Actually, he doesn't even say, "Osages." He doesn't

even pluralize it. He just says, "Osage is stubborn," and he means- by that, he

means the Osage people are stubborn. (James)

These examples, while of interest, are isolated in the data and, as such, do not tell us

much about the larger experience of Oklahoma NAE syntax as different from MUSE.

This could be as a result of there not being much syntactic divergence from MUSE within

NAE, or it could simply be the result of a poorly-worded prompt. More investigation

would be needed to make such a determination.

At any rate, it would seem that, among the participants of this study, the most

salient features of NAE at this level of description are chiefly lexical, involving a number

of different Native slang words and phrases of different kinds (general slang, THL

derivations, and NAE connotations for MUSE words and phrases) and some degree of

code-switching, mostly in speech acts such as greetings or prayers.

4.3.4 Discourse and pragmatics. There were two prompts for this rather broad

level of description. The first of these targeted discourse topics while the second focused

on discourse contexts. Let us look at the first: *What things do Natives from Oklahoma*

talk about that others don't talk about as often? What things do they not often talk about?

Most participants (all except Denvvis, John, Miss, Richard, and Wazhazhe)

contributed responses suggesting that Natives mostly talk about tribal politics, traditional

dance, music, dress, or related customs, medicine, religious, or spiritual practices. Susan

offers a fairly typical response:

Sovereignty (0.8) would be a big one. You know, it's something that, that we all think about. Um, (1.6) the- Just (1.2) *per*sonally speaking, you know, the culturally *rel*evant things that we talk about in our community = we're all very involved and active in our communities and know everybody and what's going on and (0.8) what, uh, dances are coming up and what ceremonies somebody else is having and where there might be a sweat at. An:' those are things you don't hear anybody *else* talking about. (h) (Susan)

Denvvis, Jack, John, Nelly, Niclup, Raven, Sefil, Susan, Tenuhpuh, and Wazhazhe also mentioned joking and humor in response to this question. In fact, they suggest that an important body of knowledge associated with NAE is a particularly Native humor style especially associated with the "razzing" behaviors described in Wieder and Pratt (1990). Jack offers a typical sort of powwow emcee joke indicative of this style of razzing humor: "I, I knew, oh, John Doe there before he even talked Broken English."[13] Similarly, Sefil discusses giving Anglos in college off-color nicknames derived from unflattering words in THLs but then telling them it was something else entirely.

The humor examples given by Jack and Sefil are different in interesting ways. Jack's example is an instance of humor between Natives that may serve to unite the community in their common awareness of the joke, even if it may isolate an individual member of that community temporarily though hurt feelings. Sefil's example, on the other hand, is an instance of inter-cultural humor that only certain Natives would fully comprehend: Although her willingness to bestow THL-derived nicknames may appear to

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[13] Jack's joke suggests that John Doe is only *affecting* an NAE accent. Nevertheless, the wording affirms a long-standing, friendly relationship between the two.

the non-Native butts of her joke to be a gesture of inter-ethnic cross-cultural unity, in reality it isolates all who are not in the know linguistically, potentially even other Natives (see section 2.5.3 above, p. 43-44, for a discussion of the duality of unity and isolation in identities and ideologies).

Finally, Nelly's humor-related response to the prompt is conflicted. On the one hand, she says, "Well, *I:n*dians don't usually *joke a*round as, *I*: don't think, as much as (1.9) white people." On the other hand, she immediately follows this with, "Well, when they, when *we* joke around it's *clean*er *jo*king (0.6) than when (0.7) you listen ° to other people joke around." Perhaps Nelly is cuing in on what she regards as mainstream uses of humor to define what 'joking around' is, and sees Native humor as something altogether different. Tenuhpuh makes a similar distinction in relating a story about the expectation for powwow emcees to joke around, "I had a young person here say, 'Oh, *yea:h*, (0.8) I hear you're a good emcee. You must have a lot of jokes.' An' I said, (1.8) 'No:, I don't have a lot of jokes, but I bring *humor*.'"[14]

Several participants also mentioned topics that Natives may not talk about as much as non-Natives. For instance, Hanwegumi and Little mention that Natives do not typically discuss money matters or material goods. Pooh, Rowdy, and Tenuhpuh mention that mainstream politics are almost never discussed. Richard mentions that older Natives do not frequently discuss deceased family members. Miss suggests that differences in the

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[14] The topic of Native American humor has been discussed extensively elsewhere, particularly in terms of its roots in traditional socialization behaviors and instructional routines (e.g., Deloria, 1969, pp. 146-147) and its complex role in Native American tribal and supratribal cultures as a means of, for instance, both challenging and affirming Native identity (Pratt, 1998), coping with hardship (Garrett, Garrett, Torres-Rivera, Wilbur, & Roberts-Wilbur, 2005), and taunting outsiders (Perry, 2000), all while expressing solidarity with other Natives.

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views on personal achievement at school or work among some Natives keep these topics

from being discussed as frequently as in other parts of contemporary U.S. society:

> I think Osages (1.5) from (0.8) around here (0.9) are more family-driven? (0.7)
>
> and just from what I gather from other states and stuff, they are more, (0.7) um,
>
> (1.7) education-driven?, more career-driven, those types of things. Not that that's
>
> not im*por*tant he:re., (1.0) But the fact that (1.3) i- if we don't have that *u*nit or
>
> that *connective*ness, we lo:se that part of our culture. (Miss)

Miss's response to the first question is a good segue into the second, which relates

to the contexts of NAE use: *In what situations or places would you expect a Native from*

Oklahoma to talk more like an Indian? How about less?

Responses to this question, when given, were in overwhelming agreement:

Natives adopt more of an accented English variety in the presence of Native interlocutors,

especially in cultural contexts, such as dances or ceremonies, and less of an accented

English variety in professional and educational contexts. In other words, NAE seems to

occupy a sort of [+ cultural], [- professional] domain in the social lives of the

participants, which gives rise to a discourse context-dependent bidialectalism. The idea is

summed up in the following humorous quip from Denvvis: "I mean, if you're sitting

around with a bunch of Indians, you know, and they're all talking [NAE], you never

sound like a Brit." In short, the idea is that Oklahoma Natives accommodate the linguistic

varieties in their social environment on a general level; being around Native interlocutors

makes one sound more Native. Niclup describes a sense of personal displacement felt

when she has caught herself doing this among Natives in the past—quite unconsciously:

"When I notice that I'm doing it… it's kinda *gross*, like maybe I should just be me. But

I've never had anybody like, 'Why are you doing that?' You, that's- I've never had anyone say that."

In her response to the prompt, Sefil posits stigmatization as a possible motivation for this sort of NAE-MUSE bidialectalism among Natives; see Excerpt 3 below. As can be seen, for Sefil, the primary discourse context of MUSE use is not among other Natives but among members of the mainstream, particularly in terms of professional services (line 3). She wants to be taken seriously (line 8), but the stakes are high—her personal dignity and the overall dignity of Natives everywhere. She appears to be very conscious of negative attitudes toward Natives within the mainstream (lines 10-14), and seeks to break those stereotypes through reasoned use of MUSE, particularly a "proper and professional" register of MUSE. In this way, perhaps, she feels that NAE use may feed into negative mainstream attitudes and that use of proper MUSE use can earn respect from professionals.

Excerpt 3		
Use of MUSE among the Mainstream to Avoid Stereotyping		
1	S:	I catch myself sounding, (2.1) very *proper*.
2	R:	Mm-hm.
3	S:	U:m, especially if I'm having to talk to:, (1.0) doctors and nurses.
4	R:	= Sure.
5	S:	You know, for my au:nt, um.
6	R:	D'ya think that's to, so you'd be under*stood*? Or to, be better, or do you think that's to-
7	S:	I think it, it- (3.0) No. (0.8) No, I don't. I don't think it's to be *understood*. I, I think it's,
8		uh, (1.6) for the respect.
9	R:	Mm-hm.
10	S:	You know, um- And I, and I think that's where a lot of us:, will be that way. We

11		just, we don't like the stigma of, you know, just because we're Indian, (1.3) doesn't
12		mean *all of us* are alco*hol*ics.
13	R:	Right.
14	S:	You know, we have a *brain* up in here, and (2.0) it's, to talk, to, to, to speak very well,
15		*well*, and, and *proper*, and, and, *professional*, when you're, when that need arises.

Raven relates a similar story in her response, albeit from a very different perspective owing to the fact that she works in the healthcare industry; Sefil has only occasional dealings with this industry. In her story, Raven returns to her professional setting following time spent at a powwow:

I felt so::: *dumb* when I left the powwow. (1.4) And it wasn't so much feelin' *dumb*. It's just I had to get myself back in the normal speech again 'cause as soon as we got to the powwow, (0.6) I'm surrounded by everybody, and everybody talks that weird broken Indian (0.8) or Native American talk, (0.7) a:nd I had to, I had to, like, turn it off at work. And one of the girls was like, "Why you gotta turn it off?" And I was like, "'Cause I sound *stu*pid, and not *ed*ucated." (0.8) And she goes- Well, she was talking to me, a::nd she was like, "Well, I don't understa:nd." And I was like, "Well, !!*you* can talk like that all you want all the time. I personally want to be able to articulate if I'm on the phone with a doctor. (Raven)

A curious feature of Raven's narrative is that she appears to identify strongly with MUSE, which she terms "the normal speech," and further suggests that NAE makes her "sound stupid." She even defends her decision to "turn it off" from the questioning of a fellow Native co-worker who, perhaps surprisingly, welcomes NAE at the workplace. While this may be in line with Raven's primary level of identity as an American rather

than as a member of her Primary Tribe or a Native American, she, like Sefil above, nevertheless adopts MUSE for the same reasons Sefil does: She wishes to avoid negative stereotyping, particularly lack of education and intelligence.

There are a number of themes associated with this broad level of description, many of them dealing, not surprisingly, with NAE as connoting familiarity with or practice of Native culture while simultaneously connoting a lack of education and professionalism. It is not altogether clear if these connotations, particularly the negative ones, originate within Native communities or from outside of them in the broader non-Native mainstream; that is to say, are these connotations internal or simply internalized? Still, the point is perhaps moot when one considers that they appear to be clear perceptions among the participants.

A clear case in point is the frequent mention (19 of 27 participants in agreement) that NAE connotes little to no formal education. For instance, Rowdy offers a typical sort of response in a question appearing later in the interview about his assessment of the general quality English spoken by Natives:

It's somewhere in the middle. Um, I, I- It's also a level of education. (0.7) Lo-, um, a lot of Native American (0.6) communities I know are pretty poor, and so their level of education isn't as high. (Rowdy)

It is curious to note that Rowdy equates the poor quality of English as spoken by Natives to both poverty and lack of education. It must be said that the participants' perception of the connotation of low educational attainment is not the same thing as them being uneducated or being unaware of highly educated Natives that use NAE. Rather, they appear to view Native social values about education as simply out of step with

mainstream society, though these values are in flux throughout Indian Country. As John says:

> I mean, obviously it's *cha:ng*ing, you know, as our edu*ca*tional level rises and
> more and more people are, you know, doing more school (0.8) for *everybody*, but
> overall native culture doesn't *fo*cus *on* (1.3) like *school* and *grades* and technical
> a*chieve*ment and (0.8) *view*: success in terms of like money and jo:b as much as
> the predominant white culture in Okla*ho*ma does. (John)

In other words, the use of NAE does not so much connote that the user is uneducated but rather it may index cultural attitudes of ambivalence to the contemporary Western equation of education and self-worth and attitudes toward a lower level of importance of formal education. This very much mirrors Miss's earlier comment about family-driven Oklahoma Natives versus education- or career-driven members of the mainstream. Thus, even if a Native has a graduate degree, her use of NAE may still be viewed as a sign that she does not respect the institution of education as highly as other ethnicities in the society. Again, the participants appear to be aware of this perception, regardless of where it may have originated.

Bear in mind here that this sample of Oklahoma Natives is, as a whole, a well-educated group; only a handful do not have or are not pursuing college degrees, and several have advanced degrees. The relatively high education level of Natives in general came up in numerous interviews, as well as how education affects Native American-accented English. Amanda relates:

> *Real:*ly, I have more *educated* family members on my *Native* side than I do on
> my, my *white* side, (0.7) a::nd nurses, teachers, doctors, (0.6) uh, ministers, and

(0.8) so, um- (3.7) They were pro*fes*sionals a::nd um, a lot of them didn't, even-
they were more Indian than me, um, full-bloods, you know- they didn't *carry* tha:t
*a:c*cent (0.7) a lo:t with them after they, you know, became adults and
pro*fes*sional *thei:r a:c*cent changed to more, you know, non-Native. (Amanda)

In other words, although her Native kin had educational and professional goals and
achievements, they reduced their accent, possibly to avoid a perceived negative
stereotype in the mainstream about the lack of education associated with the accent. In
this way, such behavior may become something of a self-fulfilling prophecy; more
educated Natives may *not* have much of an identifiable accent—an example of
subtractive bidialectalism.

Wazhazhe, however, seems to disagree with Amanda somewhat in suggesting that
the social reality of the educated Native is not so much a subtractive, but an additive
model. She relates: "They can switch back (h), and go back and forth. We all had to do it,
no matter (h) what school we went to, and what college, what university, what degree you
get. You don't lose it." If she is right, then NAE, once part of one's repertoire, always
remains at the core of one's being, and MUSE may merely be added (or vice versa, as a
given individual acquires dialects).

Miss adds a further wrinkle to this debate. First, recall that, for Sefil, Raven, and
Wazhazhe, NAE facilitates interaction in Native communities while MUSE facilitates
interaction in mainstream communities, especially those relating to educational and
professional life. This seems to reinforce a dichotomy between NA and NAE on the one
hand and MS and MUSE on the other, which has been fundamental to this dissertation.
But, consider that, for Amanda's relatives, NAE could be jettisoned after education in

favor of MUSE, presumably without simultaneously rejecting interaction in Native communities; this seems to go against what we have seen so far. Furthermore, Miss offers in Excerpt 4 a very different alternative: MUSE can facilitate communication with Native Americans who are not from Oklahoma.

Excerpt 4

Use of MUSE among Non-Local Natives to Facilitate Communication

1	M:	It's like the more I'm around my people the more Native accent [
2	R:	[Sure.
3	M:	I have than if I'm at work for months and months and months and don't get that
4		cultural intake. [
5	R:	[Mm-hm.
6	M:	Then, that kinda fades away, I think.
7	R:	Um, are you ever expected to sound a certain way, and why, why so?
8	M:	Well, I don't think that I'm expected to sound a certain way, but I- In, in my job
9		capacity, I speak with many different Native Americans from all over the world,
10		literally. And so, in order for them, I think, sometimes to take me serious when it
11		comes to my business or the work that I do, then, sometimes I have to try to turn it
12		more off [
13	R:	[Mm-hm.
14	M:	So that they, um, take me in or take the information in that I want them to take in.

In this excerpt, Miss, having just discussed how long it takes her to speak MUSE again after a weekend away at a powwow (cf. the passage from Raven above), describes the need for sequestering her two primary linguistic varieties to accomplish specific goals at her job—which, incidentally, is an administrative role for one of her tribal affiliations. This is especially noteworthy given that she describes being at work as not providing

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much of a "cultural intake" (lines 3 and 4) and equates NAE use with being around "my people" (line 1). This is interesting in that tribal offices are largely Native-staffed, and one would assume them to be very conducive to tribal social identity and performance. One possible explanation is that Miss, perhaps like others at her office, feels the need to use *less* NAE in an official capacity among Native interlocutors in order for them to take her seriously (lines 9-11). Implicit in this statement is a belief that even Natives do not always take NAE as seriously as they do MUSE. For Miss, then, mere interaction with other Oklahoma Natives, even on a daily basis, is not sufficient to reinforce NAE; it must be *cultural* interaction for that to take place. Furthermore, for interaction with out-of-state Natives, NAE is insufficient for professional communication. When considered in light of the story of Amanda's educated, professional family members who use MUSE for interactions with other Oklahoma Natives, Miss seems to suggest that the domains for NAE are even more limited than they first may have appeared. If so, it may be that the discursive and pragmatic themes discussed (e.g., culturally-specific topics, culturally-specific contexts, Oklahoma Native interlocutors, etc.) so far are in fact restrictions or even requirements for successful NAE deployment.

To summarize briefly what has been discussed here, it appears that Oklahoma NAE may be limited to discourse topics of Native cultural relevance, such as politics, dance, spirituality, and Native humor. Moreover, it may also be limited to similar contexts, such as Native cultural venues in the presence of Native interlocutors. Meanwhile, NAE seems to conflict so egregiously with a number of mainstream cultural institutions (e.g., economic or material accumulation and educational or professional achievement) as to connote a number of powerful negative associations of its use,

perhaps reinforcing stereotypes already present in the mainstream—and of which Natives may be well aware.

4.3.5 Sociolinguistic variables: Sex, age, and rurality/urbanity. This level of description is associated with a raft of questions in the interview instrument, including the following: *1. Would you say male or female Natives from Oklahoma sound more Indian when they talk? Why so? 2. Would you say older or younger Natives from Oklahoma sound more Indian when they talk? Why so? 3. Would you say urban or rural Natives from Oklahoma sound more Indian when they talk? Why so? 3. Are there places in Oklahoma where the Natives sound most like Indians when they talk? How about least? Would you like to draw their locations on a map of the state?* Let us look the responses to these questions in turn.

Most participants did not respond to the question of sex—which was inadvertently omitted from the printed interview instrument—in such a way as to implicate either females or males as more prolific users of NAE, and fewer still that did not also implicate age as a factor. There were three exceptions, though, two of which related to age, as well. For instance, James offers:

> It also depends on a:ge. (2.2) I think a lot of, (2.1) Well, I mean, an', an', you know how, tri:be, and, you know, an' how traditional they are, but, like, really, really traditional men tend to be a little bit more *qui*eter (0.6) and (1.2) when you get to know them they might talk a lo:t, but (0.7) women, (1.8) it's hard to *say*, (0.7) like, but, but, like, older women, they get to be more outspoke- !!Older Indian women, the older they get, the more they, the more they (xxx) it seems like they become outspoken. (James)

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Conversely, Raven offers that Native girls have both more accent and more slang. Jesse

concurs with her assessment of slang, but does not limit it by age.

In general, age provoked a greater discussion with greater agreement, with 13

participants (Christy, Denvvis, Dina, Harold, Jesse, Little, Miss, Nelly, Niclup, Pooh,

Rowdy, Tenuhpuh, and Wazhazhe) agreeing that older individuals had a more

pronounced Native accent owing largely to their formative experiences with even older,

possibly L1 THL speakers, and seven (Amanda, Angela, James, John, Richard, Sefil, and

Susan) arguing that it would depend on consideration of additional factors, e.g., family,

tribe, location, etc. Two others (Hanwegumi and Raven) claimed that the younger

generation affects more of an accent than the older generation today actually has.

John's response to this question was especially interesting. Apparently one can

overdo an NAE performance. In Excerpt 5, John expresses attitudes toward what he

views as real and fake (or authentic and inauthentic) uses of NAE.

Excerpt 5		
Authentic and Inauthentic Use of NAE		
1	J:	*I* don't think that it (1.3) *makes* you sound (1.4) more *Na*tive if you speak broken English
2		than, (2.8) you know, like, say, your grandparents who actually, you know, truly have
3		an *ac*cent [
4	R:	[Mm-hm.
5	J:	*From* not learning English until later in *life*. (1.4) And I *don't* think trying to, like, imi-,
6		imitate *that* makes you sound more Native. I think if everyone knows how you
7		talk and then all of a sudden you're trying to, you know, talk like some
8		((imitating)) !!Indian that dudn't know English very well and dudn't know nothin'
9		((resuming)), you know, it, just, it comes across as *fake* to me.

Beginning in line 2, John describes an authentic condition for there being Native American-accented English, to wit, that one, has learned English later in life, most likely after having spoken a heritage language—a case of NAE possibly associated with THL proficiency coupled with incomplete MUSE acquisition. It is worth noting that, as has been described with other subjects, John associates this fact with older generations. In line 5, however, he begins to craft a distinction between this "true accent" with an imitated (or perhaps merely learned) variety, which he then performs in line 8. Note that he nevertheless situates such a hypothetical imitation within the context of the community (lines 6-7: "everyone knows how you talk"; notice also how the use of "all of a sudden" closely resembles Little's memory of his grandfather's capacity to switch rapidly between MUSE and NAE). This would indicate that imitation is likely to come from one with established ties to the ethnic community—however loose those ties may be—but who may wish to ratify a firmer connection with the overlapping speech community. John evaluates such imitations as "fake" (line 9); similar notions of authenticity are invoked when Raven, as discussed earlier, calls herself "a white girl," presumably for having not grown up around Native people. Accordingly, John seems to be arguing for a conceptual dichotomy between the real and fake NAE varieties—a dichotomy that he sets up as paralleling L1 THL knowledge and L1 MUSE knowledge. One could postulate, then, that NAE can be both a result of incomplete MUSE acquisition and an ethnic register, depending on who uses it and in what contexts.

In light of John's argument, Hanwegumi and Raven's contention that the younger generation tries harder than the older generation can actually muster makes a great deal of sense. Susan's uncertainty, as demonstrated in Excerpt 6, springs from the same source:

Excerpt 6

Youth Performance of NAE versus Elder Practice of NAE

1   S: Oh, *that's* a tough question, because the older folks I think just *have* it. The younger

2   folks *try* to.

3   R: Mm-hm.

4   S: You know, they want to sound like their Elders do and stuff, but they, they don't

5   necessarily sound like that all the time. So, I'd say, if you're talking of a *tru:e*

6   Native accent, it would be among the olders.

7   R: Mm-hm.

8   S: You know, instead of the younger that are just trying to.

9   R: Why do you think they try to?

10   S: (1.2) It m:akes you sou:nd more Na:tive Ame:rican.

11   R: Mm.

12   S: I mean, if you, more easily- I- There, there's the per*cep*tion of that, if you sound

13   that way, that you got it, you have more sh- credibility as a Native American, or

14   you've lived on the reservation, or you've done, you know, you know, things like

15   that. So, and for some reason, a lot of people, um, like to live up to the stereotypical

16   personification-

17   R: Mm.

18   S: Of the Indian. And I think that that's the same thing that goes on there.

An important take-away from Susan's response is that it reflects a perception of an

apparent time distinction between older and younger Natives, with older Natives' accents

as informed by either L1 THL use or exposure thereto (Line 1: "the older folks just have

it") and younger Natives adopting such accents (Lines 1-2: "The younger folks try to."),

despite presumably less L1 THL use or exposure as a result of widespread language

obsolescence, perhaps in a bid for covert prestige (Line 10: "It makes you sound more Native American").

Notice also the seeming difference of opinion between Susan and John on such bids for covert prestige by younger Natives. Susan offers, "It makes you sound more Native American" to speak with an identifiable NAE accent while John flatly states, "I don't think that it makes you sound more Native if you speak broken English" (Excerpt 5, Line 1). However, there is more agreement between the two than is immediately apparent. Keep in mind that Susan is discussing the "perception" (Line 12) motivating someone to adopt an NAE accent, and John is offering his take on the motivation. Each is implicitly ratifying the position of the other while describing the practice as somehow inauthentic (Susan: "[T]he younger . . . are just trying to," Line 8. John: "[I]t comes across as fake to me," Excerpt 5, Line 9).

If there is a difference between the NAE varieties of younger and older Oklahomans, where is the demographic break? Pooh offers a possible answer in her response:

> I would sa::y (2.6) probably just *cer*tain ones [have an accent]. They're probably-
> (1.1) Maybe 30 years ago:? you h-, had more, but I think, um, (1.2) you know,
> (2.4) the mo:re that (1.4) the:: bloodlines (0.7) you know, *get*, um, (1.2) smaller
> and smaller, I d-, don't think it's happening. And, I mean, you're not gonna get
> that *tri*bal (2.0) *in*fluence as much. (Pooh)

Wazhazhe concurs with Pooh's situation of widespread NAE accents in the past—"I'll say my generation and on up they do." Nelly does, too:

O:h, well, no:wada:ys, I think that, (2.2) shoot, it's, it's pretty (h) *hi:gh* up there in

a:ge, (0.8) because the, (0.6) all the *old* ones, m-, *most*ly all the *old* ones spoke

*flu*ent, (0.7) and they *learn*ed how to speak English *la*ter. (1.6) Like, Dad was

eigh*teen* when *he* learned how to speak *En*glish. (1.5) So *his En*glish wasn't real

(1.6) *flu*ent when he was you:ng, but, (0.6) the *old*er he got, the *bet*ter he got. But,

(0.6) you could still tell he was an Indian just by listenin' to him *talk*. (Nelly)

Recall that these three participants are 43, 61, and 65, respectively, concur. If what they

suggest is true, then some sort of noticeable dissolution in the Native American-accented

English began to occur in Oklahoma perhaps 30 to 60 years ago (circa 1950 to 1985).

With respect to the third question, that of geographical location, especially while

conducting the draw-a-map tasks, the participants in general expressed a strong tendency

to locate the NAE phenomenon among certain pockets of high Native concentration,

which often corresponded to a relatively low population in general. The most common

theme in this vein is that there is very little use of NAE or no Native accent in either

Oklahoma City or Tulsa, whose residents were called by numerous participants as either

"city Indians" or "urban Indians." Richard describes these individuals in very stark terms:

The city Indians are different, you know what I mean. They're like- It's just

different. It's all a hustle. "Hey, can I get a bottle of mouthwash," you know what

I mean? It's bad. It's like their hearts are dead, you know what I mean? They're

not Indians. Back on the reservation they're different. But they're- But they still

feel like *Indians*. These people up here, they don't feel like that, you know what I

mean. Really, they feel dead … There doesn't seem to be anything that is Native

American about them except for they *are* Native American. (Richard)

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Ironically and perhaps inadvertently, as a metro resident, Richard tacitly implicates himself in his unflattering statement about city Indians. Still, throughout his interview, he mentions several times how much he misses being around "the reservation," meaning Osage County. It is unclear, therefore, how much he considers himself a city Indian as opposed to merely a Native American who happens to reside in an urban area.

Notice additionally Richard's veiled reference to alcohol use among city Indians ("Hey, can I get a bottle of mouthwash?"). What is curious here is that he presumably witnesses such street-side hustles as a Native American himself. Yet, the reference to alcohol in the hustle is still veiled. Recall also that Sefil mentioned the expectation of Native American alcohol dependency in Excerpt 2 as a reason for her not using NAE in professional contexts. While it is unwise to read too much into Richard's brief hearsay account, it is tempting to make the connection that there may be a tendency to avoid direct confirmation of alcohol use among Natives unknown to one another. It is noteworthy that other participants also mentioned chemical use, abuse, or dependency in their interviews, though not in response to this question. John, for instance, discussed differences between Natives who frequent bars in opposition to Natives who are highly educated in response to the question *What things do Natives from Oklahoma talk about that others don't talk about as often?*

Turning to themes relating to this level of description, one in particular seems to emerge from the data. It relates to the dissolution of channels for the transmission of Native American knowledge. Consider, for instance, Richard's depiction of urban Native Americans. He presents an extreme case of the dissolution of channels for transmitting tribal values and customs from one generation to the next. Namely, he describes an

individual who presumably identifies with an ethnolinguistic community, but is somehow isolated from it, perhaps by physical distance or other such obstacle, and experiencing life as outsider among a larger group to which neither the individual nor the community belongs. This bleak future is one that the participants seem to see as possible given the decline of various tribal institutions, not the least of which is language.

A number of possible contributors to such perceived dissolution emerge from the data. The most agreement (Bobby, Christy, Dina, Harold, Jack, Jackie, James, John, Richard, Sefil, Susan, and Wazhazhe) accrues to the obsolescence of THLs. Says Bobby:

> Maybe:: (0.8) four *years* ago or five *years* ago they said there's only like maybe one or *two*: (1.2) fluent *speak*ers, (1.8) and then *now* they're saying there's just *o:ne* (1.3) 'cause the other one, I, I believe, passed way. (1.1) But, (2.1) *that person* that they was *talk*in', that who I be*lie:ve* they was talkin', was [tribal Elder] (1.1) and *he'll* tell you that he:'s, (0.9) he's not *flu*ent, (1.3) because all that *o:ld* (0.6) speech that the *o:ld*, *o:ld* ones had, (1.0) you know, (1.6) he could 'member 'em *speak* it but he can't 'member how they *spoke* it. (Bobby)

His comment is worth mentioning because it shows what appears to be a widespread view of the authenticity (for lack of a better word) of THLs as a privilege of L1 speakers alone; others may have grown up immersed in the language and may speak it as well as anyone alive—in this case, even better than anyone else alive—and still not be thought to share in this authenticity. As such, the obsolescence of THLs is not merely the loss of L1 speakers, but, in some sense, the loss of any legitimate claim L2 speakers may have had on the language.

The dissolution of this linguistic channel may be easier to accept were it not for the perception of an extremely close relationship between language and culture, and the constellation of institutions associated with the latter. Consider, for instance, a statement made by Richard about another possible contributor to dissolution (mentioned also by Little, Jackie, Richard, and Sefil), the general assimilation, both linguistic and cultural, of Natives into non-Native society as a direct result of the U.S. federal government's eradication and assimilation attempts:

> They came in here and they !!*eradicated* the language, on *pur*pose and with malice a*fore*thought. (0.6) You know what I mean? They didn't *want* anyone speaking it anymore. (0.6) You know what I mean? And so, and, it's *gone*. I mean, they *killed* it. It's *gone*. They suc*ceed*ed. I mean, they did what they wanted to do; they *assimilated* the Native American culture. (Richard)

Notice especially here how he begins by commenting on the eradication of THLs but ends in equating this with assimilation of all Native American culture. This suggests that he views language as a primary means of cultural transmission.

Similarly, several participants (Hanwegumi, Little, Jack, Jackie, James, Richard, Sefil, and Susan) specifically point out intermarriage between Natives and non-Natives, particularly Anglos, as a major contributor to dissolution. Susan decries the outcome of this practice: "There's 39 tribes here, right, and a lot of them are very married into non-, non-Indian, a lot of them are, have lost their full-bloods." The apparent logic behind this statement is that the loss of full-bloods is not merely indicative of other manners of tribal epistemological dissolution; rather, tribal full-bloods are the source of all authentic Native knowledge. Coupling this attitude with the others just mentioned—i.e., the loss of

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THLs, the equation of language and culture, and the after-effects of assimilationist policy—the dissolution picture becomes clearer: There is the perception among the participants of a great disconnect between Natives now and the Natives of only a generation or two ago in terms of the transmission of knowledge.

Keep in mind that dissolution and obsolescence are not threats that are exclusive to THLs. Five participants (Denvvis, Jackie, James, Nelly, and Pooh) mention that the available venues for use of NAE, very much like those for THLs, are few in number and growing smaller. "I seem to remember people talking more like that when I was a kid. It's hardly around," says James. Nelly agrees: "People say *siyo* [Cherokee greeting] and hello. Not very many anymore. You don't hear very much language anymore." Three other participants (Jack, Maryanne, and Richard) go so far as to suggest that NAEs now occupy the same role that THLs had in the past. Richard picks up where he left off in his discussion of Osage girls and their use of slang:

> You know, none of them *speak* their own *lang*uage anymore = I think it was just one, (0.6) like, kind of a *last* little way of hangin' onto something (0.6) that was just *theirs* or *ours* or how*ever* you want to put that. (1.0) You know, I think it's the *remnants* of their own *lang*uage. (0.6) You know what I mean? Because they don't *have* the language anymore, (0.6) so what they have is, they have this English, (0.9) you know, Indian (0.7) little pitiful slang thing, (0.6) but that's all they've *go:t.* And you *real*ly don't get to *hear* it unless you're *right* in the middle of 'em. You know what I mean? (1.4) And, (1.1) I mean, (0.6) I really be*lieve* that. I believe it's like the (1.1) *last des*perate *cul*tural *breath*. (Richard)

Richard brings back to the fore the possibility of restricted topics and contexts of NAE, and even expresses a condemnation of it as "pitiful." All such factors, if they hold true among many individuals outside of the sample of participants, may ultimately limit the vitality of NAE in Oklahoma.

To summarize, participants identified a number of sociolinguistic facts about NAE, including its predominance in females, older individuals as an influence of greater exposure to THLs, younger individuals attempting to claim covert prestige, and in rural as opposed to urban communities. Additionally, there were a number of themes associated with this level of description, including dissolution of channels of transmission of Native knowledge over the course of the last half century or so. This dissolution may have been brought about by or merely reflected in chemical abuse, the obsolescence of both THLs and NAE, assimilationist policies, and intermarriages with non-Natives.

4.3.6 General NAE attitudes. I now turn to the question of the study participants' regard for NAE in general, though their views on the subject have already been discussed to some degree in the discussion of the levels of NAE description. Within the instrument itself, there were two questions specifically dealing with these questions. *1. How do you feel about how Natives from Oklahoma talk? 2. How do you think society at large feels about how they talk?*

Most participants did not offer specific opinions one way or the other as a response to the first question. For instance, Jesse responded, "I really, (1.2) I really don't think about it. Uh, (0.8) you know. I work with a Native American tribe, so I just talk to people who are Native all the time. It just doesn't really- I don't think about it." Little,

however, gave a more nuanced response, one that is conditioned by perceived social realities of Native communities:

> *I'm* okay with it. U::h, (0.8) an-, an-, and a*gai:n* that, to me, that really depends on am I talkin', (1.3) am I talkin' to someone who's been sniffing *paint*? (1.0) As opposed to some, someone who's doing everything they can to get their nursing degree. (0.7) You know, and they both come from within the same community.
>
> (Little)

Without offering a strong positive or negative feeling about the variety when it is divorced from any social context, Little suggests that his feelings about NAE may be swayed one way or the other depending on traits and behaviors his interlocutors may exhibit, particularly those that are either self-improving (and presumably beneficial to Native communities) or self-destructive (and presumably harmful to Native communities). Note that the two contexts he specifically singles out involve chemical abuse and professional education, two themes that have come up numerous times already.

There was agreement among five participants (Amanda, Angela, Nelly, Niclup, and Richard) that NAE was an appealing variety. Nevertheless, they tended not to elaborate much on their approval of NAE. Consider, for instance, the responses of (a) Amanda, "I like it, you know. I'm used to it," (b) Angela, "I like it, too. I think it's good," and (c) Niclup, "I do really like it. I think it's really pretty and relaxing sometimes." One notable exception is Nelly's extended description of NAE from Excerpt 2 ("It's a prettier language to me."). Another is that of Richard:

> I think it's kinda cool. (1.2) You know what I mean? I like the little slang thing that you got going on the reservation, you know. I like all the little, you know, the

little, like, bits of Indian mixed into the English. = It makes it feel like home. It

really does. (Richard)

It is also worth noting that no participant expressed overtly negative regard for NAE

when answering this question, though we have already seen evidence of such elsewhere

in the interviews, including Raven's comments, "I felt so dumb when I left the powwow"

and "'Cause I sound stupid, and not educated.'"

The question regarding how the mainstream views NAE was far more productive.

Consider James's observation, for instance:

(xxx) *odd*. And if [mainstream Oklahomans] *do*, *were* to take the time to actually

formulate a, an opinion beyond the fact that it's strange to them because they're

not used to it, (0.6) it would be- I think the ma*jor*ity of them (0.9) that I've had

the experience to see, that happen, to tend to think that (xxx) is just a (2.4) a *poo:r*

*ve:r*sion of English and, and that, you know, basically it would (0.6) reflect a lack

of edu*ca*tion. (James)

It is unclear from this context if James is using the word *poor* to describe NAE use as

connoting for the mainstream some level of poverty among its users or simply a lower

general quality. Nevertheless, he describes his expectation of a fairly negative reaction to

NAE among mainstream interlocutors. Jesse, too, voices this common perception,

namely, that NAE is stigmatized among the non-Native mainstream:

I think people would (0.8) *tar*get that to make *fu:n* of them sometimes if they-

(1.4) You know, if they spoke *broken* or something like that, I could see the-

(1.1) the mainstrea:m media or, you know, other people that (1.3) *weren't* Native,

um, I could see them making fun of somebody like that. (Jesse)

Another theme related to the sociolinguistic variables under discussion—but also related to connotations of NAE discussed in greater detail above—specifically implicates the association of NAE with rurality (or simply Native community provenance, insofar as Native communities are not typically urban in Oklahoma) in a possible language regard-style imbuing of NAE with certain secondary traits commonly associated with rurality. These include poverty, social isolation, hominess, and especially informality. Recall that several themes mentioned at the discursive and pragmatic level of description relate to this phenomenon. This includes the expectation for non-Natives to associate NAE with a lack of professionalism, as seen in Amanda's above passage. It also includes the expectation for Natives to associate NAE with comfort, ease, hominess, and informality.

John in particular is overt in classifying NAE as something of an informal Native *register* of English in Excerpt 7. In lines 2-4, he further establishes a parallel between NAE use and Oklahoma rurality, which he claims would extend also to Anglos by equating NAE to "redneck" English. He continues his thought by linking both to a general level of informality in rural speech (line 6) that he perceives irrespective of ethnicity (line 9). His comments speak to John's beliefs about what NAE represents, namely, an informal pattern of speaking associated with non-urban (and by extension, non-professionally-oriented) Native Americans. This attitude bears out elsewhere in the interviews in the recurring theme that NAE use is not widespread in either Oklahoma City or Tulsa, the two most identifiably urban areas in Oklahoma.

Excerpt 7

NAE as Informal Register

1   J: If you wanted to go with the ones that talked more of a broken English, I think

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2		it'd be more so in the rural communities than in the cities. And, but, I mean also,
3		probably the white people around there probably talk more redneck
4		[than the city folks do.
5	R:	[Right.
6	J:	So I think to some degree it's kind of a formal and informal speaking
7		patterns [
8	R:	[*Ah*, interesting.
9	J:	More than if, whether, you know, you sound Native or not.

The connection between NAE and Oklahoma English has already been mentioned above, by Jack, Jackie, and John. It is also the case that some of the participants do not see such a connection. In Excerpt 8, Susan specifically denies the similarity of the two.

Excerpt 8

Is NAE Okie or not Okie?

1	R:	What about it, in their, in their voice do you think that it might be?
2	S:	*Tone*, I guess? It's tone. It's not quite so, uh, Okiefied, I, I guess I'd say.
3	R:	Mm-hm.
4	S:	There, there's a little bit of that, a difference there, that even though when I go out of
5		state and I'm around other relatives of other tribes, they can tell I'm from Oklahoma.
6	R:	Mm-hm.
7	S:	*I* don't think I sound like that so much as, as *they* do.
8	R:	Right.
9	S:	But, like, when my uncles or anybody else calls, and I-, and, or just a random stranger
10		were to call and I would be able to tell, I would think, just by the difference in that strong
11		*Okie* accent.

Perhaps the most interesting thing about this excerpt is that Susan uses the perceived *lack* of an Oklahoma English accent as a shibboleth indicating Native ethnicity within the state of Oklahoma (lines 2, 9-11). However, outside of the state, other Natives can identify Susan as an Oklahoman by her accent (lines 4-5). This is intriguing insofar as Susan seems to assume that she is perceived as an Oklahoman abroad for having certain stereotypical Oklahoma English features in her speech. However, it could just as easily be that the Natives outside the state pick up on her Oklahoma *Native* accent, which could be quite distinct from general Oklahoma English—identifiably so, even.

In sum, study participants expressed attitudes toward NAE that generally ranged from neutral to positive, the former included admission that they do not give NAE much thought, and the latter including descriptions of feelings of comfort, ease, and hominess. Meanwhile, they indicated that they perceived non-Natives having attitudes ranging from negative to neutral. For both groups, Natives and non-Natives, NAE strongly indexes informality. Some participants also described NAE as having certain Oklahoma English associations, both in-state and out-of-state.

4.3.7 Summary of responses in lieu of NAE definition. Native American English (NAE) in Oklahoma is perceived by the participants in this study as possibly having a characteristic sound quality, which may be rhythmic in nature and generally slow in gait, and featuring intonation that may be considered either monotonous or singsong. Apart from code-switching from Tribal Heritage Languages (THLs) in certain speech acts, the participants discussed NAE as featuring a set of slang words and phrases including some derived from THLs and some from Mainstream U.S. English (MUSE) that may carry different meanings when used among Native Americans. NAE is generally

perceived by the participants as being at odds with mainstream economic, material, educational, and professional culture and having a number of negative stereotypical associations. It is therefore limited to certain contexts of Native cultural relevance, including political, dance, spiritual, and humorous topics and among Native interlocutors, especially at Native American cultural venues. According to the participants, NAE can be strongly associated with females, older individuals, and rural Native contexts, but others may use it in an attempt to assert Nativeness. For some, its use seems to reflect the dissolution of Native knowledge transmission channels through chemical abuse, obsolescence of linguistic expressions of Native ethnic identity, assimilationist policies, and intermarriage. In general, they felt that Natives may have a range of attitudes toward NAE from neutral to positive—negative attitudes are also possible—and may perceive non-Natives as having negative to neutral attitudes toward it. Finally, NAE is regarded by many as very informal and perhaps as sharing certain features in common with regional Oklahoma English.

4.4 Beliefs and Attitudes

I now turn my attention to some of the other main themes that emerged from the interviews, especially those related to attitudes that may affect choice of NAE in various social contexts. I have divided these into the following six categories:

1. Native regard of THLs;

2. Native regard for MUSE;

3. NAE behaviors;

4. Authenticity;

5. Transmission of tribal knowledge, customs, and behaviors; and

6. Stigmatization of tribal knowledge, customs, and behaviors.

In this discussion, I demonstrate that participants had complicated but generally positive feelings about THLs and also complicated but somewhat less positive feelings about MUSE. I offer interview-based evidence of certain conscious and less than conscious behaviors associated with use of NAE, some attitudes regarding the inauthenticity of some NAE uses and of certain claims of Native American ethnicity in Oklahoma, and a profound need to transmit Native knowledge, customs, and behaviors despite their stigmatization on numerous social levels.

4.4.1 Native regard of THLs. The matter of how the participants regard NAE may be of interest on its own, but this must be placed within the broader context of how they feel about the two main alternatives, THLs and MUSE. Their beliefs and attitudes about the former are particularly germane to the discussion at hand insofar as these are two classes of language variety that specifically index Native American ethnic identity.

Evaluative attitudes toward THLs among the participants were largely very positive; for instance, Nelly refers to Cherokee, the L1 of her father and numerous other family members, as "a gift." However, this is not always the case. In Excerpt 9, Little offers a typically positive attitude toward Kansa (or Kaw). There are several things to notice in this excerpt. For instance, in line 6, Little describes a heritage language, which he did not know at the time of this childhood memory, as *his* language, indicative of a very strong sense of ethnic and speech community identity and evidence of McCarty's (2008) conjecture that THLs are considered available even to non-speakers. Yet, it is not just his language, but also a "beautiful" (line 14) one that "just rolled off [the speakers']

tongues" (line 15) and inspired him to learn it later in life (lines 8-9, 11-12). It would be difficult to describe Little's attitude toward Kansa as anything other than positive.

Excerpt 9

Kansa as Beautiful

1	L:	…and they would be carryin' on a discussion in Kaw, and I just thought, ah, I
2		wish I knew what [
3	R:	[Oh, wow.
4	L:	They were sayin'. And, uh, that was, th-, that kinda, that kinda made me wish th-,
5		ah, ~that c-, that's the first time I can remember thinkin' I wish I knew
6		my language.
7	R:	Mm-hm.
8	L:	You know. And then I never did really have another opportunity until much later
9		in life. But.
10	R:	Hm.
11	L:	That was, uh, that was my most vivid memory of, of hearin' it and knowin' that I
12		wanted to know what they were sayin'.
13	R:	Right.
14	L:	God, and, and I remember thinking how *beau*:tiful it was. H-, you know, how
15		it just *rolled* off of their tongues.

This contrasts sharply with Dina's childhood memory of hearing and using Plains Cree as presented in Excerpt 10. She resisted speaking the language even when directly addressed in it (lines 2 and 3), and was "kinda … annoyed" (line 7) to encounter older ladies who would insist on speaking it with her. Dina's most incriminatory word choice occurs in line 9, where she explains that such encounters were "embarrassing." Nevertheless, note that Dina no longer has these feelings and is even 'quite ashamed'

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(line 11) of the dismissive attitude of her youth. Be aware, too, of Dina's use of "the main town" (line 7) as a possible indicator of her rural provenance but urban social orientation identification at the time.

Excerpt 10

Plains Cree as Embarrassing

1 D: I don't think I really *wanted* to. I *had* to, to communicate with *relatives*. Um, and

2   a lot of times they'd speak in, these older women would speak in Cree, and I

3   would answer in English.

4 R: Mm-hm.

5 D: And sometimes they'd *insist* that you answer back, you know, in Cree. But I don't

6   remember really wanting to learn my language all that much in those days. It was-

7   You know, you kinda get annoyed if you were in town in the main town, and, and

8   these older ladies would speak to you in Cree, and, it was like, you know, you'd

9   *!!be embarrassed*. You wouldn't want to talk. [

10 R: [Right.

11 D: To them. So, um- You know, I'm quite *ashamed* about that now, but that's- You

12   know, in all honesty, I really didn't want to, [

13 R: [Mm-hm.

14 D: To learn it in those days.

Denvvis offers an equally bittersweet perspective on the spiritual, contemplative nature of THLs in Excerpt 11, especially in contrast with what he sees as the precise nature of meaning in English. He sees this as both blessing and curse for both languages:

Excerpt 11

Implicational Exchanges

1 D: In probably most Native languages, is they're, it's so *heartfelt*.

2	R:	Oh, right.
3	D:	There's a *difference*. (2.8) I don't think you can be as heartfelt if you're trying to be
4		precise.

The major takeaway from these excerpts is that the feelings participants have for THL, though mostly positive to reverential, are complicated. On the one hand, participants may claim a degree of ownership of or buy-in for THLs without being fluent speakers in them, suggestive of a strong degree of connection to the language by way of tribal identity, though the language may not be available as a means of expressing that identity. In my own life, I can attest that this is not an infrequent sentiment; I have been introduced by Kaw tribal citizens many times during my years spent as a teacher of the Kansa (or Kaw) language as "our language teacher" or "my language teacher," even though the one introducing me may never have been a student of mine. On the other hand, being expected to use THLs may be a source of embarrassment, either as a potential challenge to *social* identity or, presumably (though not addressed in interviews), as a challenge to overt claims of tribal identity; a non-fluent THL response or fluent MUSE response to a THL utterance may convey a degree of ethnic inauthenticity. Furthermore, in light of the general language shift trends in Indian Country and perhaps as a result of the complicated attitudes toward them, even profound reverence for a THL may not be sufficient to motivate a primarily NAE- or MUSE-speaking Native American to choose to learn or use it; in fact, NAE may be viewed as a more available ethnic code.

4.4.2 Native regard for MUSE. For the most part, participant attitudes toward MUSE ranged from ambivalent to mildly positive, although several participants admitted that they had never really thought about it enough to have an opinion one way or the

other. As an exception, Wazhazhe related an exchange that occurred decades earlier between her and her Osage-speaking grandmother—see Except 12.

Excerpt 12

Comparing Osage and English

1   W: To always come back to English and try to explain what the Osage is, you really

2   can get twisted up. And, uh, I know that the verses come out- Well, I always say,

3   "Well, Grandma, so we're talking backwards a little bit?" And she goes, "No,

4   the *white man* talks backwards. [

5   R: [°Right, right.

6   W: I talk right. *We*: talk right." [(h)

7   R: [(h)

8   W: And (h) so I just said, "Oh, okay."

In this excerpt, Wazhazhe reveals two separate sets of attitudes, her own and those of another member of her family and community. Ostensibly, the topic in question is word order typology differences between Osage and English. The former has a canonical SOV word order with syntactic null subjects (rather, radical pro-drop status; cf. Neeleman & Szendrői, 2007, p. 673) whereas the latter is canonically SVO. This difference can bring about very different conceptual ordering in even the simplest of sentences; compare Osage *ni tóe hkǫ́bra* (water some I-want) to its English equivalent, 'I want(ed) some water,' wherein the direct object comes first in Osage as a result of radical pro-drop of the subject in an SOV order, but last in English's SVO order. When discussing this fact with her grandmother, Wazhazhe revealed the orientation of her own linguistic identity (line 3), namely that English is the normative standard to which Osage

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is to be compared. Her grandmother rebukes this attitude from the opposing Osage-oriented point of view (lines 4 and 6).

The most salient point about this exchange is that both attitudes are present within the Osage community. That is to say, two tribal members from the same family may evaluate THL and MUSE in contrasting fashions. While for Wazhazhe the Osage-centered attitude was associated with an older generation, she admits here that she had at least once adopted a MUSE-oriented identity. Also of note here is the association between MUSE and ethnicity (and possibly sex) in the term 'the white man' (line 4); her grandmother immediately associates English with 'the white man', despite the fact that others within her own family and tribe clearly did and do speak English—indeed, this exchange presumably took place in English. Lastly, the exchange seems to reinforce the age dichotomy seen above in Excerpt 10 wherein a younger Dina identifies more with the mainstream than the older fellow tribal members in town.

Attitudes toward MUSE, then, can vary widely, from Wazhazhe's grandmother's disregard for English-orientated thought to Denvvis's earlier mentioned comment, "I love English." Such a strong difference of opinion can apparently occur between different members of the same close-knit tribal family. Additionally, others may not have given much conscious thought to the variety at all. In this way, Native communities may regard MUSE in much the same way as non-Native communities do: Everyone is entitled to an opinion about it. Additionally, MUSE is always available, even when NAE may not be.

4.4.3 NAE behaviors. The participants discussed a number of conscious and less than conscious behaviors associated with NAE use. For instance seven of them made statements implying that NAE use is largely unconscious. Recall Niclup's drift into NAE

described in section 4.3.4 above (she found it "gross," but observed that no one ever called her out for it). Richard describes this phenomenon more overtly in Excerpt 13.

Excerpt 13		
Involuntary NAE		
1	Rd:	There's this *a:c*cent that all Indians have. An', like, if I'm *really, really* ha:mmered
2		dru:nk, I get it. But, that's the only time I get that *a:c*cent. (0.7) You know what I mean?
3		But that's, (0.7) 't's all I know.
4	R:	Well, Wh-, how can you describe that accent?
5	Rd:	*I* don't know how they *do* it = I can't *do:* it. It's something that comes out involun*tar*ily.
6		(0.7) It's (0.6) just the way they, the way they:'ve, uh, (0.6) just the way they put their
7		sentences to together or something. You know what I mean?
8	R:	(0.8) D-, do you think that, uh- (1.2) You say it comes out, sometimes, but you, you
9		couldn't consciously- [do it?
10	Rd:	[I've tried a hundred times. I can't do it.

In this excerpt, Richard describes NAE as an "accent that all Indians have" (line 1) and as "something that comes out involuntarily" (line 5). He further says that he cannot consciously muster this accent (lines 5, line 10), but that it comes out when he has less conscious control over his speech (lines 1-2).

This, of course, raises a question that did not come up in all of the interviews: Which English variety is the most natural for Native people in Oklahoma? James had an answer, one that, again, points to the difference between a "true accent" as a result of being brought up in a certain THL- or NAE-intensive environment and a "learned accent" which may be used to assert one's Native ethnicity (see Excerpt 5 above):

I think some people affect it, and some people are, (0.7) some people would revert to it. It's kinda like the whole idea about like, *what* would you say when you, when you hurt yourself? Do you say, "*Ouch*," do you say, *"Ow*," or do you *sa:y*, like, something in a different *lang*uage? (0.8) You know, what's your native language? What's the language that you revert to in times of stre:ss or you dream in? (0.6) And, uh, (1.9) you know, so, if you said something really funny to someone, and their knee-jerk reaction was to respond (0.8) in a sort of (0.6) Indian-accented English quote-unquote, (0.6) then I would say that that's probably what they grew up around and what they resort to. But *some* people I think, (1.2) some people I think, it's something that they picked up. (James)

Another related theme involves the ability of Natives to switch back and forth between NAE and MUSE. This has already come up in quotes from Little (whose grandfather had to transition between the two for work), Miss (who discussed the practice in terms of professionalism), Sefil and Raven (both of whom made the switch to work with health care professionals), and Wazhazhe (who discussed the practice in terms of education). It takes on a slightly different sense, though, in the context of conscious versus less than conscious behaviors. In such a context, the ability relates back to the question of which variety may feel more natural for the individual; presumably this natural dialect may be less conscious. Sefil, for example, describes a friend of hers who grew up in an Osage-speaking home but who later became a professional.

In his *job*, it's (0.6) *real* obvious, you can- When you hear him *ta:lk*, (1.1) you !!*would not know* that if he were behind (0.8) a *wa:ll* and you could just hear his voice (xxx), you !!*would not know* he's Native. (1.4) But then you get him back

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home around his people and he can rela::x and then, you know, that accent comes

ba:ck, and ta:lking that traditional talk comes ba:ck. (Sefil)

In a curious turn of phrase, she describes her friend's professional *lack* of an ethnicity-

indexing accent as "obvious," but describes his return to his "traditional talk" as

something that occurs when he is relaxed. It would appear, then, that Sefil believes her

friend's "true accent" (or D1, for first dialect, after L1 for first language) is NAE, and his

professional or "learned accent" (D2) is MUSE.

Another context-dependent switching-related theme is that is that powwow

emcees are, in some respects, ideal NAE speakers for being able to transition smoothly

and convincingly into use of the variety when speaking to crowds and to speak with far

less of a noticeable accent in their daily lives. Five participants (Amanda, Jack, James,

Susan, and Tenuhpuh) related this observation in their interviews, but mostly in passing.

For instance, Susan offers: "Even emcees at the powwow. You might run into that guy

when he's running the clinic. But then you hear him in a powwow and he sounds like a

whole different person!" An emcee himself, Tenuhpuh offers a general explanation as to

why: "There's a different use of our language that goes on in that arena, and when you

step out of that." He suggests that there may be an expectation for one's language to

sound different in and out of the powwow arena. Given the Native-oriented context and

presence of Natives in the audience, it would make sense that NAE would dominate here.

Another related theme is that Native-accented English lingers for some time after

its extended use. Raven and Miss discussed this phenomenon in the context of

professional work in section 4.3.3. In the context of consciousness, this residual accent

seems to be not easily controlled. Richard, who above described his *inability* to

consciously muster an NAE accent, also describes the lingering effect:

> Well, it's like when I'm down on the reservation, I talk totally different than when
>
> I do *now*. You know what I mean? = You get me around a bunch of *I:n*dians, and
>
> I start talkin', you know, (0.8) how I talk back *home*, you know, (0.6) But up here,
>
> it goes away. It takes a *while* to go way, you know. (Richard)

In other words, despite the fact that he cannot adopt the NAE accent at will, he also

cannot make himself adopt MUSE at will. What is not clear here, though could well be

the case, is that his inability to dislodge NAE is due to his strong identification with the

accent and the constellation of related cultural implicatures for which he has positive

regard; in other words, he cannot easily shake it because he does not wish to do so.

Future investigation in this direction would be fruitful.

Another unconscious behavior-oriented theme—but not one that was discussed at

length—is that L1 THL speakers may invert English word order as a result of THL

influence or interference. This was briefly mentioned in passing by Little when

discussing the Kaw Elders in his hometown: "Sometimes you would hear 'em, say, you

know, talkin', and you could s-, you knew that they knew that from somewhere, but it

wasn't comin' out in the way that English says it should come out." Dina then added in

agreement a memory of her own hometown Cree Elders, "It often came out backwards,

too." Wazhazhe also mentioned this when discussing her hometown Osage Elders:

"They'd, like, turn their verses around. And sometimes I do that, too, you know, when

I'm talkin' Osage or thinkin' Osage." What is interesting is that Wazhazhe says that she

also notices herself inverting her word order, even though she does not claim to be an L1

speaker of her THL. But, she does specifically single out Osage speaking and thinking as the source, not necessarily an urge to sound like her Elders. Recall, also, that Wazhazhe discussed word order inversion once with her grandmother, who told her "No, the white man talks backwards" (Excerpt 12).

The last consciousness-related behavioral theme is that NAE can be imitated in an exaggerated fashion to draw attention to stereotypical contrasts of voice quality. That is to say, James, John, and Sefil all offered extended imitations of NAE during the interviews, though each under different circumstances. James did so in describing his experience with certain residents of Anadarko who were not L1 English speakers. John imitated an individual affecting a Native American-accented English variety as a way to assert ethnic identity. And, Sefil affected an exaggerated NAE variety in order to tease a Ponca friend about the residual effects of NAE use. Because these three imitations have radically different contexts, it is not clear what their detailed comparison may have to say about the participants' beliefs about and attitudes toward NAE varieties. Nevertheless, it is an area that is worth further investigation (cf. McBride, 2013, Winter, on real versus imitated varieties of Southern American English dialects).

To summarize this area of belief and attitude briefly, I have demonstrated evidence of certain participants' beliefs that (a) NAE use is primarily an unconscious phenomenon brought on by the presence of Native American interlocutors and/or cultural contexts; (b) that users of NAE can switch back and forth between NAE and MUSE as dictated by the context—as typified by powwow emcees—perhaps without conscious thought; (c) that a NAE accent may linger for some time after its use; (d) that strong association with a THL may cause word order inversions in English—presumably NAE;

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and (e) NAE can be imitated in an exaggerated fashion. Most of these tenets would presumably help to buoy NAE choice, especially in those domains where it is frequently expected, which, according to the participants, include Native cultural venues among Native interlocutors, preferably outside of formal educational or professional contexts.

  4.4.4 Authenticity. The question of authenticity has been discussed before, specifically in the context of Excerpt 5, and John's evaluation of "true accent" use of NAE (that is, an accent occurring as a result of being an L1 speaker of a tribal language and learning English later in life; this version of NAE will be regarded below as a late D1 NAE variety[15]) versus a "fake" version (that is, a Native American-accented English variety learned later in life, presumably after MUSE was acquired, and consciously used to assert ethnic identity; this will be regarded as a conscious D2 NAE variety). This distinction is probably too binary for some purposes. For instance, a person may have acquired NAE early as a D1 without having ever acquired a THL, as described in the above section by both James and Sefil; this is an early D1 NAE variety. Alternatively, an individual may have acquired a D2 NAE unconsciously as part of normal life, without any "fake" assertions of Native ethnicity; this case was never specifically mentioned in the interviews, but would be a less than conscious D2 NAE variety. There may even be other varieties, such as a more exaggerated one standing atop any of the others. The point remains, however, that some of these uses of NAE may be regarded as authentic and some as inauthentic; it is important to note, though, that inauthentic NAE use is not necessarily regarded by any participants as malicious in nature.

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[15] D1 here refers to 'first dialect,' analogous to L1 for 'first language.'

Seven participants (Jack, James, John, Little, Niclup, Richard, Susan) discussed the possibility for Natives to affect an NAE accent that they do not normally use. For instance, recall Jack's powwow emcee-style razzing joke, "I, I knew, oh, John Doe there before he even talked Broken English." The joke specifically points out that some people may come to an NAE accent later in life, a fact that must be assumed if the joke is to have any traction among the powwow attendees, and one that must carry with it some (very slight) negative evaluation for it to be humorous or even considered razzing. As can be seen in Excerpt 14, Jack also offered a more ironic treatment of this topic in a story about an individual he had known all his life who was asked to speak at a powwow; note that the interview also involved his wife Jackie (denoted below as 'Je').

Excerpt 14

Accidentally Inauthentic NAE

1	J:	He *spoke* up at the *pow*wow for somebody (0.9) and I was li-, (h) I was like,
2		*da::(h, h)ng!* You know, he had that-, (0.7) he had that *gait*, he had that *ac*cent, he had
3		that, that *flow*. (1.0) And, you know, (0.6) I, right or wrong, or just wh-, why it is, *I* don't
4		know, but-
5	Je:	(h)
6	J:	It's like, you know, (h) !!*He* doesn't talk that way!
7	Je:	(h)
8	J:	And, but- You know, and that was just fresh on my mind, 'cos I w-, I was sittin' there
9		thinkin', huh, (1.1) that's, (0.8) that's odd.
10	Je:	(h)
11	J:	You know, and I just, you know.
12	Je:	He must've been a*way* for a*while*. (h)
13	J:	But I'll *te:ll* you, I- I've, (0.8) in that *sa:me*- (0.6) I've been asked to speak for people

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14		when in, in, uh, (1.0) at certain *ti:*mes. (1.2) And, I'll tell you, I find myself almost fallin'
15		into that same *li:*ne of start- Not so much the *ac*ce:nt and the- (0.8) Well, I mean, I
16		kinda, it- it's like you know wh-, wh- it- (1.0) You know, when they asked me, we was
17		goin' to speak for [a friend].
18	Je:	Uh-huh.
19	J:	And I was like, what do I say? I don't- (0.6) And I started, like, kinda (0.6) thinking what
20		I was going to say and it, (0.6) !!and I'll be damned if it didn't start coming out (h) just
21		like, (h) just like those guys I'm *laughing* about!

Jack opens this exchange by describing an acquaintance who did not normally have a noticeable NAE accent but who affected one at a public cultural venue (lines 1-3). He and his wife then both joke about the occurrence (lines 6-12), calling it "odd" and suggesting that he may have acquired it "away," perhaps out of Oklahoma. Nevertheless, he then goes on to give an example of an occasion in which he, under the same circumstances as the other individual, adopted the very same inauthentic, presumably exaggerated accent (lines 13-21). What is interesting here is that he does not attempt to explain why he behaved so, though he does suggest that his mind was otherwise occupied in trying to think of what to say (lines 19-20). In light of what was described earlier, he may have been subject to less than conscious NAE use prompted by the highly NAE-primed context (a Native among a crowd of Natives at a Native cultural venue performing a Native cultural custom, i.e., speaking for someone in public) in which there may be a strong expectation for NAE use (recall the emcee's strong association with NAE use within the arena). Indeed, if ever there was an occasion in which NAE use would have been very appropriate, this would have been that occasion! Still, he classifies

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the example as something inauthentic, capable of being mentioned in roughly the same breath as a razz-worthy example of inauthenticity.

Still, other participants are less patient when it comes to the inauthentic use of NAE. Little, for example, offers the following comment specifically involving a code-switching variety of NAE:

I can name two or three right now, they just want to show off and they-, You know, they could get by with not saying *one word* of Lakhota or Ponca or whatever, because they say it to a non-Native audience to try and impress them. And I see that happen every time around certain people and it just makes me *sick*. (Little)

Another form of inauthenticity brought up by the participants involves ethnicity. In short, some Natives are not authentically Native. For instance, Sefil offers:

You'll see the difference between (1.9) hobbyists, (1.6) born-again Indians[16] (h), (1.7) and tho:se (1.1) that were brought up traditional = may not continue to *be* traditional, but the wa:y, you know, the *dif*ference in how they are. (1.3) Um, (2.4) they're m- (2.5) The *sound*, the *tone* ((sneezes)) Pardon me. *Ho:w* they carry themselves. (Sefil)

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[16] The hobbyist is a familiar trope in Indian Country that generally refers to ethnic non-Natives who engage in certain Native or pseudo-Native cultural practices—such as dancing at powwows or partaking in sweat lodge ceremonies—for their own enjoyment (sometimes pejoratively called *wannabes*). On its face, the word may not be pejorative; indeed, some hobbyists refer to themselves using the term 'Indian hobbyist.' The word may also refer to ethnic Natives who do the same, but who do not otherwise identify with their Native culture or ethnicity or observe any cultural obligations (also *play Indian*, *instant Indian*, or, as seen here, *born-again Indian*).

Sefil sets up something of a scale of authenticity here, with the most authentic being the individual who was raised traditionally.

An alternative perspective is that of Raven, who several times during her interview referred to herself as a "white girl," despite the fact that she is an ethnic Native who engages in Native cultural activities and is married into a Native family. Note, though, that she was brought up with little connection to her own tribal culture, a fact that perhaps fuels her perception of herself as somehow not authentic. Hanwegumi for her part defends the "redhead or blonde [Native] sitting across the aisle at the Indian clinic" who draws stares or comments from other Natives as a result of lower blood quanta for membership in certain tribes; nevertheless, she recognizes the perception that others have about inauthentic ethnicity.

Another lesser mentioned theme, but one that is directly related, is that belief that no tribal community in Oklahoma is authentically Native anymore—or that there is no meaningful distinction between Native and non-Native—because all tribes are now the same. Pooh, for example, speaks of the difficulty she faced as a child to "find somebody that in my class that wasn't Native American of some sort because there's just, there's just so many in Oklahoma." Rowdy agrees: "We're all mixed together so much these days, it all seems there isn't anything that I could think of that myself as a Native American wouldn't deal with every day as everybody else would." Again, this is a lesser mentioned theme and one only mentioned in passing when it did come up. Still, it does speak to the larger theme of inauthenticity of either linguistic or ethnic expression of Nativeness in the state.

Finally, as was mentioned before, a very common attitude among the participants related to the dichotomy between a) late D1 NAE varieties and b) early D1 NAE varieties. While both of these may be viewed as authentic, the former is perceived as an "actual accent" (see Excerpt 5) while the second may be regarded as somehow less so. As such, some participants (Harold and John, particularly) described social situations wherein an identifiable accent brings along with it the expectation of at least some THL knowledge. Thus, even an authentic NAE variety can be evaluated in terms of finer grained levels of authenticity, with implied THL knowledge being in some sense even more authentic than no implied THL knowledge. The previously mentioned NAE-implied knowledge of Native-oriented mappings of common MUSE words and phrases can be judged in this way, too. James, for instance, points out the use of "those people back there" to refer to tribal ancestors, a phrase that may not be immediately accessible to some because of its specialized semantics in Native contexts. It is obvious how a community could use their own expectations of such implied knowledge as a useful tool for sorting candidate individuals into an authentic in-group or an inauthentic out-group.

In this section, I have described some interview evidence for themes of belief among some of the interview participants that (a) Natives occasionally affect a NAE accent that they do not normally use, (b) certain Natives are not authentically Native, (c) no tribal community is authentically Native anymore because all tribes are now the same, and (d) certain knowledge implied through the use of NAE may be evaluated in terms of its authenticity. It is not immediately clear how belief in authentic versus inauthentic NAE behaviors and knowledge would serve to help or hurt the choice to use NAE, especially in light of the less than conscious use of NAE. Still, if an individual feels that

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she will not be evaluated fairly for her use of NAE, she may opt to use MUSE, which, is essentially a neutral language variety.

4.4.5 Transmission of tribal knowledge, customs, and behaviors. A few participants discussed beliefs or attitudes about the transmission of Native culture, a fact that was discussed earlier in terms of dissolution of the channels for achieving such a goal. It is not surprising that tribal values and customs are meaningful to the Native participants in this study, nor even that they feel a responsibility to transmit their knowledge of these institutions, however great or limited, to the next generation. What is less intuitive, perhaps, is that similar things need not be said about the non-Native mainstream whose values and customs are reinforced in manifold ways on a daily basis throughout the state. So, while the average non-Native person on the street in Oklahoma may feel no particular obligation to explain to her children the history and significance of a particular dance step they may be viewing or learning, the average Native who identifies strongly as a member of a tribal group (or the community of Native Americans as a whole) may feel great pressure to do the same. "We're survivalists," offers Sefil, "we gotta keep it going." This paradigm is not without certain social drawbacks. For instance, there is often an expectation to remain in the tribal community and not leave. Little describes how he left his hometown for many years to attend school and earn a living. When he returned, some of his fellow tribal members accused him of being "instant Indian," despite the fact that he grew up there. One can see how, in such a social framework, it can be seen as shocking or perhaps even a failing when, for instance, people in the mainstream acquire THL vocabulary or NAE slang; other Natives, the individuals they were meant for (at least within a Native-centric ideology), may not have

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these words. Jackie relates a story of her family's great surprise at learning that an Anglo banker knew the Kiowa word her father had used to describe a car he did not want to buy. "Why would we think they *wouldn't* know? They've been around *us* as long as *we've been around them*, so how could they *not* pick words like that up?"

Attitudes that affirm the transmission of community knowledge may serve NAE well in terms of language choice. For instance, if an individual maintains as an ideological tenet the belief that NAE is an important linguistic institution among Native Americans in Oklahoma, it is likely that she will want to pass down NAE in the same way she might also pass down knowledge of a cultural craft, a set of dance customs, or a tribal clan taboo.

4.4.6 Stigmatization of tribal knowledge, customs, and behaviors. Lastly, the boarding school experience and other leftovers of the U.S. attempts to eradicate Native culture are very much still fresh in the minds of the research participants. In fact, when the audio recording was not running, Maryanne related an extended story about the differences she and her husband George—who grew up not very far from her and during the same basic time—faced as children in two quite different varieties of Creek-speaking household as a result of boarding schools. Her parents were boarded and, as such, they strongly emphasized English for academic achievement to keep their children out of such schools. Meanwhile, George's parents grew up isolated from much of the contemporary mainstream culture ("We had a horse and wagon. That was the only way we had to travel," he offers), unaware of the schools and their impacts. As a consequence, he grew up knowing only Creek, and his wife almost exclusively English. This is just one example of the extreme impact of cultural stigmatization, a force that is well known

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among the participants. Other sources of perceived stigmatization include negative ethnic stereotyping, which has already been discussed to some extent, especially regarding chemical addiction, lack of education, and lack of professionalism. Note that this form of stigmatization does not only come from the mainstream. Susan, for instance, describes how her grandmother did not approve of Native-oriented slang or colloquialisms, i.e., important features of NAE, and instilled the same attitude in her as a child: "You didn't want to sound like you were the dirt poor Oklahoma farmer, and you didn't want to sound like you were an Indian who wasn't raised right."

Perception of widespread mainstream stigmatization of cultural knowledge, customs, and behaviors obviously runs counter to any obligation to transmit them to the next generation. Nevertheless, stigmatization of Native American culture has been going on for half a millennium, yet Native American culture continues to be transmitted in some form or another. It may be, then, that—the experience of Susan notwithstanding— stigmatization does not play a significant role in transmitting or not transmitting NAE. Or, perhaps, it is merely that the preservation or not of an NAE transmission channel despite its stigmatization is itself less important than how the future generation deals with such linguistic and cultural stigmatization in their own lives.

4.4.7 Beliefs and attitudes summary. In this section, I have discussed some of the other themes of language regard that were not discussed directly or at length in the definition of NAE. These included a complicated but almost reverential attitude toward THLs, a wide range of attitudes to MUSE, a set of conscious and less than conscious beliefs by users of NAE about NAE (such as its involuntary deployment or switching, its lingering effects, possible interference from THLS, and the ability to imitate it in

exaggeration), a panoply of NAE-related phenomena that could be evaluated in terms of their authenticity or inauthenticity (including affected accents, challenges to claims of ethnicity, and expectation of certain bodies of implied knowledge), and a need to transmit Native culture despite its stigmatization.

Along the way, I have also attempted to show how some of these attitudes and beliefs may affect one's choice to use or not use NAE in various social contexts. These themes have the potential of cancelling each other out, all things being equal. For example, positive attitudes toward THLs may lead to the choice of NAE in light of the former's obsolescence. Nevertheless, the overwhelmingly widespread availability of MUSE—which, regardless of what Native attitudes may be arrayed for or against it, is perceived as suffering from little mainstream stigmatization—may outweigh one's choice to use NAE. Likewise, the potentially unconscious use of NAE may increase its likelihood of deployment, but the presence of judgment against one's use of NAE on a scale of authentic status may lead some not to deploy it consciously. And, the need to transmit it may be countered by the stigmatization in doing so. Nevertheless, all things are *not* equal. As has been demonstrated earlier, NAE tends to be confined to very specific domains that bring with them much baggage that may also affect choice. If anything, this discussion of additional attitudes and beliefs serves only to add further shading to an already nuanced picture of NAE in Oklahoma.

4.5 NAE Concentrations in Oklahoma

The final measures resulting from the interviews come from the draw-a-map task. All participants were invited to draw and label places on a map of Oklahoma where the people sound "more Native" or "less Native" when they speak English. Not every

individual participant completed a separate map. The interview pair Dina and Little completed a single map between them, as did the pairs George and Maryanne, Hanwegumi and Raven, and Jack and Jackie. The two Tulsans Bobby and Niclup independently declined to take part, citing that they did not have enough exposure to other areas of the state to do the task justice.

As an example of the hand-drawn maps, Figure 4 represents the perceptual map completed by Rowdy. He drew circles around Oklahoma City and Tulsa, both of which he labeled as "Weak," two sets of circles around the Anadarko area[17], which he labeled as "Very strong," and a final circle just to the north of the largest Anadarko circle around an area representing Clinton, Oklahoma, which he did not label.

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[17] Only the largest circle around Anadarko was imported into GIS, since Rowdy drew both in a single action, suggesting that he drew his first circle too small.
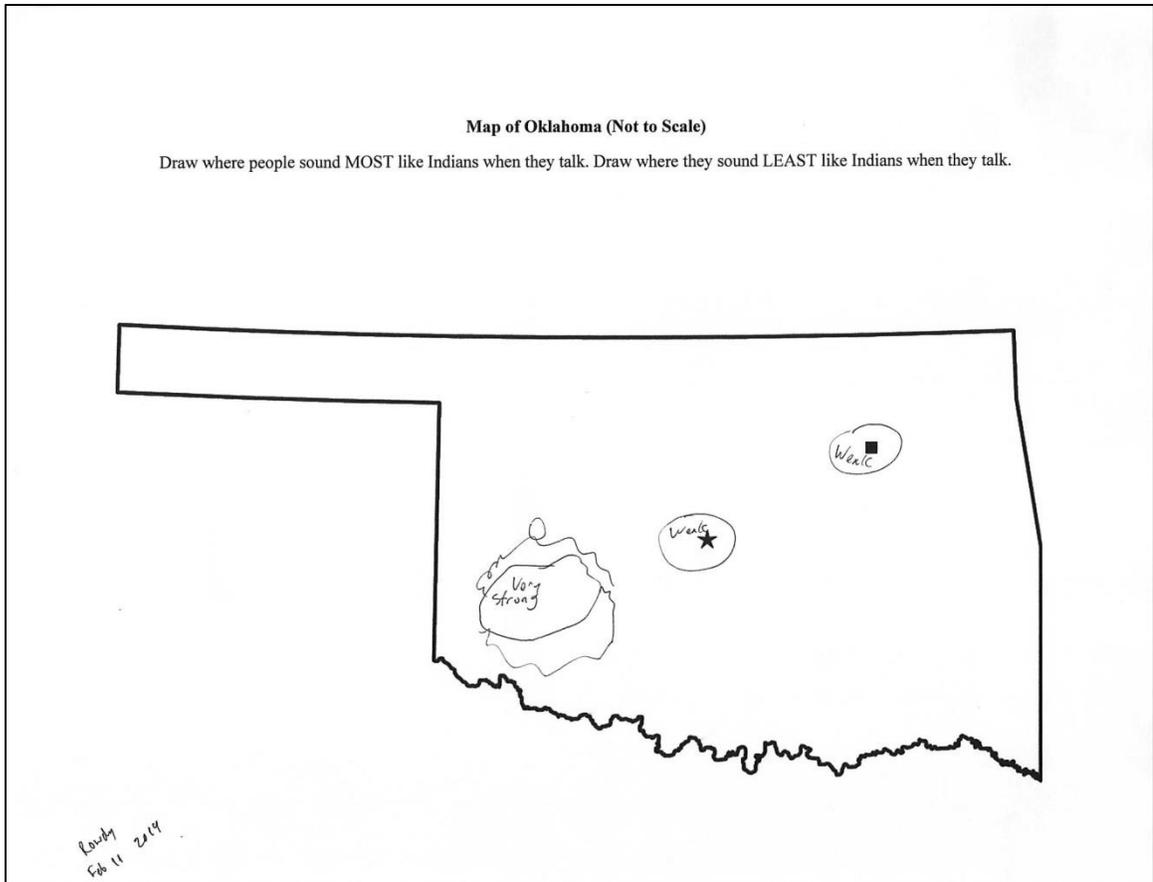
Figure 4. Individual draw-a-map response from Rowdy.

The 22 individual maps were then scanned into QuantumGIS, the individual polygons were traced, and demographic data and any labels were recorded in the associated attribute table for the corresponding point, line, or polygon. When a label but no shape was found, a simple polygon representing only the outline of the word block was created if the label did not correspond to any of the two land features on the pre-drawn map, Tulsa and Oklahoma City. In such cases, the map indicator shape was traced to generate a polygon. When a shape but no label was found, the audio recording was played to make a determination as to whether the shape referred to a 'more Native accent' or 'less Native accent' response. Figure 5 represents the initial aggregation of all lines and polygons; at this point, the associated attribute table alone contained the 'more

Native accent' or 'less Native accent' data. As such, this map can really only show the regions of the state that were perceived by participants as having *some* noteworthy quality; darker areas indicate only more agreement on this point. In order to get at what that quality was, the 'more' and 'less' areas had to be separated.
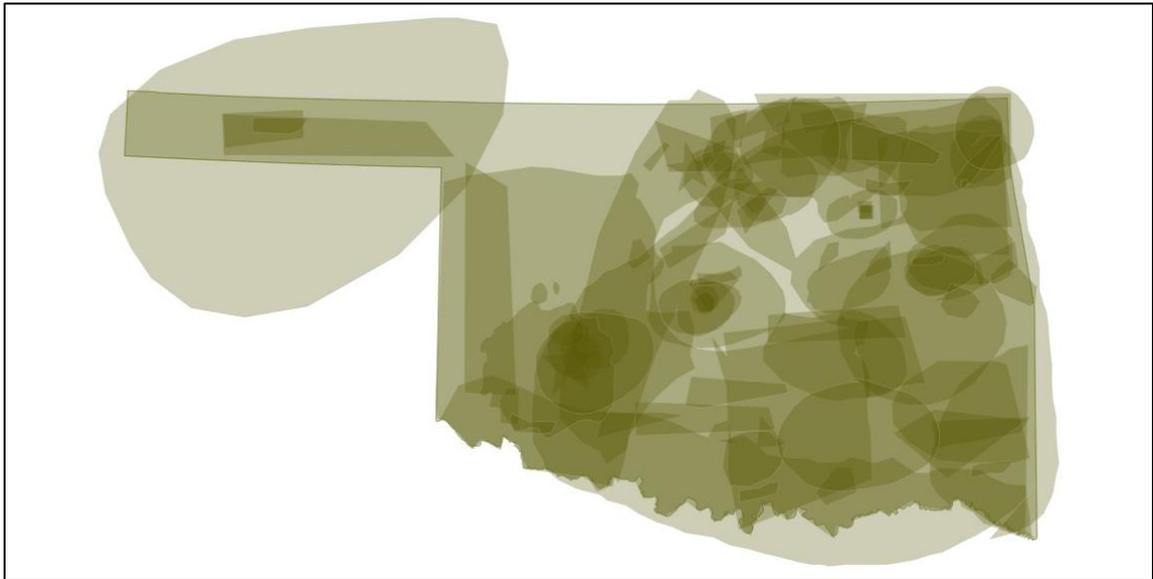
Figure 5. All draw-a-map response polygons.

These combined 'more' and 'less' polygons where then separated and processed independently in Arc using techniques defined in Montgomery and Stoeckle (2013) to generate Figures 6 and 7, which show the final aggregation of the map results of the respondents' 'more Native accent' and 'less Native accent' areas, respectively.

Figure 6 is color-coded using increasingly darker shades of blue to indicate increasingly greater degrees of agreement among the participants regarding areas with 'more Native accent.' The most immediately notable feature of Figure 6 is the large concentration in the southwest corner of the state directly above the 75-mile marker in the distance legend. This concentration corresponds roughly to the Anadarko-Carnegie-Fort Sill area but is situated directly over the city of Carnegie, home of the Kiowa tribal

headquarters. Bear in mind that the pre-drawn maps given to the respondents bore indicators for only Oklahoma City and Tulsa, and no other city or county border. Note well that the area of the state perceived as having the greatest Native accent corresponded closely to one of the actual cities of highest Native density in Oklahoma. In the 2010 U.S. Census, for instance, Anadarko (in the southwest area of the state under the darkest blue concentration area) had an "American Indian and Alaska Native alone" percentage of 48.6, the highest single ethnic demographic in the city (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014).

Other areas of note include the northern corridor running from north-central Oklahoma to the northeast corner, an area home to many of the state's tribes, as well as to most of the research participants. Just below the eastern half of this area are two slightly lighter areas roughly corresponding to Cherokee and Creek population centers in the east and west, respectively. While these four regions are perceived as having the greatest concentrations of identifiable NAE speakers, it is worthy of mention that the rest of the state is blue, as well!
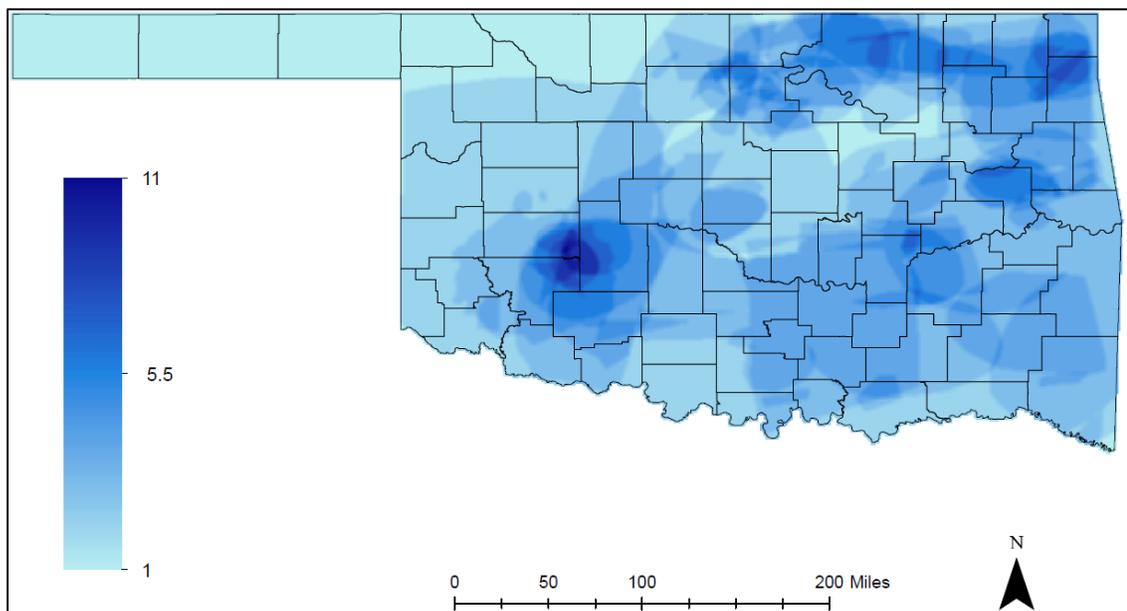
Figure 6. Aggregated draw-a-map responses for 'More Native Accent'.

Figure 7 is similarly color-coded, but now shows increasingly darker shades of orange for increasingly greater degrees of agreement among participants as to where the 'less Native accent' areas of the state are concentrated. Figure 7 provides far less coverage of the 'less Native accent' areas of the state than Figure 6 does for 'more Native accent,' due in no small part to the relatively few participants providing 'less Native accent' data. Still, the inclusion of the Oklahoma City and especially Tulsa metro areas is telling and very much in line with the belief described above that NAE is not an urban phenomenon in Oklahoma. The Panhandle is also perceived as not having a strong NAE presence, which aligns with demographic trends. Consider, for instance, that the central county in the Panhandle, Texas County, was approximately 90% "White only" in 2010, about equally divided between "Hispanic or Latino" and "non-Hispanic or Latino," and only 2.1% "American Indian and Alaska Native alone" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Note also the so-called Little Dixie area of Southern American English dialect concentration in the southeast corner of the state, and the fringe along the south and west bordering Texas.
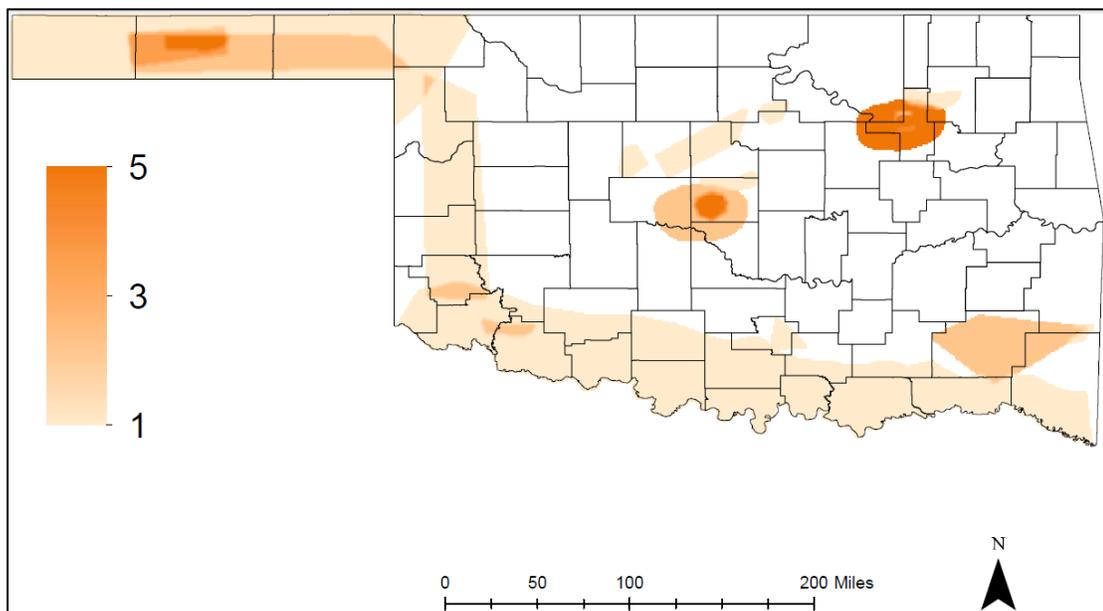
Figure 7. Aggregated draw-a-map responses for 'Less Native Accent'.

While it is difficult to draw many conclusions from so few responses, it is important to notice that the participants at the very least appear to be conscious of areas of Native ethnic concentration and diffusion, and they also appear to associate some of those areas with a characteristic accent. The draw-a-maps themselves may not indicate the presence or absence of true dialect boundaries, but they do represent the perceptions of distinction of speech, expected or otherwise, which may go a long way towards indicating the salience of the phenomenon in the social lives of Natives in Oklahoma.

4.6 Summary

The two-fold purpose of this chapter has been as follows:

1. To identify how Native American members of the expected Native American English speech community in Oklahoma define the variety; and

2. To identify key attitudes toward Native American English use and expectation of use in Oklahoma, including especially those attitudes, both conscious and subconscious, that may affect language variety choice in various social contexts.

I have presented some of the data from my interviews with 27 mixed-blood Native American adults living in Oklahoma to this end. I will now briefly summarize some of the key findings relating to the individual participants, their functional definition of NAE, some themes I identified from the various beliefs and attitudes they discussed that may affect language choice, and some of their thoughts about where NAE varieties were most prevalent or concentrated in the state. I will now address each of these points in turn.

4.6.1 Individual participants. The 27 interview participants represent many facets of Native American life in Oklahoma. They include a wide range of adults, male

and female, from those just starting their lives away from home (like Christy) to recent

retirees (such as George and Maryanne), and from those living only blocks from their

tribal headquarters (Miss, for instance) to those living many hundreds of miles from their

tribal homeland (like Dina). Some hail from densely populated urban areas (including

Bobby and Niclup from Tulsa, Richard and Rowdy from Oklahoma City), while most are

from smaller cities and rural towns across the state. There are some who may not profess

strong ties their own tribal communities (like Niclup or Raven), and some who identify

with very fine levels of organization within a single tribal unit (Bobby, for example, who

identifies strongly as a traditional Osage dancer). Most claim to speak some variety of

English as a first language, but one (George) is an L1 speaker of Creek. Additionally,

they represent 14 primary tribal affiliations ranging from the extreme northeast to the

southwest of Oklahoma. Because their backgrounds are all so different, it is not

surprising that there are differences of opinion between them all. In fact, if one simple

statement unites them all, and in fact all Native Americans, it would be that there is no

monolithic Native American culture. The ideological and attitudinal material presented in

this chapter, thus, represents only an identifiable mass within this great diversity.

4.6.2 Definition of NAE. The participants described NAE in various and

occasionally conflicting ways, and not all of them commented on any given item about

NAE in the instrument by virtue of the conversational nature of the semi-structured

interviews. Nevertheless, something like a consensus concerning a description of NAE

emerged from the analysis of a series of responses to pointed questions about certain

levels of linguistic inquiry. Some of the most salient points of this definition, though

certainly not without some disagreement, include the following:

- The possibility of an identifiable rhythm, gait, intonation, and overall sound quality for the variety;

- THL code-switching in certain speech acts associated with Native culture;

- much THL- and MUSE-derived slang use;

- limited (Native culture-oriented) discourse topics and contexts of use;

- association with Native identity, culture, contexts, and interlocutors;

- a range of attitudes among Natives, from neutral to positive;

- positive connotations of informality, comfort, and familiarity with Native culture;

- lack of associations with mainstream culture, context, and interlocutors;

- a *perceived* range of attitudes among non-Natives from negative to neutral;

- negative connotations of informality, poverty, lack of education, lack of professionalism, and various negative ethnic stereotypes;

- associations with females, older individuals, rural (Native community) provenance, and assertions of Nativeness; and

- some associations with regional Oklahoma English.

These points should not be thought of as realities but merely perceptions of reality. Thus, they represent a jumping-off point for increased formal and ethnographic research into actual NAE *use* in the state.

4.6.3 Beliefs and attitudes that may affect NAE choice. The research participants provided interview evidence for a number of beliefs and attitudes that may have some effect on whether or not someone chooses to use NAE in a given social context. These beliefs and attitudes were contradictory in terms of their potential effects on NAE choice. For instance, participants expressed highly positive attitudes toward

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THL and a wide range of negative to positive attitudes toward MUSE. NAE may be able to draw on the positive attitudes toward THL through their indexicality of Native (though not necessarily tribal) ethnicity and shared venues for use, but may also be more available and acceptable given the rapid obsolescence of THLs. Meanwhile, MUSE may be even more available and acceptable, despite the possibly negative attitudes toward it, given the fact that it does not index any specific tribal or even general Native ethnicity or culture, which the participants described as highly stigmatized. This perceived stigmatization of Native culture also stands in opposition to a need among the participants to transmit their cultural heritage—which may include NAE—to future generations.

Participants also discussed a number of consciousness-related behaviors associated with NAE, including its involuntary deployment, the (potentially unconscious) ability to switch between NAE and MUSE depending on contexts, especially as demonstrated by powwow emcees, the tendency for NAE to unconsciously linger for some time after exposure to it, and the conscious ability to exaggerate NAE features when imitating it. It is possible that the involuntary nature of NAE use ensures that it will continue to be deployed in Native-oriented discourse contexts well into the future. Nevertheless, participants also discussed certain aspects relating to Native American English use and even Native American ethnicity as being capable of evaluation on some scale of authenticity. These aspects include the accents or dialects used or affected by individuals and the implied systems of Native cultural knowledge that they may carry with them, but they also include the mere assertion of Native ethnicity in a state where tribal populations can be perceived as no longer culturally or ethnically intact. The

possibility of negative authenticity judgments by Natives and negative ethnicity judgments by non-Natives may pressure individuals not to choose NAE use.

4.6.4 Physical locations of NAE. Participants identified several pockets of NAE concentration throughout the state. These occur mostly in rural areas running from the southwestern complex of tribes around Anadarko, north and eastward across a northern corridor that parallels the Kansas border from about the center of the state to a concentration in the extreme northeast near Miami, and then extending southward and somewhat westward to capture large Native population centers in Muskogee in Tahlequah. Meanwhile, the areas with the lowest perceived concentrations of identifiable Native accent include the two major metropolitan areas of Oklahoma City and Tulsa, as well as the panhandle, a corridor roughly parallel with the Texas border, and the Little Dixie area in the southeast. One especially promising region for future study is the Anadarko-Carnegie region, which received the highest level of agreement for the presence of an identifiable Native accent, but for which I was unable to elicit direct participation from residents in this study; I did speak with three who grew up there (Denvvis, Jackie, and Tenuhpuh) and with two more who have strong ties to the region (James and Rowdy). The northern corridor and the eastern corridor may also be worth investigating further.

4.6.5 Final thoughts. While appropriate for my purposes, the analytical methods used for this portion of my research study reflect only the grossest manner of thematic approaches, leaving me with a tremendous amount of acoustic and discursive data on the table unanalyzed. It is, therefore, necessary to stress that the data are very rich and worthy of much additional investigation. It is also important to reiterate that these points are only

themes emerging from the interviews which deal exclusively with *perceptions*, not realities. Thus, it may be that, for example, the prosodic features described above do not bear out in careful instrumental analysis. Bear in mind, also, that the sample size is very small. It may be that with a much larger sample, especially one that incorporated participants from regions and tribes that I was not able to recruit from, there would be an entirely different set of emerging perceptions. It is of crucial importance, then, to state that these findings are not strictly generalizable.

Bear in mind, also, that these attitude data do not easily lend themselves to *predictions* of future vitality. Individual perceptions and attitudes, community ideologies, and ethnolinguistic communities themselves can all change radically over time. That is to say, beliefs and attitudes are not necessarily carefully crafted observations of reality, and where both regard and reality may be headed tomorrow may not even be predictable from a single snapshot of either today. Consider that, for the average Roman citizen in the first century B.C.E., the idea that there would ever be a day when Latin was extinct while people all across their known world (i.e., Africa, Asia, and Europe) would speak a Germanic language may well have been the most preposterous thing imaginable. The Angles and Saxons would probably have agreed with this assessment. Yet, both the Romans and the members of the Germanic tribes probably had very positive views of their own ethnic and speech communities in relation to those of outsiders.

In terms of NAE in Oklahoma, it is at least conceivable that, on the one hand, the close attitudinal association between NAE and those elements of Native American tribal and supratribal cultures (such as dance, religion, politics, and humor) that are themselves quite vital institutions may help to secure NAE's vitality within its respective

ethnolinguistic communities, regardless of how Natives may view its contexts for use or possible reception within the broader society. If this turns out to be the case, NAE may have a long and prosperous future in the state. This could be possible even if the Mainstream ends up uniting in rejection of the speech variety, other Native cultural elements, and indeed Native identity as a whole. Language variety choice is, after all, a decision that free individuals with agency are assumed capable of making at all times regardless of what external forces may be aligned for or against one choice or another— at least theoretically.

On the other hand, it may not bode well for the future of NAE in Oklahoma when even so small a sample of its potential speech community regard it as existing almost exclusively in increasingly limited social contexts and rife with negative stereotypes that may limit its use still further, even among other Natives. In such a scenario, if NAE is to have a long future in the state, attitudes may well need to change—perhaps in Native and non-Native communities alike.

CHAPTER V

SURVEY RESULTS

In this chapter, I review the results of the computerized survey component of the study, which involved three main modules: (1) A collection of demographic information, much of which has not yet been discussed; (2) a subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (SEVQ); and (3) a task for determining language variety choice across several social contexts. Before I can discuss the results from these modules in greater detail, I must first frame their relation to the larger study. Thus, I begin by briefly reviewing the relevant research questions and identifying how they relate to the survey component in general. Next, I look at each of the main survey modules in turn, first taking a closer look at the demographic data, next discussing the SEVQ results, both individually and in aggregate, and then the language variety choice task. I conclude with a brief summary of the main findings from the survey.

I hope to show in this chapter a number of important points about the various ethnolinguistic communities to which Oklahoma Natives belong. These include the following: A distinct lack of a single, monolithic culture of Native Americans in the state; an interplay of perceptions about ethnic and speech communities that often favors membership in shared ethnicities over use of shared language varieties; differences in age and sex in terms

of the perception of community vitality; and the tendency for Natives to use MUSE over other available varieties, even in contexts when THLs or NAE may be appropriate.

5.1 Purpose

Recall the final two research questions in the study, first presented in section 1.6.

2. To identify key attitudes toward Native American English use and expectation of use in Oklahoma, including especially those attitudes, both conscious and subconscious, that may affect language variety choice in various social contexts; and

3. To investigate the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of NAE within its Oklahoma ethnic and speech communities in comparison to THLs and MUSE, particularly in terms of the social factors that may contribute to language variety choice as well as the social and geographical domains of these varieties, in the hopes of informing future Native American English research.

The most obvious connections between these questions and the study's electronic survey component are the idea of contextualized language variety choice—which one of the three main modules of the survey specifically addresses—and the investigation of ethnolinguistic vitality—which is the entire point of the SEVQ. Still, there is another connection. Given that language regard is both conscious and subconscious, and given also that the interview component is an attempt to uncover as many conscious beliefs and attitudes as possible, the computerized component is geared more toward subconscious ones; keep in mind, though, that the distinctions between the two, as discussed in the literature view, are not as separable as such wording would suggest. Furthermore, the attitudes likely to be activated here are much more *ethno*linguistic in nature, owing to the

nature of the SEVQ items, making the term 'language regard' somewhat misleading. The

purpose of this chapter, then, is to investigate both language choice and subjective

ethnolinguistic vitality from the context of (mostly subconscious) beliefs and attitudes,

particularly with respect to ethnic and speech community memberships.

Remember, also, that this study is very much basic SEV research among Native

Americans in Oklahoma—the first of its kind for a methodology that could be applied

again fruitfully in specific tribal communities or among Natives as a whole in greater

numbers than I was able to recruit. As such, a secondary purpose is to determine which

survey items are worth future investigation as-is, and which could be modified or

otherwise improved to generate more useful information.

5.1.1 Organization. This chapter is organized as follows. In section 5.2, I offer

some additional demographic analysis of the participants. Then, in section 5.3, I discuss

the results of the SEVQ by individual category and item and discuss some of the implicit

attitudes that the results suggest. In section 5.4, I discuss the same results but in

aggregate. I then move on to a treatment of the language choice responses in section 5.5.

Lastly, I present a summary of the key findings in section 5.6.

5.2 Demographic Analysis

One of the first sets of attitudes encountered in the survey data relates to the

participants' consideration of self, including their primary identification from among a

number of communities, their estimation of their level of activity in the affairs of their

Primary Tribe (PT) of affiliation, and a quick estimation of the size of the THL speech

community of which they may or may not be members. Thus, Tables 3 and 4 present

additional demographic data provided by the subjects for use in interpreting the later

results. These tables are organized by sex, female and male respectively. Additionally, older participants (48 or older) are listed in italics, but all ages at the time of completion of the survey component are presented in parentheses after the name of the participant[18].

Table 3

Additional demographic responses of female research participants (by identity, n = 15)

Participant	Identity	Other Tribe(s)	Provenance	Activity	THL Speakers
Angela (27)	American	No	Close	Fairly inactive	6-20
Niclup (26)	American	No	Distant	Fairly inactive	6-20
Raven (28)	American	No	Distant	Very inactive	100+
Amanda (55)	*Christian*	*No*	*Close*	*Fairly active*	*6-20*
Nelly (65)	*Native American*	*No*	*Distant*	*Fairly inactive*	*1-5*
Pooh (43)	Native American	No	Distant	Very inactive	100+
Christy (18)	PT member (Keetoowah)	Yes	Distant	Fairly active	100+
Dina (60)	*PT member (Cree)*	*Yes*	*Distant*	*Average*	*100+*
Jackie (45)	PT member (Kiowa)	Yes	Distant	Very active	21-100
Maryanne (74)	*PT member (Mvskokee)*	*Yes*	*Close*	*Very inactive*	*100+*
Miss (38)	PT member (Osage)	Yes	Close	Very inactive	21-100
Sefil (44)	PT member (Osage)	No	Close	Very active	100+
Wazhazhe (61)	*PT member (Osage)*	*No*	*Close*	*Very active*	*1-5*
Hanwegumi (51)	*PT member (Otoe-Missiouria)*	*No*	*Close*	*Fairly inactive*	*6-20*
Susan (42)	PT member (Ponca)	No	Close	Very inactive	21-100

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[18] Regarding the arrangement of these tables by sex and age, recall that, not only were sex and age early considerations in the study for the purpose of establishing and filling statistical cells, but also that there was evidence from the interviews that some participants perceive certain behaviors within the Native American community as variably conditioned by sex and age (e.g., more slang use for females generally, but especially girls; transition to a more outspoken nature among aging women; more THL-influenced NAE for older individuals, and more NAE in general; and more affected accent use for younger individuals).

Table 4

Additional demographics responses of male research participants (by identity, n = 11[a])

Participant	Identity	Other Tribe(s)	Provenance	Activity	THL Speakers
Harold (48)	*American*	*No*	*Close*	*Average*	*100+*
Jack (41)	Claremore resident	Yes	Distant	Very inactive	21-100
Bobby (55)	*Native American*	*Yes*	*Close*	*Fairly active*	*100+*
Jesse (43)	Native American	No	Distant	Very inactive	None
Tenuhpuh (63)	*Native American*	*Yes*	*Distant*	*Average*	*100+*
Denvvis (63)	*PT member (Caddo)*	*Yes*	*Distant*	*Average*	*100+*
Little (65)	*PT member (Kaw)*	*Yes*	*Close*	*Fairly active*	*1-5*
Rowdy (33)	PT member (Kiowa)	No	Distant	Very inactive	100+
John (36)	PT member (Osage)	Yes	Close	Very inactive	21-100
Richard (45)	PT member (Osage)	Yes	Distant	Fairly inactive	21-100
James (26)	PT member (Quapaw)	No	Close	Very active	6-20

Notes: [a] George did not participate in the computerized component of this study.

In these tables, the 'Identity' category refers to a participant's self-selection of primary identity level from one of five otherwise undefined categories: Member of one's Primary Tribe[19]; Native American; citizen of one's city, county, or state; American; or other (instrument allowed for specification). 'Other Tribe(s)' refers to whether or not a participant had other tribal affiliations. 'Provenance' refers to whether or not a participant resides within 25 miles of the headquarters of his or her Primary Tribe. 'Activity' refers to a participant's self-selection of activity level within a PT as scored on a five-point Likert scale from very inactive (1) to very active (5). The 'THL Speakers' category refers to a participant's estimation of the number of speakers of the THL of the participant's PT

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[19] To reinforce the meaning of numerous abbreviations in this chapter, including PT, NA, MS, THL, NAE, and MUSE, I will capitalize the full versions Primary Tribe, Native Americans as a whole, Mainstream, Tribal Heritage Language, Native American English, and Mainstream U.S. English, respectively.

who are proficient at an undefined beginning level or greater; the options for this item are as follows: None, 1-5, 6-20, 21-100, more than 100.

While it may be unwise to overgeneralize on the basis of such small numbers, it appears at first blush that the older participants in the study are more likely than their younger counterparts to view themselves as Natives first, and older women have a stronger tendency to see themselves as members of their tribes. Consider that only a minority of the participants (six of twenty-four) identify foremost as something other than some manner of Native—be that a Native American or a member of a PT group; all but two of these (Amanda and Jack) identify first as Americans. Furthermore, only two of the individuals who do not either identify primarily as a Native or a member of a PT group, fall among the older group of participants; these are Amanda (55) and Harold (48). It is also interesting that the four of the six older female participants (Dina, Maryanne, Wazhazhe, and Hanwegumi) identify first as members of their PT groups (only Amanda and Nelly do not). Meanwhile, only two of the five older male participants (Denvvis and Little) do the same. Again, though, it is unwise to read too much into the trends: Consider, to wit, the responses of Dina and Nelly. Both are older female members of very large tribes, Cree and Cherokee, respectively, within whose jurisdictional borders they do *not* reside; one may expect them to pattern similarly. However, while Dina identifies first as an average member of her PT, Nelly identifies primarily as a Native American and only a fairly inactive member of her tribal group.

The question of whether or not a participant is affiliated with another tribe divides nearly evenly: 14 do not (including ten females and four males), and 12 do (the remaining five females and seven males). Note that only women who identify with their PT

communities have other tribal affiliations. Among men, the pattern is not quite so clear, though twice as many who identify with their PT communities have other affiliations. At first blush, these facts are unexpected insofar as those with multiple possible PT affiliations seem more likely to identify with a single PT community. However, there may be simple reasons for this. For instance, it is common practice for tribes to disallow enrolled membership of its citizens in other tribes. So, it is likely that these participants have had to choose (or simply maintain) a PT affiliation at some point long before they were asked to do so for this survey. Additionally, tribes often have criteria that must be met before someone can be legally claim an affiliation with a tribe, possibly including a demonstrable line of descent from one or more ancestors listed on a certain roll, a threshold blood quantum level, or even the acceptance of a particular political regime. While a person may have multiple historical and biological affiliations, they may not see those as viable for these sorts of bureaucratic reasons or even personally meaningful.

The binary category of provenance gets at a common perception in Indian Country that those individuals living "off reservation" do not fully appreciate what happens "on reservation," where people are more in touch with the daily goings on of the tribal group proper. Recall, though, that Oklahoma is not a reservation state, and individual tribal communities have Oklahoma Tribal Statistical Areas; given their variable sizes, it is difficult both to find geographic definitions for and compare between or across tribes. While a 25-mile radius is obviously arbitrary, it is convenient and reasonable. Participant responses divide up evenly. Half of the participants reside within the 25-mile radius (designated above as 'close'), and half do not ('distant'), as determined by their responses to a survey item asking them to give the ZIP code of their

primary residence. These responses were also fairly evenly divided, with eight females and five males of close provenance, and seven females and six males of distant provenance.

In terms of activity, I suspect—but I cannot prove—that the participants in general may have rated their levels of engagement in their PTs as being lower than they may be in reality. Of special interest on this score is the large number of participants (20 of 26) who rated their activity level within their PT groups as average or lower. This is, of course, not the same as having low activity in Native affairs in general, including practicing traditional crafts, dancing at powwows, attending Native American Church meetings, etc. It is perhaps a fault of the instrument that such data was not requested. And, it is at least conceivable that the participants in this research study may not be very active in their tribal affairs. However, a low claim of activity may also be a representation of the sort of modesty described by Wieder and Pratt (1990). Consider, for instance, Miss and Jack. Both identify as intermediate speakers of their highly endangered THLs, both mention in their interviews that they are observers of their tribal dance customs, and both are employed by their tribal administrations. It is rather difficult to believe, then, that they are in fact 'very inactive' in their PT groups. This remains an open question, but one that I cannot help but speculate about.

Again, my inability to generalize from so few responses notwithstanding, it appears that the older females who also claim to be THL speakers of at least the beginning level (shown in Tables 1 and 2 in Methodology, pp. 73-74) perceive their THLs as having fewer speakers. To see this, look at the participants' view of not only their own THL proficiency but also of their perception of the general level of THL

proficiency within their PT groups at the beginning level or greater. Only three

participants reported no level of THL proficiency (Angela, Niclup, and Raven), all of

whom are younger women who claim to be inactive within their tribes and identify as

Americans; yet, they all list their THL speech communities at least at the level of 6-20

beginning or better speakers. Only eight who completed the computerized component

claimed to be at least beginning speakers of their THLs, including five Osages, Miss

(intermediate), Jack (intermediate; Jack is also Quapaw), John (beginning), Sefil

(beginning), and Wazhazhe (intermediate), and the Cherokee Nelly (beginning) and the

Comanche Tenuhpuh (beginning). Yet, consider that the three intermediate Osage

speakers give different estimates of the size of the THL speech community: Younger

individuals Miss (38) and Jack (41) estimate the size of the Osage speech community at

their level or greater at 21-100 people whereas Wazhazhe (61), on the other hand, lists

just 1-5. It would stand to reason that Wazhazhe views herself as one of these few

speakers, but it is numerically unlikely that she extends this assumption to Miss, Jack,

John, Sefil, and no one else. Something similar could be said of Nelly (65), also part of

the older grouping, who listed only a handful of speakers for her THL despite the fact

that there are "approximately 6,500 speakers of Cherokee in Oklahoma" (Golla, 2005, p.

340). If my observation about the perception of these older female THL speakers is

accurate, then it could be indicative of the fact that they see certain varieties of their THL

as scarce; perhaps varieties that they heard growing up which they may not hear in the

present, such as an L1 variety.

Still, this notion is challenged somewhat by the fact that Jesse, another Cherokee

but one who claims only word and phrase knowledge, reported that there are *no* speakers

of Cherokee. Note, though, that both Nelly and Jesse live outside of Cherokee jurisdiction and claim to be inactive members of the tribe; the other Cherokees (including both Cherokee Nation and United Keetoowah Band participants) all agreed that there were 100+ speakers. Note that the older Kaw male Little also perceives a low number of speakers of his heritage language Kansa (also known as Kanza or Kaw), but this is probably due to the fact that Kansa is generally regarded as no longer having any fluent speakers (McBride & Cumberland, 2010, p. A21). The two Kiowas, Jackie and Rowdy, also disagree on the number of Kiowa speakers, 21-100 and 100+, respectively—but this could be a difference of as little as one speaker or as many as thousands, which is surely a fault of the instrument. Finally, the Poncas Amanda, Angela, and Susan all agreed on a speech community of 6-20 speakers of at least beginning level; they also all claim no more than word and phrase-level knowledge of Ponca.

At the outset of the study, I had expected to analyze sex and age as primary social variables and so used them to guide recruitment of study participants. However, I was also very interested in level of identity, THL proficiency, and provenance (i.e., distance from tribal headquarters) as possible variables, though these could not have been used for recruitment without an elaborate screening process. It is worth noting that, upon analysis of the demographic component of the study, I discovered that the distributions of these three variables were insufficiently symmetrical to provide convenient cells for simple comparison—on their own and also in terms of sex and age. Consider, for instance, that 15 participants identified with their PT affiliations (nine females and six males; nine younger and six older), five with Native Americans as a whole (two females and three males; two younger and three older), and six with some non-Native designation (four

females and two males; four younger and two older). These breakdowns for identity, therefore, are overwhelmingly weighted toward identification with one's PT affiliation; even so, this fact still skews female and young. For language proficiency, there were 18 participants who did not consider themselves at least beginning-level speakers of their THLs (eleven females and seven males; ten younger and eight older) and eight who did (four each for sex; five younger and three older). Thus, there were far more participants who did not consider themselves speakers of their THLs, including most of the females, though age was almost evenly split here. Provenance close to (within 25 miles) and distant from (greater than 25 miles) PT group headquarters were evenly split, and thus was the best of the three categories for consideration as a primary social variable for the study. Still, the breakdowns for sex (eight females and five males for close; seven females and six males for distant) and for age (six younger and seven older for close; nine younger and four older for distant) were not quite so clean; younger participants tend to live farther away. In effect, identity and THL proficiency could not be used to divide the participants effectively, either solely or in combination. Provenance was worth further consideration on its own, though perhaps not on so firm a footing as sex and age given the especially problematic distribution of age for distant provenance.

As can be seen in this extended though still quite brief analysis of the demographics, even a very small sample from the few hundred thousand or so Native Americans in the state can yield a very diverse set of beliefs and attitudes about self and the identification of self to larger ethnolinguistic communities. Some, for instance, do not view themselves first and foremost as members of their tribes, or even as Native Americans. For that matter, having a primary identity as a member of tribal group is no

guarantor of also having strong sense of activity in that group's affairs. Plus, an individual Native American may not always have a good handle on the number of speakers of their THLs. This can all be summed up easily in the statement that there is no monolithic Native culture in the state.

5.3 SEVQ Item Analysis

In this section, I discuss the results from individual items on the SEVQ instrument. I show here that participants generally rated the most tribe-specific ethnolinguistic community (the conflation of Primary Tribal affiliation and Tribal Heritage Language, or PT + THL) as less vital than the supratribal ethnolinguistic community (the conflation of Native Americans as a whole and Native American English varieties, or NA + NAE), which was rated as less vital than the broadest ethnolinguistic community (a conflation of the Mainstream and Mainstream U.S. English, or MS + MUSE). In fact, the MS + MUSE community was often rated far higher in ethnolinguistic vitality than either of the more Native-oriented communities. I also show that females, younger, and distant provenance participants tended to pattern similarly and rate broader communities more highly.

Because of the strong tendency for non-normal distributions among survey responses, parametric statistics were not appropriate for analyzing the instrument item-by-item. Furthermore, the difficulties of locating the source of potential statistical significance given the sheer magnitude of comparisons (e.g., between participants, between variables, between ethnic or speech communities in a single item, between items, etc.) also made most non-parametric statistics inappropriate. Thus, the best analytical treatment for analysis of any individual SEVQ item is as follows.

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First, I describe the item itself. Then, for each of the three conditions—either three ethnic of three speech community groupings (referred to below as *objects* after Garrett's definition of language attitudes in terms of "social objects"; 2010, p. 10)--I show the percentage of perceived (i.e., subjective) vitality for the item as calculated from a scaled, non-parametric measure of central tendency (i.e., medians). This is followed by the medians themselves and the ranges for each of the objects. I then present histograms for each of the various response categories, 1-6, for each of the objects. A table of non-parametric descriptive statistics (i.e., median and range) by variable is also given, as well as a brief commentary on the analysis, including discussion of any divergent or unexpected responses. Moreover, I report on inferential treatments of the actual responses (not the response medians) by variables using χ^2 and Fisher's Exact Tests, where appropriate[20], to determine statistical significance. These tests were performed within-groups to determine the significance of ratings of objects for a grouping from a single binary variable (e.g., female responses relating to THL versus NAE versus MUSE for a speech community-oriented item) and also between-groups to test the significance of a single object for groupings of a binary variable (e.g., female versus male responses relating to, say, NAE in a given speech community-oriented item). Between-groups testing across multiple variables—such as sex-by-age—was not possible. Due to the large number of tests performed, results are reported only for significant within-group and between-groups differences. The discussion for all items below follows this general pattern.

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[20] In SPSS, the more conservative χ^2-based Fisher's Exact Test automatically takes over in cases where a standard χ^2 is not appropriate due to low-value data or paucal cells (e.g., only one degree of freedom).

5.3.1 Category I. The first SEVQ item to discuss, 'I. General-Ethnic Community: Vital Now,' asked the participant, *How strong and active do you feel members of the following groups are within Oklahoma today?* Participants responded on a six-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (not at all) to 6 (very active) for the three ethnic communities of primary tribal affiliations (PT), Native Americans as a whole (NA), and the Oklahoma mainstream (MS). The percentages of subjective vitality for this item appear in Table 5.

Table 5

SEVQ item Vital Now scores

Object	%[21]	Median	Range
PT	40	3	1-6
NA	60	4	1-6
MS	80	5	1-6

Pattern	PT<NA<MS

According to these scores, participants tended to feel that their PT communities were not quite as vital as Native American communities as a whole, which were less vital than the Mainstream. Notice that the median subjective vitality score on this measure increases as ethnic community groupings become broader (or, to put it another way, the score decreases as ethnic communities become narrower). As will be demonstrated, this is one of the two most common patterns. It can be represented algebraically as PT<NA<MS for ethnic community comparisons and THL<NAE<MUSE for speech community comparisons. The other most common pattern is PT=NA<MS or THL=NAE<MUSE. These two patterns

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[21] Vitality percentages are independent of one another. That is to say, the current vitality of PT is scored independently from the current vitality of NA, which is scored independently from MS. As such, the percentages do not add up to 100%. It is possible to get vitality percentages ranging anywhere from 0%-0%-0% (meaning all three objects are perceived as minimally vital by all participants) all the way to 100%-100%-100% (meaning that all three objects are perceived as maximally vital by all participants) for any given SEVQ item.

hold true for many individual, variable grouping (e.g., for females, males, etc.), and aggregate response medians for most SEVQ items in general. In fact, 16 of the 21 items in categories I through IV split evenly between the two patterns. Both patterns, PT<NA<MS or THL<NAE<MUSE versus PT=NA<MS or THL=NAE<MUSE, have the broadest object, MS or MUSE, in the most vital position and the narrowest, PT or THL, in the least vital position.

Nevertheless, the histograms of results in Figure 8 paint a less cohesive picture. Here (and in all further item histograms), the x-axis presents the six possible Likert scale ratings, and the y-axis presents the number of participants who scored the item a certain way for a given social object. While there are peaks within the results that generally fit the PT<NA<MS pattern, Likert scale ratings fall across the entire spectrum. For instance, while five participants (Dina, James, Rowdy, Susan, and Tenuhpuh) did rate the three objects with increasingly higher scores, this was not the general trend; they were the only ones who did so. In fact, two younger participants living more than 25 miles from their tribal headquarters (Jesse and Raven) scored the objects oppositely.
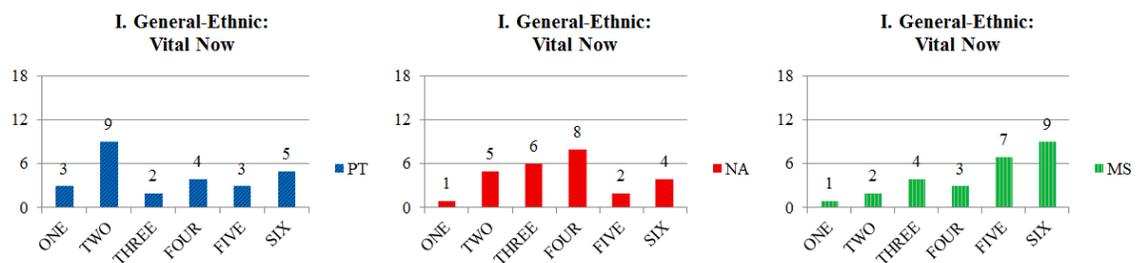
Figure 8. 'I. General-Ethnic Community: Vital Now' ratings histogram.

Table 6

SEVQ item Vital Now results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	4	1-6	**4** [a]	**2-6** [a]	5	1-6	8.494	10	0.581	PT=NA<MS
Male [b]	*11*	*2*	*1-6*	*3*	*1-4*	*5*	*2-6*	*23.055*	*10*	*0.011*	*PT<NA<MS*
B-G: χ^2		7.017		**11.114** [a]		5.092					
B-G: df		5		**5** [a]		5					
B-G: *p*		0.219		**0.049** [a]		0.405					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	4	1-6	4	1-6	5	1-6	12.828	10	0.233	PT=NA<MS
Older	11	3	1-6	3	2-6	5	3-6	11.650	10	0.309	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		4.354		2.135		6.800					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: *p*		0.500		0.830		0.236					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	3	2-6	4	2-6	5	3-6	12.064	8	0.148	PT<NA<MS
Distant	13	3	1-6	3	1-6	5	1-6	9.136	10	0.519	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		4.533		5.967		4.476					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: *p*		0.475		0.309		0.483					

Notes: [a] Bold type indicates significant between-groups differences for a given variable (i.e., sex, age, or provenance), with the bolded item showing the higher median scores and corresponding ranges.
[b] Italics indicate significant within-group differences for a given variable grouping (e.g., male).

Table 6 shows a breakdown of median values and ranges of Likert scale ratings arranged by the three sociolinguistic variables of sex, age, and provenance. In this table (and others that follow) italics are used to highlight significant within-group differences, while bold type is used to highlight the larger of any significant between-group differences. Looking first at sex, there is no within-group statistical significance for females for any of the three objects. There is a significant within-group difference for males (χ^2 = 23.055, df = 10, *p* = 0.011) favoring the MS object[22]; again, this within-group

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[22] The source of significance cannot be easily identified using the statistical treatment I have chosen. Nevertheless, it stands to reason that, if there is a statistical difference between three objects, it will result in one of the three being noticeably larger or smaller than the other two. In

difference is shown by the italicization of the male row, a convention I will follow for the remaining such tables. In terms of between-groups differences, females rated NA significantly higher than did males ($\chi^2 = 11.114$, df = 5, $p = 0.049$; females had the highest number of between-groups differences, 3, all of which occurred for the NA ethnic group, yielding higher scores for women than for men—a finding that suggests that women feel the NA ethnic community generally to be a more vital grouping than do their male counterparts), a difference that is shown in bold in the table, and in all such tables. There were no significant within-group or between-groups differences for any other variables, but note the general trend toward larger median scores for the broadest social object, MS.

The female pattern of responses for this item is interesting because the women rated NA significantly higher than did the men, regardless of the women's own level of identification; recall here that more of the *men* identified as primarily Native American than the women. This may be a result of women's heightened participation in or at least awareness of the goings-on of tribal groups outside of their own within the state. Note that the responses do not appear to correlate one way or the other with membership in multiple tribes.

The male within-group differences suggest that men find the MS ethnic grouping far more vital than either the PT or NA ethnic groupings, both of which they tended to rate fairly low, with some individual exceptions. The narrowest range for men goes to the NA object, which may help to explain the between-groups difference for sex. Notice also that men order the three ethnic groupings in the common pattern, PT<NA<MS in terms

this case, the MS median scores are higher than those of the other two. It is not possible, however, to say whether MS is significantly higher than both of the others or only the lower of the two, PT.

of increasing vitality. While none of the other variable groupings were found to be statistically significant within-groups, only the close provenance grouping exhibited the same PT<NA<MS pattern. Here, though, the close provenance participants as a whole rated PT and MS objects more highly than did the men. The other groupings followed the other standard pattern, PT=NA<MS. The men also had comparatively narrow ranges of scores, favoring the high end for the MS object, though these ranges were not as dramatic as those of the older and close provenance participants.

The next item was 'I. General-Ethnic Community: Vital Later,' which asked *How strong and active do you feel members of the following groups will be within Oklahoma in 20 to 40 years from now?* The scale used was the same as that above. The percentages of vitality along with median and score ranges for PT, NA, and MS are shown in Table 7.

Table 7

SEVQ item Vital Later scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	40	3	1-6
NA	40	3	1-6
MS	60	4	1-6
Pattern	PT=NA<MS		

Once more, the Mainstream was demonstrated to be more vital than either of the two Native-oriented ethnic communities. Nevertheless, scores for MS were far lower on the main than may have been suggested by responses to the earlier item 'I. General-Ethnic Community: Vital Now.' This is unexpected, and suggestive of a sense that the place of the Mainstream in Oklahoma is somehow in danger of being usurped by others who

would logically be considered non-Native[23]. At any rate, the lower scores for the future in contrast to those for the present do seem to indicate some pessimism regarding the future vitality of at least the MS ethnic grouping in Oklahoma. Notice, for instance, in the histograms of Figure 9 that none of the six possible responses for MS had scores for more than eight participants (for Likert score 5), unlike for PT (nine for the Likert score 2) and NA (ten for the Likert score 3). The general distributions of the responses for each of the three ethnic social objects, while somewhat scattered, do feature low-end peaks for PT, middle-range peaks for NA (resulting in an almost normal distribution), and high-end peaks for MS. Again, two participants (Christy and Jesse, both younger Cherokees living more than 25 miles from their tribal headquarters) responded almost exactly the opposite from the common pattern, i.e., projecting that Cherokees would be more vital in the future than the Mainstream.
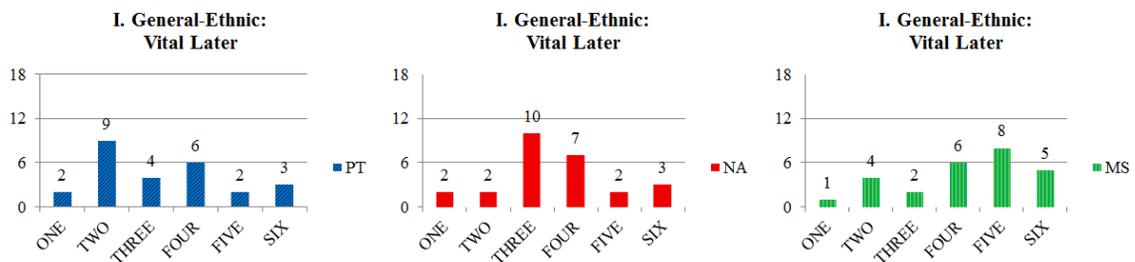
Figure 9. 'I. General-Ethnic Community: Vital Later' ratings histogram.

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[23] Without having asked follow up questions to any of the survey responses, there is no way of knowing what group, if any, may be thought to challenge the future vitality of the Mainstream. Oklahoma has experienced a 262% increase in foreign-born immigration since 1990 (up to 5.5% of the state population; cf. American Immigration Council, 2013, para. 2), but I could only speculate that participants may have considered immigrants a possible challenge to Mainstream vitality. If this was in fact the case, it is worth mentioning that the participants would logically consider such a grouping neither Native nor members of the Mainstream. Again, however, this is only speculation.

Table 8 shows the general breakdown of responses by variable groupings. As before, the men in the study showed a within-group significance favoring the Mainstream (χ^2 = 20.700, df = 10, p = 0.023; italicized), but now with slightly higher—though still low—overall scores for Primary Tribal affiliations. This trend among the men reinforces what was said for their responses to the Vital Now item: They seemed not only to believe that the Mainstream is very vital now, but will remain so. No other significant between-groups or within-group differences could be determined.

Table 8

SEVQ item Vital Later results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	3	1-6	4	1-6	4	1-6	10.439	10	0.403	PT<NA=MS
Male	*11*	*3*	*1-5*	*3*	*1-4*	*5*	*2-6*	*20.700*	*10*	*0.023*	*PT=NA<MS*
B-G: χ^2		4.263		7.447		4.866					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.512		0.189		0.432					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	3	2-6	4	2-6	5	1-6	17.594	10	0.062	PT<NA<MS
Older	11	3	1-5	3	1-5	4	2-6	8.850	10	0.546	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		5.515		5.808		4.798					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.356		0.325		0.441					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	3	1-6	4	1-6	5	2-6	9.150	10	0.518	PT<NA<MS
Distant	13	3	1-6	3	1-6	4	1-6	14.155	10	0.166	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		2.111		0.876		4.967					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.834		0.972		0.420					

There are several patterns of responses within the scores by variable grouping. Most groupings fit one of the two most common patterns, PT<NA<MS or PT=NA<MS. Yet, females score future NA vitality equal to future MS vitality, though the range of scores for both is 1-6. This is of interest because, while females score the NA object the

same in the Vital Now item, they score both the PT and MS objects as lower in the Vital Later item. This suggests that females expect the PT and MS ethnic communities to lose vitality while Natives as a whole remain the same.

To briefly summarize the results for the 'I. General-Ethnic Community' item category, there is a general trend for increasing vitality as one moves from the narrow extreme (PT) to the broad extreme (MS) of ethnic communities; as a logical corollary, vitality decreases from broadest to narrowest. This holds true for perceived vitality now and for expected vitality in the future. Nevertheless, the women in the study seemed to be somewhat more optimistic about the supratribal Native American ethnicity at present than men. The two items in this category present only snapshots, but they can additionally offer a perspective on implicit participant attitudes regarding the dynamic social situation in Oklahoma as we head into the future. This is, in effect, an "arrow of time" point of view with respect to the vitality of the ethnic communities under study. Do the participants feel that low scores will stay low, and high scores will stay high over time? While not a tell-all predictor of the future, the comparisons presented in Table 9 do say something about where the participants in general believe the communities are headed in 20 to 40 years: Declines in subjective vitality for the supratribal Native American ethnic community and the Mainstream ethnic community with no expected change in Primary Tribal communities.

Table 9

Comparison of ethnic community vitality over time

Object	Current Vitality	Future Vitality
PT	40%	40%
NA	60%	40%
MS	80%	60%
Pattern	PT<NA<MS	PT=NA<MS

5.3.2 Category II. The next set of five items focus on ethnic and speech community status, both within the state and elsewhere. 'II. Status-Ethnic Community: Cultural Pride' asked, *How proud of their own cultural history and heritage are members of the following groups in Oklahoma?* Possible responses range from 1 (not at all proud) to 6 (very proud) for the three social objects, PT, NA, and MS. In a radical departure from the trends seen in the 'I. General-Ethnic Community' items, the responses to this item decreased, rather than increased, from PT to NA to MS. The vitality scores for this item are shown in Table 10.

Table 10

SEVQ item Cultural Pride scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	100	6	2-6
NA	80	5	2-6
MS	60	4	2-6
Pattern	PT>NA>MS		

Notice that all vitality scores are quite high and indicative of the perception among participants that all three ethnic communities share a fairly high pride of their cultural contribution to the state. Especially worthy of mention are the much higher scores for PT and NA, where NA is only slightly lower than the former. This is perhaps not so

surprising an outcome: The broader the ethnic grouping, the less cultural commonality there is between members, and thus, the less opportunity there is for cultural pride. This trend can be seen in the histograms of Figure 10, where the distributions for PT and NA are essentially one-tailed, high-end peaks whereas the distribution for MS skews much lower. In fact, all participants save four (the men Little, Richard, Rowdy, and Tenuhpuh) scored PT at least as high as MS.
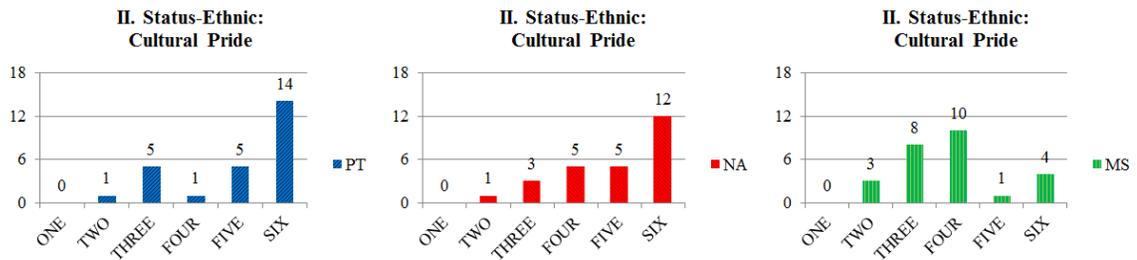
Figure 10. 'II. Status-Ethnic Community: Cultural Pride' ratings histogram.

Variable grouping breakdowns for this item are shown in Table 11. MS is consistently ranked lower than either PT or NA for all groupings, though PT and NA vie for the higher status. Once more, there is a statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 14.597$, df = 4, $p = 0.006$) between-groups difference for the women versus the men on the NA object, with women rating NA far higher than men. This time, however, there is an additional, significant within-group difference ($\chi^2 = 23.863$, df = 8, $p = 0.002$) for the women; they rated MS significantly lower for cultural pride than either of the other two social objects. This is also true of participants living close to their PT headquarters ($\chi^2 = 19.865$, df = 8, $p = 0.011$), who tended to rate MS on the lower half of the scale. Apparently, they had a tendency to view the Oklahoma Mainstream as not being particularly proud of their cultural history and heritage. This is perhaps because, in living closer to the goings on of

their PT communities, the close provenance participants were more conscious of a

contrast between the pride of their fellow tribal citizens and those in the Mainstream.

Table 11

SEVQ item Cultural Pride results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	*15*	*6*	*3-6*	*6*	*3-6*	*4*	*2-6*	*23.863*	*8*	*0.002*	*PT=NA>MS*
Male	11	4	2-6	4	2-6	3	2-6	7.473	8	0.487	PT=NA>MS
B-G: χ^2		8.149		**14.597**		2.681					
B-G: df		4		**4**		4					
B-G: p		0.086		**0.006**		0.612					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	6	2-6	6	3-6	4	2-6	10.609	8	0.225	PT=NA>MS
Older	11	5	3-6	5	2-6	4	2-6	14.464	8	0.070	PT=NA>MS
B-G: χ^2		6.100		4.218		4.218					
B-G: df		4		4		4					
B-G: p		0.192		0.377		0.377					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	*13*	*6*	*3-6*	*5*	*2-6*	*4*	*2-5*	*19.865*	*8*	*0.011*	*PT>NA>MS*
Distant	13	6	2-6	5	3-6	4	3-6	7.974	8	0.436	PT>NA>MS
B-G: χ^2		4.000		1.733		8.900					
B-G: df		4		4		4					
B-G: p		0.406		0.785		0.064					

The next item, 'II. Status-Ethnic Community: In-State Regard,' asked, *How much*

regard is there for members of the following groups in Oklahoma? The objects PT, NA,

and MS, were then rated from 1 (no or low regard) to 6 (very high regard). The respective

percentages of vitality for this item are shown in Table 12, which represents a return to

the increasing pattern PT<NA<MS. That is to say, participants tended to perceive

Oklahomans as having the least regard for their individual PT communities, more for

Native Americans as a whole, and substantially more for the Mainstream.

Table 12

SEVQ item In-State Regard scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	20	2	1-6
NA	40	3	1-6
MS	60	4	1-6

Pattern	PT<NA<MS

Nevertheless, histogram distributions in Figure 11 show that not all participants agreed with this order. In fact, four women (Christy, Maryanne, Sefil, and Wazhazhe, only the last two of which share the same PT affiliation) and one man (Harold, who, like Christy, is a Cherokee) rated PT higher than MS. Additionally, while Pooh and Bobby rated PT and MS as equal (5) and NA as lower (3), Amanda scored all three objects the same (5) Still, the histograms confirm the expected low-end peak for PT and high-end peak for MS, even if NA skews lower than expected, with 18 of 26 participants rating it between 1 and 3. Clearly the differences between PT and NA are slight at best for this item. These results are somewhat unexpected, however, in light of the qualitative evidence demonstrating the perception that Mainstream Oklahomans do not have a particularly positive view of Native Americans and, by extension, individual tribes. It would have made more sense, perhaps, to find both PT and NA objects receiving very low responses. Nevertheless, participants may feel that the regard of Natives for their own tribes and for the supratribal ethnicity as a whole counter-balances the perceived negative regard toward the same from the Mainstream.

Figure 11. 'II. Status-Ethnic Community: In-State Regard' ratings histogram.

Table 13

SEVQ item In-State Regard results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	3	1-6	3	2-6	5	1-6	14.083	10	0.169	PT=NA<MS
Male	11	2	1-5	3	1-4	4	2-5	13.400	8	0.099	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		3.444		5.208		10.750					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: *p*		0.632		0.391		0.057					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	*2*	*1-6*	*3*	*1-6*	*4*	*1-6*	*19.166*	*10*	*0.038*	*PT<NA<MS*
Older	11	3	2-5	3	2-5	4	1-6	8.850	10	0.546	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		8.360		4.297		1.191					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: *p*		0.137		0.507		0.946					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	3	1-6	2	1-6	5	1-6	10.833	10	0.371	PT>NA<MS
Distant	13	2	1-6	3	2-6	4	1-6	14.139	10	0.167	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		3.578		8.000		2.667					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: *p*		0.612		0.156		0.751					

The breakdown of responses by variable groupings is shown in Table 13. The only statistical significance is a within-group difference in median ratings for the younger respondents favoring the Mainstream ($\chi^2 = 19.166$, df = 10, $p = 0.038$; the younger participants are the group with the most within-group differences, 12, all of which favor the Mainstream) while maintaining the familiar PT<NA<MS increase. Note, however,

that one grouping, those that live closer to their tribal headquarters, scored NA as lower

than PT. This indicates that they perceive Oklahomans as viewing the participants' own

tribal communities more favorably than Oklahomans view Natives as a whole. The closer

grouping is fairly homogenous in terms of other demographic factors, so it is difficult to

say why this trend holds true; recall, though, that these differences are not significant.

Note also that younger and distant provenance participants pattern similarly, a trait that

will be shown as fairly common within the data.

Socioeconomic status is the primary concern of the item 'II. Status-Ethnic

Community: Socioeconomics,' which asked, on a scale from 1 (very poor) to 6 (very

wealthy), *How wealthy do you feel members of the following groups are in Oklahoma

today?* Percentages of vitality for each of the three ethnic communities, PT, NA, and MS,

for this item are shown in Table 14. The scores indicate that participants perceive the

Mainstream as by far the wealthiest group in the state.

Table 14

SEVQ item Socioeconomics scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	20	2	1-4
NA	20	2	1-4
MS	60	4	2-6

Pattern	PT=NA<MS

Nevertheless, the histogram distributions in Figure 12 show that the medians do

not capture the details sufficiently. For instance, while both PT and NA objects have low-

end peaks, no participants rated PT responses at either of the two highest options;

compare this to NA, where three participants rated the community at either 5 or 6.

Likewise, seven participants rated PT at the lowest level, and one rated NA at the lowest

level. The distribution for MS, meanwhile, is very close to normal. Note that three

Osages (Bobby and Sefil, plus the Osage-Quapaw Jack), a Cherokee (Pooh), and a

Chickasaw (Niclup) rated their own Primary Tribal communities as wealthier than

Natives as a whole. Meanwhile, the Osage Bobby and the Creek Maryanne rated their PT

communities as wealthier than even the Mainstream. The Caddo Denvvis rated his much

smaller tribe as being equal to both NA and MS, but scored them all very low (2).
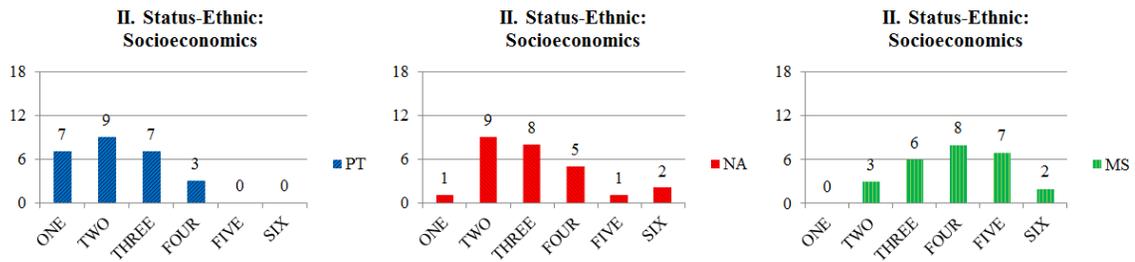
Figure 12. 'II. Status-Ethnic Community: Socioeconomics' ratings histogram.

Table 15

SEVQ item Socioeconomics results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	2	1-4	2	1-4	4	2-6	22.114	10	0.015	*PT=NA<MS*
Male	11	2	1-4	2	1-3	4	2-6	16.481	10	0.087	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		0.118		3.125		2.223					
B-G: df		3		3		4					
B-G: *p*		0.990		0.373		0.695					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	2	1-4	2	1-4	4	3-6	26.986	10	0.003	*PT=NA<MS*
Older	11	2	1-4	2	1-4	3	2-5	11.125	8	0.195	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		3.369		2.442		6.686					
B-G: df		3		3		4					
B-G: *p*		0.338		0.486		0.153					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	2	1-4	2	1-4	4	2-6	20.786	10	0.023	*PT=NA<MS*
Distant	13	2	1-4	1	1-4	4	2-6	21.649	10	0.017	*PT>NA<MS*
B-G: χ^2		0.730		6.500		2.786					
B-G: df		3		3		4					
B-G: *p*		0.866		0.090		0.594					

Table 15 shows the breakdown of the scores by variable grouping. This time, there was a great deal of within-group statistical significance, perhaps owing to generally widespread perceptions of higher relative wealth for the Mainstream compared to Native people in the state. The variable groupings with these significant median differences include all but the males. Additionally, all groupings except the distant provenance participants ordered the objects NA=PT<MS. This outlier grouping showed a very different tendency of responses; they tended to rate Primary Tribal affiliations higher than Natives as a whole. While there is a statistical within-group significance to the differences between the three social objects for this grouping (χ^2 = 21.649, df = 10, p =0.017), it is important to remember that the source of the difference is most likely not between PT (median = 2) and NA (median = 1), but rather NA (median = 1) and MS (median = 4). Thus, it is probably not necessary to attempt an elaborate explanation for the higher PT scores. Still, it is interesting that enough of the participants living farther away from their tribal headquarters would perceive their own tribes as wealthier than Native Americans as a whole to skew the results in this way.

The next two items are the first to feature speech community comparisons; recall, though, that all the ethnicity-oriented items came first in the survey, in random order, followed by all the language-oriented items, also in random order. The item 'II. Status-Speech Community: In-State Regard' asked, on a scale of 1 (no or low regard) to 6 (very high regard) for each of the objects THL, NAE, and MUSE, *On the whole, how much regard is there for the following language varieties in Oklahoma?* Percentages of vitality for this speech community-centered item are shown in Table 16, which reflects one of the

two most common patterns, THL=NAE<MUSE, and indicates a perceived general lack of regard for THL and NAE by Oklahomans. Furthermore, the distance between the lowest scoring objects (THL and NAE) and the highest scoring object (MUSE) is substantial. This is also the first item in the SEVQ that asks participants to quantify their perceptions concerning NAE. Apparently, they feel, on average, that Oklahomans have much lower regard for it than for MUSE, although the item itself does not connote either positive or negative regard.

Table 16

SEVQ item In-State Regard scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	20	2	1-6
NAE	20	2	1-6
MUSE	80	5	1-6

Pattern	THL=NAE<MUSE

Figure 13 shows the distributions of the participant responses. The bimodal distribution of THL indicates that there is disagreement as to the regard for tribal languages; in fact, five participants rated THL as highly as possible, as opposed to only three participants giving the same response for NAE. Five participants (Osages Bobby, John, and Wazhazhe, the Osage-Quapaw Jack, and the Comanche Tenuhpuh) rated their THLs higher than MUSE, the most extreme of which were Bobby and John (two individuals taking advantage of tribal language classes), who each rated Osage four points higher than they rated MUSE (6 to 2, respectively). Four female participants (the Ponca Amanda, the Creek Maryanne, the Apache Raven, and the Osage Sefil) scored both their THLs as equal to MUSE, three of these at the highest possible level (6); note, though, that Maryanne (who is a Spanish language teacher) rated all social objects under

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comparison as low as possible. Four participants (Amanda, Niclup, Jack and John) also

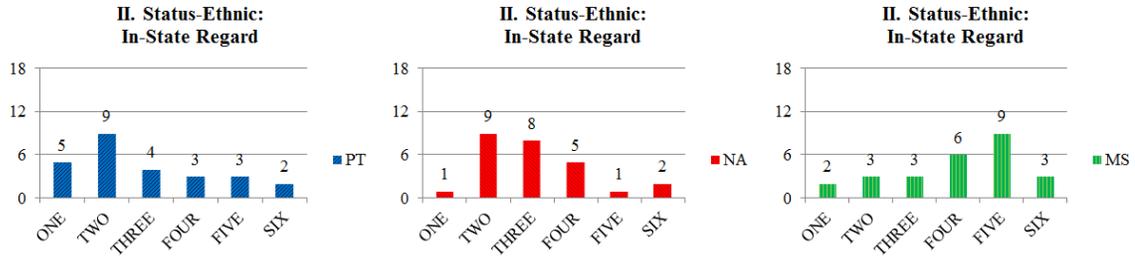rated NAE lower than their THLs.
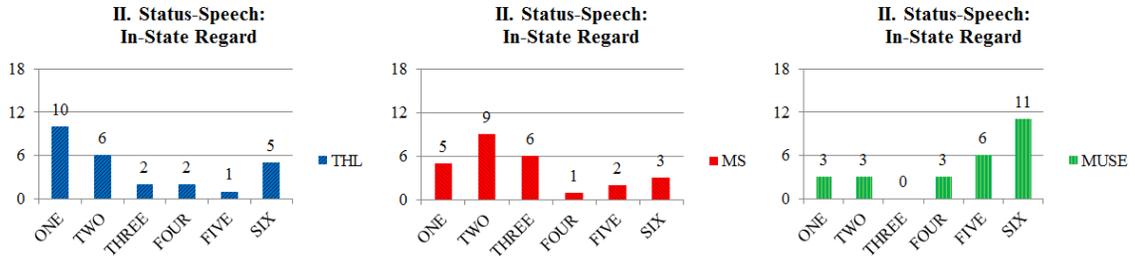
Figure 13. 'II. Status-Speech Community: In-State Regard' ratings histogram.

Table 17

SEVQ item In-State Regard results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	2	1-6	3	1-6	6	1-6	16.006	10	0.099	THL<NAE<MUSE
Male	11	2	1-6	2	1-6	5	1-6	17.600	10	0.062	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		5.788		4.696		5.639					
B-G: df		5		5		4					
B-G: p		0.327		0.454		0.228					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	2	1-6	3	1-6	6	2-6	24.369	10	0.007	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
Older	11	2	1-6	2	1-6	5	1-6	8.700	10	0.561	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		3.740		3.785		5.453					
B-G: df		5		5		4					
B-G: p		0.587		0.581		0.244					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	2	1-6	2	1-6	5	1-6	12.867	8	0.117	THL=NAE<MUSE
Distant	13	2	1-6	3	1-6	5	1-6	18.988	10	0.040	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		7.200		3.644		3.758					
B-G: df		5		5		4					
B-G: p		0.206		0.602		0.440					

Table 17 gives the breakdown of the ratings by variable groupings. In general,

these followed the two familiar trends toward the highest medians associated with the

broadest community (MUSE). Males, older and distant participants rated the objects as

THL=NAE<MUSE, and the others rated them as THL<NAE<MUSE. The only statistical

significances were within-group differences for younger (χ^2 = 24.369, df = 10, p = 0.007)

and distant provenance participants (χ^2 = 18.988, df = 10, p = 0.04), both favoring

MUSE. These two groupings, like older and close provenance groupings, tend to pattern

together about half of the time in their SEVQ responses (11 out of 22 items for younger

and distant, and 10 out of 22 items for older and close). Here, they seem to perceive that

MUSE is the language variety of greatest regard—for whatever reason—within

Oklahoma.

The next language-related item is 'II. Status-Speech Community: Out-of-State

Regard,' which asked participants to rate the same social objects, THL, NAE, and

MUSE, on the same scale with the following prompt: *On the whole, how much regard is

there for the following language varieties OUTSIDE OF Oklahoma (by non-

Oklahomans)?* This item did not appear on the survey for the first seven participants in

fall of 2012, but was added in summer of 2013. Perhaps not surprisingly, the difference

between the Native- and non-Native-oriented objects was very great; it is doubtful that as

many people outside of Oklahoma are as aware of the tribal communities within

Oklahoma as Oklahomans may be. The percentages of vitality of the objects for this item

are presented in Table 18. As can be seen, the central tendency for scores indicates that

participants perceive very little regard for either THLs or NAE out-of-state.

Table 18

SEVQ item Out-of-State Regard scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	0	1	1-5
NAE	0	1	1-3
MUSE	80	5	1-6

Pattern   THL=NAE<MUSE

Figure 14 shows the response distributions in histogram form, hewing closely to the scores described immediately above. The only anomalous responses came from Raven and Richard, both of whom scored all three objects at the lowest possible level, Bobby (Osage) who scored his THL community as 2 and the others as 1, and Amanda (Ponca), who scored NAE at the lowest level and her THL and MUSE as very high. Amanda's scores may be due to the fact that her THL, Ponca, is spoken by communities both in and outside of Oklahoma and is mutually intelligible with Omaha, spoken in Nebraska. Note, however, that the participants generally agreed that there is very little regard for NAE outside of the state, with all scoring it on the low end of the scale.
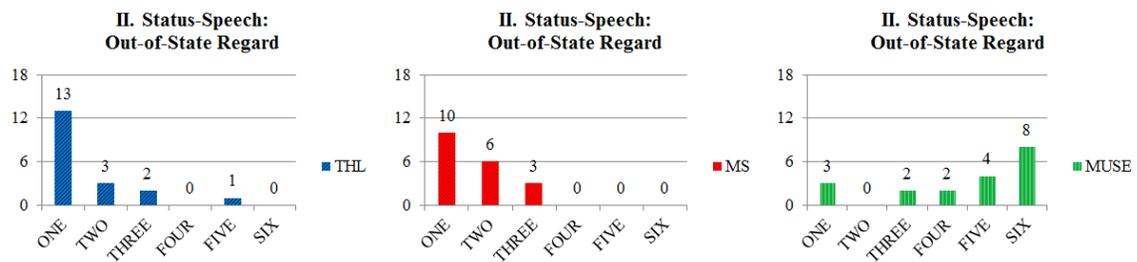
Figure 14. 'II. Status-Speech Community: Out-of-State Regard' ratings histogram.

Table 19

SEVQ item Out-of-State Regard results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	10	1	1-5	2	1-3	6	1-6	28.800	10	0.001	THL<NAE<MUSE
Male	9	1	1-2	1	1-2	5	1-6	19.125	8	0.014	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		3.367		5.229		7.301					
B-G: df		3		2		4					
B-G: p		0.338		0.073		0.121					

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Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	12	1	1-3	2	1-3	5	1-6	32.054	10	0.000	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
Older	7	1	1-5	1	1-3	6	1-6	14.100	8	0.079	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		2.085		1.810		7.540					
B-G: df		3		2		5					
B-G: p		0.555		0.405		0.110					

Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	8	2	1-5	2	1-3	6	1-6	18.800	8	0.016	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
Distant	11	1	1-3	1	1-3	4	1-6	22.253	10	0.014	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		2.854		0.266		7.035					
B-G: df		3		2		4					
B-G: p		0.415		0.875		0.134					

Table 19 lists the breakdowns for responses to this item by variable grouping. Curiously, all of the groupings save for older participants had significant within-group differences that strongly favored MUSE. Note particularly the extremely significant differences of females and younger participants, the stereotypical trendsetters of sociolinguistic theory. Note also the close alignment between older and close provenance participants. Clearly, most participants felt that there is very little regard for their Tribal Heritage Languages or NAE outside of Oklahoma.

I pause here to offer a brief summary of the 'II. Status-Ethnic & Speech Communities' item category. For as few items as there are in this category, there is surprising divergence in terms of the patterns of responses. Only the ethnic community item relating to in-state regard adhered to the PT<NA<MS pattern, and the cultural pride item produced exactly the opposite pattern, PT>NA>MS. The other three all followed the familiar PT=NA<MS or THL=NAE<MUSE pattern. There is occasional pairing of several variable groupings, including younger and distant provenance participants (for both ethnic and speech community in-state regard), as well as older and closer provenance participants (for both socioeconomics and both speech community items).

The female participants continue to emerge as fairly consistent variable grouping. Medians for MUSE are consistently highest in the specifically speech community-oriented items, with THLs and NA receiving generally low scores. A similarly great disparity exists between MS and the two Native-oriented ethnic communities in terms of socioeconomic status.

5.3.3 Category III. The next series of six items deal with ethnic vitality (that is, looking only at PT, NA, and MS social objects) across six different demographic categories. The categories include estimated birth rates, population concentrations, rates of ethnically conservative marriages (endogamy), absolute population percentages, and migration rates into and out of Oklahoma. The item 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Birth Rate' instructed the participants as follows: *Estimate the birth rates of members of the following groups in Oklahoma* on a scale from 1 (rapidly falling) to 6 (rapidly growing). The percentages of vitality for this item are presented in Table 20. Like the cultural pride-oriented item above, these scores are all 50% or higher. The percentages, however, are out of step with the two most common patterns. That is to say, now NA and MS ethnic communities are equally higher than PT communities.

Table 20

SEVQ item Birth Rate scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	50	3.5	1-6
NA	60	4	1-6
MS	60	4	3-6

Pattern   PT<NA=MS

Figure 15 presents the histogram distributions for each social object, which are almost normal. Numerous participants rated the birth rates for their PT communities as

higher than that of the Mainstream (the women Jackie, Miss, Raven, Sefil, and Susan and the men Bobby, Harold, John, and Little). Additionally, two of these (Bobby and Susan) plus four others (Amanda, Christy, Niclup, and Richard) rated their Primary Tribal communities higher than Native Americans as a whole. One other (Jack) rated all three as equal (3).
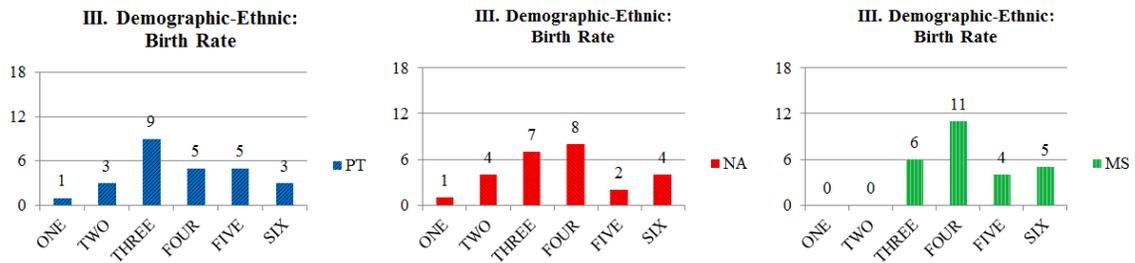
Figure 15. 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Birth Rate' ratings histogram.

Table 21 lists the medians and ranges of responses by groupings of the primary variables of sex, age, and provenance. There were neither between-groups nor within-group differences of statistical significance for any variable or object. Indeed, most scores for all groups are within a single point from one another. This fact would seem to indicate that the participants, on the whole, feel that the three ethnic communities are fairly equally matched in terms of their birth rates.

Table 21

SEVQ item Birth Rate results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	4	1-6	4	2-6	4	3-6	10.357	10	0.410	PT=NA=MS
Male	11	3	2-5	4	1-5	4	3-6	10.600	10	0.390	PT<NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		4.332		7.856		2.120					
B-G: df		5		5		3					
B-G: p		0.503		0.164		0.548					

Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	4	2-6	4	1-6	4	3-6	9.115	10	0.521	PT=NA=MS
Older	11	3	1-5	4	2-5	4	3-6	15.500	10	0.115	PT<NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		5.970		7.710		4.168					
B-G: df		5		5		3					
B-G: p		0.309		0.173		0.244					

Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	4	2-6	4	3-6	4	3-6	4.863	8	0.772	PT=NA=MS
Distant	13	3	1-6	3	1-6	4	3-6	10.873	10	0.368	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		2.178		8.286		1.291					
B-G: df		5		5		3					
B-G: p		0.824		0.141		0.731					

The next item was one of several that were not included in the original survey instrument, and thus does not reflect the responses of seven participants (Dina, Little, John, Miss, Nelly, Sefil, and Wazhazhe). 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Concentration' asked participants, *To what extent do the following groups make up a local majority or minority in the places where they tend to live in Oklahoma?* Participants use a Likert scale from 1 (very small minority) to 6 (very large majority) to rate each of the ethnic communities, PT, NA, and MS. The percentages of vitality for these objects are presented in Table 22. For the third time, median scores were all 50% or greater. On its face, this finding would indicate that the participants perceive the populations fairly mixed within Oklahoma; recall that even in their own Oklahoma Tribal Statistical Areas, Native nations may not be the majority population.

Table 22

SEVQ item Concentration scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	60	4	1-6
NA	60	4	1-6
MS	80	5	1-6
Pattern	PT=NA<MS		

Figure 16 shows the histogram distributions of the results of this item. Notice that while there was no discernable agreement among participants for PT, there is a more or less normal distribution for NA, and a one-tailed, high-end peak for MS. These PT results are especially interesting. Despite a lack of agreement, scores still tend toward a high overall vitality percentage for this social object—a real danger given the very low N (19) for this item. In fact, a majority of the participants (11) rated the objects according to familiar pattern of PT<NA<MS. Still, eight participants (the women Amanda, Christy, Maryanne, and Raven and the men Bobby, Harold, Jesse, and Richard) rated PT higher than they rated MS, and two others (Denvvis and Niclup) rated PT higher than NA.
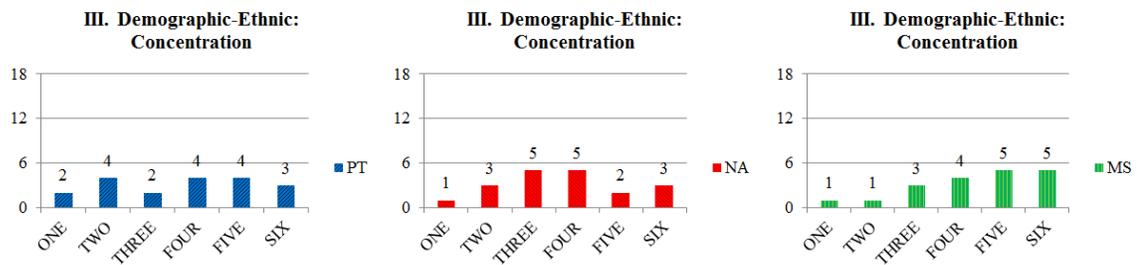
Figure 16. 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Concentration' ratings histogram.

Table 23 lists response medians by sex, age, and provenance. There were no significant between-groups or within-group differences. This fact suggests that participants perceive the concentrations of the various ethnic communities in the state as more or less proportionate. Note, though, the item wording "*in the places where they tend to live*," which allows some freedom of perspective with respect to scale and location. In other words, in the places where PT communities live—presumably their Oklahoma Tribal Statistical Area—they may have a high concentration, possibly even a slight majority (recall the 50% median concentration vitality for PT, even given the difficulties

of this figure). Nevertheless, the Mainstream may also live in those areas, as well as in other areas. Thus, the responses here may be sensitive to pockets of ethnic populations.

Table 23

SEVQ item Concentration results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	10	4	1-6	4	2-6	5	1-6	7.371	10	0.690	PT=NA<MS
Male	9	4	1-6	4	1-6	4	3-6	6.643	10	0.759	PT=NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		0.281		6.699		5.362					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.998		0.244		0.373					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	12	4	1-6	4	1-6	5	1-6	3.567	10	0.965	PT<NA<MS
Older	7	4	2-6	3	2-5	4	3-6	7.186	8	0.517	PT>NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		3.242		3.672		4.316					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.663		0.598		0.505					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	8	4	2-6	3	2-5	5	3-6	6.400	8	0.603	PT>NA<MS
Distant	11	4	1-6	4	1-6	5	1-6	5.393	10	0.863	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		4.984		4.369		3.343					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.418		0.498		0.647					

The next item, 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Endogamy,' asked, *To what extent do members of the following groups in Oklahoma marry other members of the same group?* Responses range from 1 (none at all do) to 6 (very many do). The vitality percentages for the objects of this item, PT, NA, and MS, are found in Table 24. Notice that only PT scores are lower than 50%. This suggests that participants perceive that Natives do not marry back into their own tribes very often.

Table 24

SEVQ item Endogamy scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	40	3	1-6
NA	60	4	2-6
MS	60	4	1-6

Pattern   PT<NA=MS

Figure 17 shows a histogram for the three objects, PT, NA, and MS. Only the NA scores appear normal whereas the PT scores tend to occur in the mid-to-low range and MS scores peak highest at the high-end and again in the mid-to-low end. Eight participants (the females Christy, Hanwegumi, Maryanne, and Raven and the males Bobby, Harold, Richard, and Tenuhpuh) rated PT as higher than MS, while two (Angela and Jackie) rated them at the same level (the former at the low-end and the latter at the high-end). One other, Denvvis, rated NA higher than both of the other objects.

Figure 17. 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Endogamy' ratings histogram.

Table 25 shows the breakdowns of responses by variable groupings. All medians tend to follow the generally increasing pattern of PT<NA<MS, with one exception: Participants residing more distantly from their tribal headquarters had the same (insignificant) mean scores for NA and MS. There was a significant between-groups difference for sex in terms of ratings for PT communities, where women had higher

ratings (χ^2 = 11.661, df = 5, p = 0.040). This is a curious difference because, in absolute

terms, the scores are not all that different in terms of medians, and the men had more

concentrated ranges. Furthermore, it is interesting given the item itself, which looks at

endogamy—presumably involving men and women. It appears that both groups have a

slight difference of opinion regarding how often individuals from their own tribes marry

others from the same tribe, but both agree it does not happen as often as it does for

Natives as a whole to marry other Natives irrespective of tribal affiliation, nor as much

for those of the Mainstream to marry others in the Mainstream. Men also had a

significant within-group difference (χ^2 = 19.800, df = 1.011, p = 0.011) favoring both NA

and MS. Other within-group differences of note included younger participants (χ^2 =

18.341, df = 10, p = 0.049) closer provenance participants (χ^2 = 14.271, df = 10, p =

0.037), both equally favoring NA and MS.

Table 25

SEVQ item Endogamy results by variable (W-G = withing-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	**3**	**1-6**	4	2-6	4	1-6	11.494	10	0.320	PT<NA=MS
Male	*11*	*2*	*2-5*	*4*	*3-5*	*4*	*2-6*	*19.800*	*8*	*0.011*	*PT<NA=MS*
B-G: χ^2		**11.661**		5.047		1.964					
B-G: df		**5**		4		5					
B-G: *p*		**0.040**		0.283		0.854					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	*15*	*3*	*2-6*	*4*	*2-6*	*5*	*1-6*	*18.341*	*10*	*0.049*	*PT<NA<MS*
Older	11	2	1-5	3	2-5	3	2-6	12.310	10	0.265	PT<NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		5.288		3.545		4.468					
B-G: df		5		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.382		0.471		0.484					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	*13*	*3*	*1-4*	*4*	*2-5*	*5*	*2-6*	*19.267*	*10*	*0.037*	*PT<NA<MS*
Distant	13	3	1-6	4	2-6	4	1-6	14.271	10	0.161	PT<NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		5.778		2.476		8.578					
B-G: df		5		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.328		0.649		0.127					

The next item, another one to which the first seven participants did not contribute, is 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Percentage,' which offers the following prompt: *Please estimate the percentage of the Oklahoma population made up by the following groups.* Participants ranked PT, NA, and MS on a scale from 1 (0-17%) to 6 (84-100%) This is a unique item because it is ordinal in nature—not just numeric. Thus, the percentage of vitality for this item corresponds to an actual estimated percentage of the overall state population. These scores are presented in Table 26. Recall that only 9% of the state population identifies itself as "American Indian and Alaska Native alone" and that only 5.8% of Oklahomans identify as "Two or More Races," which may also include Native American (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). It is therefore fairly clear that, as a whole, the participants in this study greatly overestimate the population of Native Americans in the state. Furthermore, given that the range of scores for PT extend all the way to 4, corresponding to 60%, some also overestimate the population of their own tribal groups. In short, though, these scores indicate that the participants perceive Natives as a very sizeable minority (though less than half the population of the state) to which individual tribes contribute only a small part.

Table 26

SEVQ item Percentage scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	0	1	1-4
NA	40	3	1-6
MS	80	5	1-6
Pattern	PT<NA<MS		

Figure 18 shows the response distributions for this item. Note that most of the participants did rank their PT communities very low, though less so with Natives as a whole. Still, four (the Osage Bobby, the Cherokees Christy and Pooh, and the Apache Raven) ranked their PT communities at 4, indicating approximately 60% of the population of the state—higher than they ranked the Mainstream. Note that several also ranked Natives as a whole higher than the Mainstream, including Angela, Jesse, and Raven.
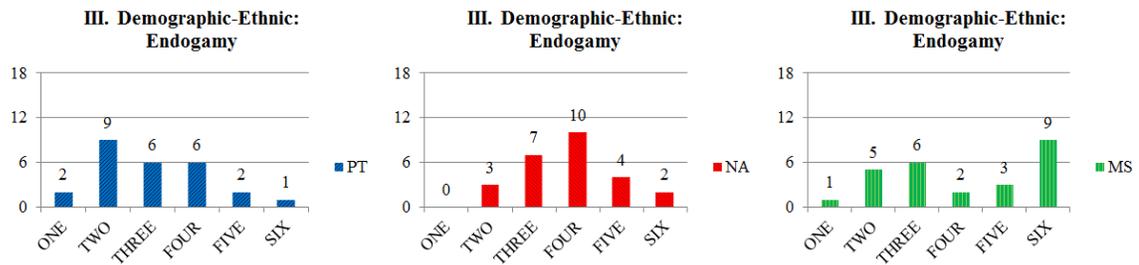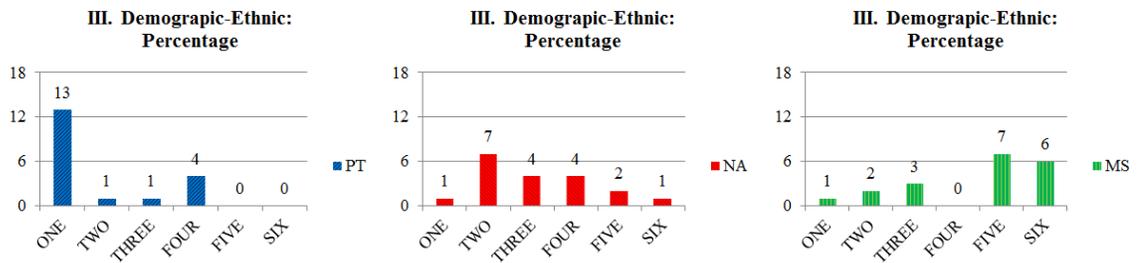

Figure 18. 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Percentage' ratings histogram.

Table 27 gives the breakdowns of responses by variable groupings. Notice that there were within-group differences favoring MS for all groupings. Clearly, the majority of the participants are well aware of the minority status of Natives within the state, though they may be unsure of how small a minority they really are.

Table 27

SEVQ item Percentage results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	10	1	1-4	4	2-6	5	1-6	20.557	10	0.024	PT<NA<MS
Male	9	1	1-4	2	1-4	5	2-6	32.321	10	0.000	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		3.033		6.250		1.428					
B-G: df		3		5		4					
B-G: p		0.387		0.283		0.839					

Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	12	1	1-4	3	1-6	5	1-6	28.100	10	0.002	PT<NA<MS
Older	7	1	1-4	3	2-4	5	2-6	25.600	10	0.004	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		2.553		5.340		1.400					
B-G: df		3		5		4					
B-G: *p*		0.466		0.376		0.844					

Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	8	1	1-4	3	2-5	6	2-6	26.900	10	0.003	PT<NA<MS
Distant	11	1	1-4	3	1-6	5	1-6	26.657	10	0.003	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		2.670		1.712		5.228					
B-G: df		3		5		4					
B-G: *p*		0.445		0.887		0.265					

The next two items involve movement into and out of the state. The first is 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Relocation into State.' It asked, *How many members of the following groups relocate TO Oklahoma each year?* Ratings were measured on a scale from 1 (none at all) to 6 (very many) for the objects PT, NA, and MS. The percentages of vitality for this item are presented in Table 28. Note once more that NA and MS are ranked equally high. These scores indicate that the participants perceive no more migration into the state for any group and little indeed for members of their PT communities.

Table 28

SEVQ item Relocation into State scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	20	2	1-6
NA	40	3	2-6
MS	40	3	1-6

Pattern   PT<NA=MS

Figure 19 shows the distributions of responses. Only the PT responses show great agreement for a single, low-end response, though all the scores tend to fall in the lower half of the range. Nevertheless, only eight participants (Angela, Hanwegumi, Nelly,

Niclup, and Raven among the females and Harold, Jack, and Rowdy among the males) rated the objects in such a way as to reflect the increasing order of PT<NA<MS. Eight more ranked PT higher than MS, presumably indicating the return of tribal members to Oklahoma. Seven ranked PT and MS as equal, two ranked NA as higher than MS, and one ranked PT higher than NA.
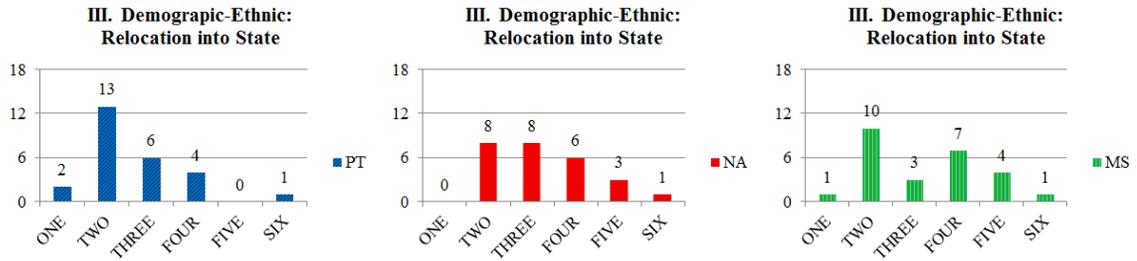
Figure 19. 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Relocation into State' ratings histogram.

Breakdowns of responses by sex, age, and provenance are listed in Table 29. There were no significant between-groups or within-group differences to report, but note that the male and close groupings rated NA as higher than MS, and the younger and older groupings rated the two as the same.

Table 29

SEVQ item Relocation into State results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

Variable	n	PT Mdn	PT Rng	NA Mdn	NA Rng	MS Mdn	MS Rng	W-G χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	2	1-6	3	2-6	4	1-6	7.438	10	0.684	PT<NA<MS
Male	11	2	1-4	3	2-4	2	2-4	5.716	6	0.456	PT<NA>MS
B-G: χ^2		1.497		3.467		7.642					
B-G: df		4		4		5					
B-G: p		0.827		0.483		0.177					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	2	1-6	3	2-6	3	1-6	6.075	10	0.809	PT<NA=MS
Older	11	2	1-4	3	2-5	3	2-5	6.293	8	0.614	PT<NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		1.497		1.247		2.930					
B-G: df		4		4		5					
B-G: p		0.827		0.870		0.711					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	3	2-4	3	2-6	2	2-4	5.496	6	0.482	PT=NA>MS
Distant	13	2	1-6	3	2-5	4	1-6	14.143	10	0.167	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		5.744		7.167		8.076					
B-G: df		4		4		5					
B-G: p		0.219		0.127		0.152					

The final demographic item, 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Relocation out of State,' asked participants, *How many members of the following groups relocate AWAY FROM Oklahoma each year?* For each of the objects PT, NA, and MS, scores may range from 1 (none at all) to 6 (very many). The percentages of vitality for this item are shown in Table 30, which demonstrates the familiar PT=NA< MS pattern. Like above, this pattern of ratings indicates that the participants do not perceive as much movement out of state for Native Americans as for members of the Mainstream. Nevertheless, this is another case where the low number of participants may have affected the results.

Table 30

SEVQ item Relocation out of State scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	40	3	1-6
NA	40	3	1-6
MS	60	4	1-6

Pattern PT=NA<MS

The distributions in Figure 20 show that, while there is a clear low-end peak for PT, and a more diffuse low-end peak for NA, there is no real agreement for MS. The medians, then, do not reflect an identifiable pattern of response for this object. Perhaps it is not surprising, therefore, that five women (Christy, Miss, Pooh, Sefil and Susan) and four men (Bobby, Denvvis, James, and Jesse) ranked PT and MS at the same level, while two (Harold and Maryanne) ranked PT as higher than MS. Additionally, Niclup and Raven scored Natives as a whole as lower than their PT communities for relocation out of the state.
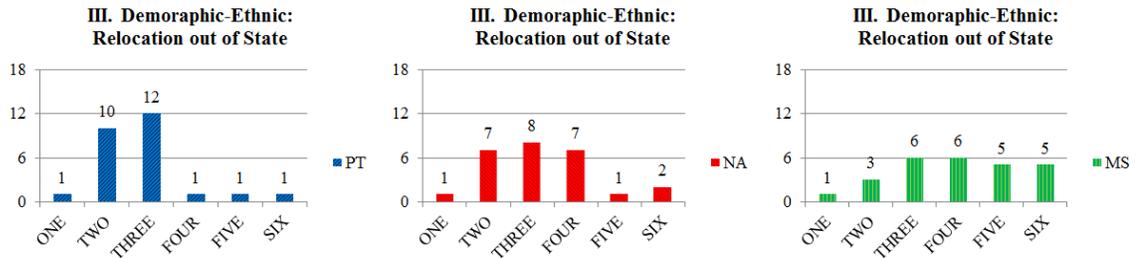
Figure 20. 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community: Relocation out of State' ratings histogram.

Table 31 gives a breakdown of responses by variable grouping. There were no between-groups or within-group differences to report, and the distributions of scores serve only to further confirm the two most common patterns.

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Table 31

SEVQ item Relocation out of State results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	3	1-6	4	1-6	5	2-6	17.800	10	0.058	PT<NA<MS
Male	11	2	2-4	3	2-4	3	1-6	11.042	10	0.354	PT<NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		8.178		8.954		4.423					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.147		0.111		0.490					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	3	2-6	3	1-6	4	3-6	12.350	10	0.262	PT=NA<MS
Older	11	2	1-3	3	2-4	4	1-6	12.750	10	0.238	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		8.242		5.442		8.246					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.387		0.364		0.143					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	3	2-6	3	2-6	3	1-6	8.300	10	0.600	PT=NA=MS
Distant	13	2	1-5	3	1-6	5	2-6	16.821	10	0.078	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		5.733		5.429		4.000					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.333		0.366		0.549					

The results from the category 'III. Demographic-Ethnic Community' largely fit the common patterns of increase toward the MS. However, while the MS scores remain consistently high, the endogamy and relocation into the state items show median equality between NA and MS communities. In general, members of the Mainstream are perceived by the participants as having the demographic upper hand in the state in terms of higher birth rates, concentrations of population, rates of endogamy, and overall percentage of population. In terms of relocation into and out of the state, there seems to be a perception among the participants that members of their PT communities are not so mobile; only about a third are perceived as crossing Oklahoma's borders. Natives as a whole are seen as fairly stable, as well. Meanwhile, the Mainstream is seen as leaving more than attracting newcomers.

5.3.4 Category IV. The next series of eight items constitute the category 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic & Speech Communities,' which attempts to ascertain attitudes regarding the institutional support and control of the ethnolinguistic communities in question. The first item, 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic Community: Cultural Presence,' asked participants to rate PT, NA, and MS on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 6 (very well) according to the following prompt: *How well represented are members of the following groups in the cultural life of your state (for instance, at social or religious gatherings, at musical or dance events, in food or clothing styles, etc.)?* This item is a corollary to the item 'II. Status-Ethnic Community: Cultural Pride.' For the fourth and final time, the percentages of vitality for the objects PT, NA, and MS, were all 50% or higher, as demonstrated in Table 32. The scores indicate that the participants perceived that all three groupings contribute to the overall cultural life of Oklahoma, though Natives and the Mainstream do so more than individual tribes.

Table 32

SEVQ item Cultural Presence scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	50	3.5	1-6
NA	60	4	1-6
MS	60	4	1-6

Pattern   PT<NA=MS
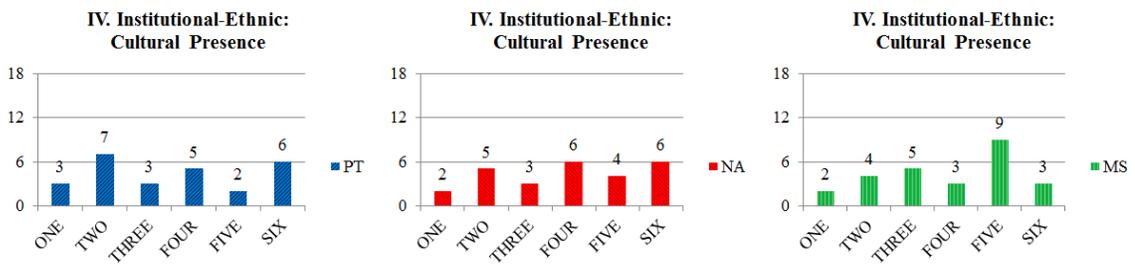
Figure 21. 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic Community: Cultural Presence' ratings histogram.

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Still, there was great disagreement among the participants, as can be seen in the histograms of Figure 21. For example, each distribution covers the entire range of options, and there are no single, discernable peaks for either PT or NA. Eleven participants (the females Amanda, Christy, Hanwegumi, Jackie, Miss, Niclup, Sefil, and Wazhazhe and the males Bobby, Denvvis, and Jesse) scored PT higher than they scored MS, three (Maryanne, Nelly, and Raven) scored them as equal. One other (Harold) scored NA far lower than either PT or MS.

Table 33

SEVQ item Cultural Presence results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	4	1-6	**5**	**2-6**	3	1-6	10.846	10	0.370	PT<NA>MS
Male	11	2	1-5	3	1-4	5	2-6	13.767	10	0.184	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		7.720		**12.890**		4.058					
B-G: df		5		**5**		5					
B-G: p		0.172		**0.024**		0.541					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	3	1-6	4	1-6	5	1-6	8.048	10	0.624	PT<NA<MS
Older	11	4	2-6	4	1-6	4	2-5	7.086	10	0.717	PT=NA=MS
B-G: χ^2		3.818		2.306		8.793					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.576		0.805		0.118					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	4	1-6	4	1-6	4	2-6	9.500	10	0.485	PT=NA=MS
Distant	13	3	1-6	4	1-6	5	1-6	7.186	10	0.708	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		3.676		5.867		7.533					
B-G: df		5		5		5					
B-G: p		0.597		0.319		0.184					

As can be seen in Table 33, which offers breakdowns of response medians by each of the three primary variables (sex, age, and provenance), the scores for Natives as a whole were especially contentious between women and men. Women scored NA a full two points higher than men on average ($\chi^2 = 12.890$, df = 5, $p = 0.024$). Note, however,

that the women had more internal disagreement in their scores than men (range = 2-6 for females compared to 1-4 for males), indicating that this discrepancy is not so much women agreeing that Natives as a whole contribute more to the cultural life of Oklahoma as it was an agreement among men that they (the Natives) do not contribute as much as the Mainstream contributes. Apparently, men view the cultural contributions of their individual PT communities to the state as roughly on par with those of Natives as a whole, which are dwarfed by the contributions of the Mainstream. This may be a question of the purpose and visibility of those cultural contributions; social and ceremonial dances, for instance, may be viewed as actions by and for other Natives, not for the state itself. Regarding visibility, recall also that the men rated the percentage of population for Native Americans lower than did the women (though, not significantly so); it may be that the men do not believe that the impact of the cultural contributions of Native people are great enough to enter into public consciousness in Oklahoma. There were no other statistically significant differences, either within- or between-groups.

The next item, 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic Community: Economic Influence,' asked, *How much influence do members of the following groups have over economic and business matters in Oklahoma?* This was measured on a scale from 1 (none at all) to 6 (exclusive influence) for each of the objects PT, NA, and MS. The percentages of vitality for this item are seen in Table 34, which shows a return to the PT<NA<MS pattern.

Table 34

SEVQ item Economic Influence scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	20	2	1-5
NA	40	3	2-6
MS	70	4.5	1-6

Pattern   PT<NA<MS

Figure 22 shows a histogram for each of the three social objects. Notice that the distributions for PT and NA are very similar despite the fact that the averages are different. The MS distribution, on the other hand, is a steady increase from minimum to maximum. These scores are evidence of a perception among participants that the Mainstream has much more economic influence in Oklahoma than either the members of their Primary Tribal communities or Native Americans as a whole.

Nevertheless, there were differences of opinion. For instance, while the women Maryanne, Miss, Niclup, and Raven and the men Bobby and Jesse scored their PT affiliations as higher than the Mainstream, Wazhazhe rated all three objects at the same low level (2). There were also differences regarding how Natives as a whole figured into the mix, with Denvvis, Miss, and Raven scoring them higher than either of the other two, and Bobby and Sefil scoring them lower.
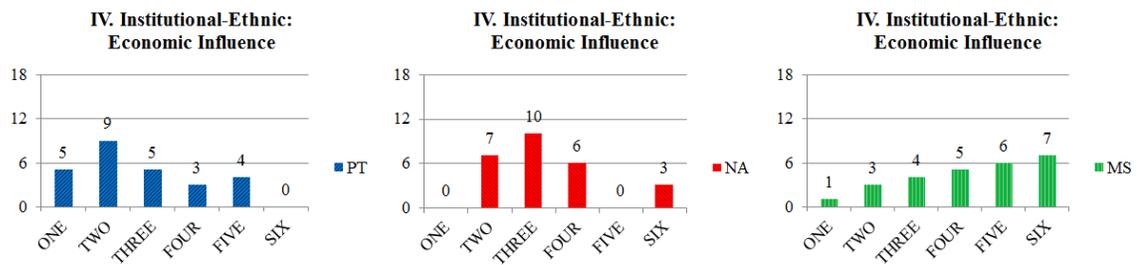
Figure 22. 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic Community: Economic Influence' ratings histogram.

Table 35 shows medians for the responses organized by the binary variables of sex, age, and provenance. All groups show common increases from PT to MS, though NA is equal to PT for younger and close provenance participants and higher than PT for all others. Even so, only the scores for males are statistically significant (χ^2 = 23.200, df =

10, $p = 0.010$), and this within-group difference favors the Mainstream. The men only

showed great agreement, however, for Native Americans as a whole (range = 2-4).

Table 35

SEVQ item Economic Influence results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT		NA		MS		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	2	1-5	3	2-6	4	1-6	13.878	10	0.179	PT<NA<MS
Male	*11*	*2*	*1-5*	*3*	*2-4*	*5*	*2-6*	*23.200*	*10*	*0.010*	*PT<NA<MS*
B-G: χ^2		2.169		6.900		2.794					
B-G: df		4		3		5					
B-G: p		0.705		0.075		0.732					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	3	1-5	3	2-6	5	1-6	15.895	10	0.103	PT=NA<MS
Older	11	2	1-5	3	2-6	4	2-6	14.800	10	0.140	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		1.259		2.589		2.257					
B-G: df		4		3		5					
B-G: p		0.868		0.459		0.813					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	3	1-5	3	2-6	5	2-6	15.879	10	0.103	PT=NA<MS
Distant	13	2	1-5	3	2-6	4	1-6	14.639	10	0.146	PT<NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		1.844		1.543		4.486					
B-G: df		4		3		5					
B-G: p		0.764		0.672		0.482					

The final ethnic community-oriented item in this category is 'IV. Institutional-

Ethnic Community: Political Power,' which asked, *How much political power do*

members of the following groups have in Oklahoma? PT, NA, and MS were rated on a

scale from 1 (no power) to 6 (exclusive power). Percentage vitality scores for this item

are shown in Table 36. These scores suggest that participants perceive the lion's share of

political power in Oklahoma in the hands of the Mainstream.

Table 36

SEVQ item Political Power scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT	20	2	1-4
NA	40	3	1-5
MS	80	5	1-6

Pattern   PT<NA<MS

Figure 23 shows the distribution of scores for each object, which peak on the low-end for both PT and NA. MS scores are more diverse, but the majority of responses fall on the high-end. Nevertheless, there were disagreements. For instance, Bobby, Jesse, and Wazhazhe scored their PT communities higher than the Mainstream, Maryanne rated all three objects lowly (2), and the Chickasaw Niclup and two Cherokees (Christy and Pooh) scored NA as lower than their PT groups.
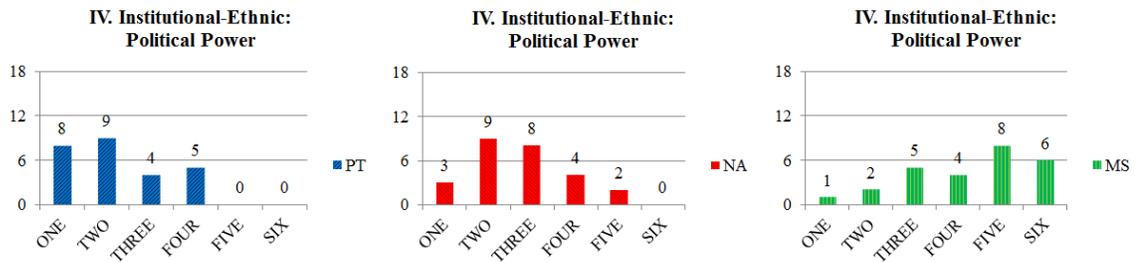
Figure 23. 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic Community: Political Power' ratings histogram.

Table 37 gives the response medians by variable groupings. Once more, all groupings followed the two most common patterns PT<NA<MS or PT=NA<MS. This time, however, four of these groupings exhibited significant within-group differences favoring the Mainstream (females, males, younger, and distant). Note that female, younger, and distant participants patterned closely together, as did male, older, and close participants.

Table 37

SEVQ item Political Power results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

Variable	n	PT Mdn	PT Rng	NA Mdn	NA Rng	MS Mdn	MS Rng	W-G χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	2	*1-4*	3	*1-5*	5	*2-6*	*19.142*	*10*	*0.039*	*PT<NA<MS*
Male	11	2	*1-4*	2	*1-4*	5	*1-6*	*19.000*	*10*	*0.040*	*PT=NA<MS*
B-G: χ^2		0.713		2.386		3.159					
B-G: df		3		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.870		0.665		0.675					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	2	*1-4*	3	*1-5*	5	*3-6*	*32.980*	*10*	*0.000*	*PT<NA<MS*
Older	11	2	1-4	2	1-5	4	1-5	8.373	8	0.398	PT=NA<MS
B-G: χ^2		1.327		2.898		10.329					
B-G: df		3		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.723		0.575		0.066					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	2	1-4	2	1-5	5	1-6	16.686	10	0.082	PT=NA<MS
Distant	13	2	*1-4*	3	*1-5*	5	*3-6*	*26.300*	*10*	*0.003*	*PT<NA<MS*
B-G: χ^2		4.200		8.611		5.967					
B-G: df		3		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.241		0.072		0.309					

The final five items under category 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic & Speech Communities' all involve assessments of the institutional support and control of THLs, NAE, and MUSE in business, educational, governmental, media, and religious contexts. The first of these, 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Business Use,' an item that was added after the first seven participants completed the survey, asked, *How often are the following language varieties used in business institutions in Oklahoma (e.g., shops, stores, banks, etc.)?* Participants score THL, NAE, and MUSE across a range from 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time). The percentages of vitality for this item are shown in Table 38. These scores are indicative of participant perceptions of the overwhelming dominance of MUSE in Oklahoma businesses and an extremely low impression of the usefulness of

THLs in such contexts. NAE fares better than THLs, but is perceived as not often used in business contexts.

Table 38

SEVQ item Business Use scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	0	1	1-4
NAE	20	2	1-6
MUSE	80	5	1-6

Pattern	THL<NAE<MUSE

There is much agreement in the scores for THLs, as can be seen in the distributions found in Figure 24. Moreover, there is a substantial low-end concentration for NAE while the opposite is true of MUSE.
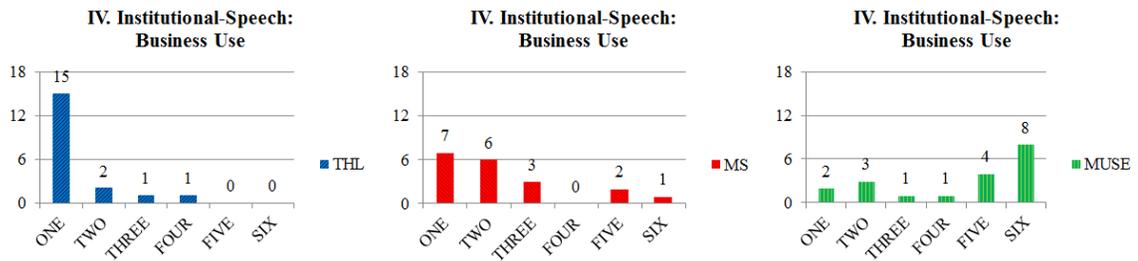
Figure 24. 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Business Use ' ratings histogram.

There is much that is odd about the responses to this item, however. For example, Hanwegumi and Bobby both rated all objects as equal and low; Hanwegumi gave them all 1s, while Bobby gave them all 2s. Maryanne, meanwhile, gave her THL and MUSE 1s, but gave NAE a 3. All of these responses fall quite outside what may have been expected for this item—as a life-long resident of Oklahoma myself, I can personally attest to the fact that English is spoken at most if not all businesses that I have ever encountered here. So, it is not clear if these participants: (a) felt that the definition of

MUSE did not adequately describe the regional English variety in the state (which I suppose is the likeliest, though most challenging interpretation); (b) if they interpreted the item or the objects of comparison in a very different way than I had intended (also very likely and troubling); (c) if their experience at Oklahoma businesses is simply very different from my own and those of their fellow study participants (again, this is possible); (d) if they felt there may be another linguistic variety vying for use in Oklahoma businesses (perhaps Spanish, for instance); (e) if this is some combination of these possible scenarios; or (f) something altogether different. Also of interest are the individuals (Amanda, Christy, and Raven) who scored business use of NAE at the high-end, particularly Raven, who scored it as higher than either her THL (Apache) or MUSE, which she rated both at 4. These scores may reflect the perception that NAE is the de facto regional dialect of the state, or it may be evidence of something very different. Given the interview-based evidence downplaying the usefulness of NAE in professional contexts, it seems unlikely that these individuals simply have such a radically different perspective, but it is possible. Perhaps on-the-spot construction of attitudes, item context effects, or self-presentational motives favoring social desirability conspired against the production of expected responses here and very possibly elsewhere (cf. Bassili & Brown, 2005, p. 546). At this point, all that can be said is that a consistent explanation for several *individual* responses here remains out of reach.

Table 39 presents medians and ranges for responses by sex, age, and provenance. All of the groupings followed the familiar THL<NAE<MUSE pattern except for older participants, who tended to rate NAE and MUSE as equally low. Moreover, three groupings showed significant within-group differences that favored MUSE, including

males ($\chi^2 = 22.800$, df = 8, $p = 0.004$), younger participants ($\chi^2 = 35.800$, df = 10, $p <$ 0.001), and distant provenance participants ($\chi^2 = 29.385$, df = 10, $p = 0.001$); note that the close patterning of younger and distant responses follows a pattern that has been seen before. Additionally, there was a between-groups difference for age favoring far higher scores for MUSE for younger participants ($\chi^2 = 12.016$, df = 5, $p = 0.035$). This is likely to be indicative, in part, of the younger respondents' perceptions of the aftermath of general language shift away from THLs toward MUSE. It may also be the result of a decline in NAE use in businesses in recent times, which, of the three language varieties involved in this item, would lead to an increase in MUSE use in these contexts.

Table 39

SEVQ item Business Use results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	10	1	1-4	3	1-6	6	1-6	16.500	10	0.086	THL<NAE<MUSE
Male	*9*	*1*	*1-2*	*2*	*1-3*	*5*	*2-6*	*22.800*	*8*	*0.004*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		4.025		6.107		8.471					
B-G: df		3		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.259		0.191		0.132					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	*12*	*1*	*1-4*	*2*	*1-5*	*6*	*3-6*	*35.800*	*10*	*0.000*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
Older	7	1	1-2	2	1-6	2	1-6	9.286	8	0.319	THL<NAE=MUSE
B-G: χ^2		4.675		4.265		**12.016**					
B-G: df		3		4		**5**					
B-G: *p*		0.197		0.371		**0.035**					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	8	1	1-2	2	1-6	4	1-6	10.764	8	0.215	THL<NAE<MUSE
Distant	*11*	*1*	*1-4*	*2*	*1-5*	*6*	*2-6*	*29.385*	*10*	*0.001*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		4.232		3.763		6.009					
B-G: df		3		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.237		0.439		0.305					

The next item, 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Educational Use,' which was also omitted from the original instrument and asked of THL, NAE, and MUSE, *How*

often are the following language varieties used and/or taught in Oklahoma schools (e.g.,

public, private, or tribal schools of all levels, from Kindergarten to the university)?

Responses fall on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time). Vitality for this item is

shown in Table 40. Response medians are indicative of a participant perception of near

total dominance of MUSE in educational contexts.

Table 40

SEVQ item Educational Use scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	20	2	1-3
NAE	20	2	1-3
MUSE	100	6	1-6

Pattern	THL=NAE<MUSE

Unlike in the previous item, there was widespread agreement on responses for

each object, as can be seen in Figure 25. Perhaps the only unexpected results came from

Bobby, who scored all three objects as maximally low.

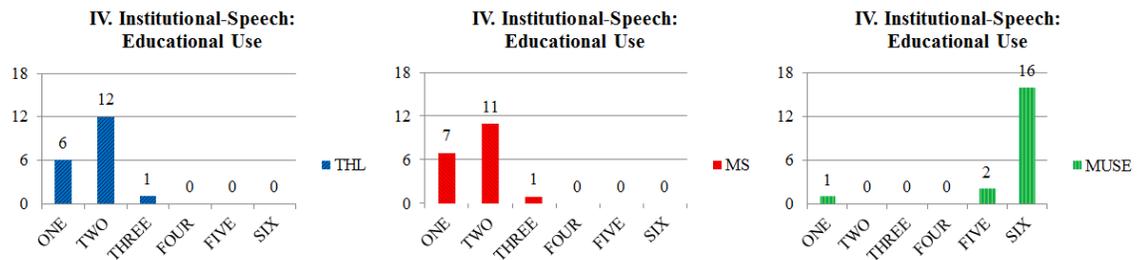*Figure 25*. 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Educational Use' ratings histogram.

Table 41 shows a breakdown of responses by variable groupings. All sex, age,

and provenance groupings showed significant within-group differences in their responses.

The participants clearly perceive a major difference in terms of the use of these language

varieties in educational contexts, one that represents almost no venue for the use of THLs

or NAE. Note also the seeming reversal of scores for THLs and NAE for men; this difference is most likely not significant, however.

Table 41

SEVQ item Educational Use results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	*10*	*2*	*1-3*	*2*	*1-2*	*6*	*6-6*	*31.600*	*6*	*0.000*	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
Male	*9*	*2*	*1-2*	*1*	*1-3*	*6*	*1-6*	*25.350*	*8*	*0.001*	*THL>NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		1.953		4.518		3.958					
B-G: df		2		2		2					
B-G: *p*		0.377		0.104		0.138					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	*12*	*2*	*1-2*	*2*	*1-2*	*6*	*5-6*	*36.267*	*6*	*0.000*	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
Older	*7*	*2*	*1-3*	*2*	*1-3*	*6*	*1-6*	*17.400*	*8*	*0.026*	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		1.810		1.921		2.078					
B-G: df		2		2		2					
B-G: *p*		0.405		0.383		0.354					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	*8*	*2*	*1-3*	*2*	*1-3*	*6*	*1-6*	*20.667*	*6*	*0.002*	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
Distant	*11*	*2*	*1-2*	*2*	*1-2*	*6*	*5-6*	*34.179*	*6*	*0.000*	*THL=NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		4.961		1.952		2.847					
B-G: df		2		2		2					
B-G: *p*		0.084		0.377		0.241					

'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Government Use' asked participants to rate THL, NAE, and MUSE on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time) as follows: *How often are the following language varieties used in government services in Oklahoma (e.g., city, county, state, tribal, or federal offices, such as health departments/clinics, social services, courts etc.)?* Percentages of subjective vitality for this item are shown in Table 42. Medians tended to follow the familiar THL<NAE<MUSE pattern, with THLs coming in at 0% vitality in governmental contexts.

Table 42

SEVQ item Government Use scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	0	1	1-6
NAE	20	2	1-6
MUSE	100	6	1-6

Pattern   THL<NAE<MUSE

The distributions for responses are presented in Figure 26. The two Native-oriented varieties, THLs and NAE fall almost exclusively on the low-end of the scale, while MUSE falls almost exclusively on the high-end, indicating that the participants feel that MUSE is generally used in government services in Oklahoma. Nevertheless, there are disagreements. As in the 'Business Use' item above, there are several participants who scored all three objects as equal, including Christy (who scored them all at 6), Hanwegumi, and Wazhazhe (both of whom scored them all at 1). Again, there is no single explanation for these results. Perhaps Christy felt that there was an equal place for each variety in Oklahoma; this is at least a possible explanation for her THL, Cherokee, which enjoys immersion schooling possibilities from the earliest of ages and unbroken support straight through to the university level in certain schools within the borders of the Cherokee Nation. Hanwegumi and Wazhazhe, however, rated the presence of MUSE in Oklahoma schools as low as they rated NAE as well as Otoe and Osage, respectively. Two other participants, Bobby and Raven, rated their THLs (i.e., Osage and Apache) as higher than MUSE. Richard, furthermore, rated NAE as lower than Osage.
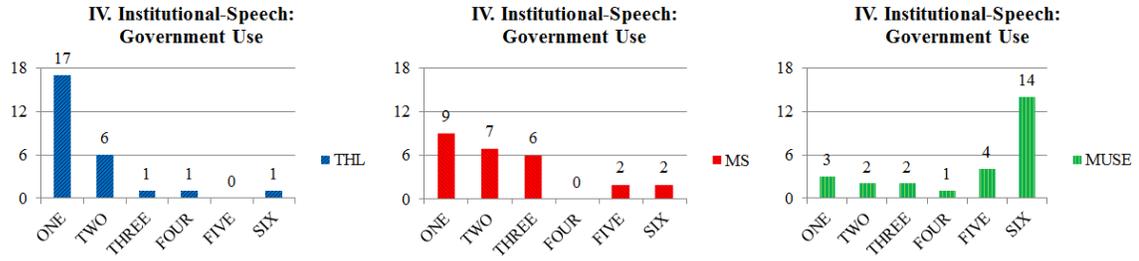
Figure 26. 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Government Use' ratings histogram.

Table 43

SEVQ item Government Use results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	*1*	*1-6*	*3*	*1-6*	*6*	*1-6*	*23.383*	*10*	*0.009*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
Male	11	*1*	*1-3*	*2*	*1-3*	*6*	*1-6*	*23.900*	*8*	*0.002*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		2.985		5.580		5.125					
B-G: df		4		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.560		0.233		0.401					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	*1*	*1-6*	*2*	*1-6*	**6**	**3-6**	*34.159*	*10*	*0.000*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
Older	11	1	1-2	2	1-6	3	1-6	15.786	10	0.106	THL<NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		2.503		0.353		**11.222**					
B-G: df		4		4		**5**					
B-G: *p*		0.644		0.473		**0.047**					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	*1*	*1-2*	*2*	*1-6*	*6*	*1-6*	*26.381*	*10*	*0.003*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
Distant	13	*1*	*1-6*	*2*	*1-6*	*5*	*2-6*	*23.659*	*10*	*0.009*	*THL<NAE<MUSE*
B-G: χ^2		3.750		1.810		9.286					
B-G: df		4		4		5					
B-G: *p*		0.444		0.771		0.098					

Table 43 offers response breakdowns by sex, age, and provenance. All but the

older grouping showed significant within-group differences favoring MUSE and

following the familiar THL<NAE<MUSE pattern. Additionally, there was a between-

groups difference for age resulting in far higher and more concentrated scores for MUSE

for younger participants ($\chi^2 = 11.222$, df = 5, $p = 0.047$). Again, this may be due to

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younger participants' sensitivity to the aftermath of language shift issues which favor

MUSE over Native-oriented language varieties.

'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Media Use,' which was omitted from the

original survey, asked, *How often are the following language varieties used in the media*

in Oklahoma (e.g., newspaper, radio, TV, Internet, etc.)?, measuring THLs, NAE, and

MUSE on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time). Percentages of vitality are

presented in Table 44. Stunningly, median scores for both THLs and NAE are at 0%

vitality for media use while MUSE is rated at 100%—total domination of the social

context in question. This is indicative of a widespread perception among participants that

MUSE enjoys complete institutional support within the Oklahoma media.

Table 44

SEVQ item Media Use scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	0	1	1-3
NAE	0	1	1-5
MUSE	100	6	1-6

Pattern	THL=NAE<MUSE

Of particular interest here, is the great agreement in responses for the various

social objects as demonstrated by the histograms in Figure 27. Some of the individual

scores did not reflect the overall trends. For instance, two participants (Bobby and

Hanwegumi) ranked all three objects at the lowest level, another (Raven) rated all at 3,

and still another (Denvvis) rated all the objects at 2 or lower. Once more, it is not clear

why these participants gave such low scores to all three speech communities.

Furthermore, one participant (Jack) rated NAE at 5, far higher than the others. Still, this

item does allow for individual tastes in media choice (for instance, some participants may

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not be as aware of radio trends as television trends, etc.), which can be very divergent. It is possible that some of these outlying participants attend to media that, for instance, may not be MUSE-intensive, or may feature use of NAE that is not representative of Oklahoma media as a whole.
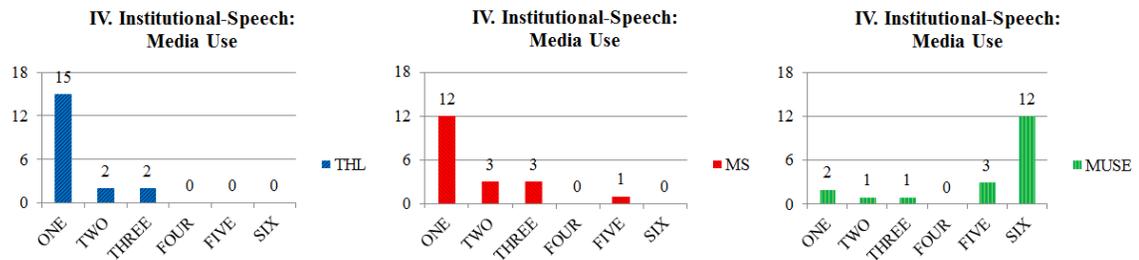
Figure 27. 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Media Use' ratings histogram.

Table 45 shows the breakdown of responses by sex, age, and provenance. Once more, all groupings save for older participants demonstrate significant within-group differences favoring MUSE. All groupings followed one or the other of the two most common patterns of responses, either THL<NAE<MUSE or THL=NAE<MUSE, with the two Native-oriented language varieties compressed to the low-end. The older participant responses fit the latter pattern, as did most of the others, but the within-group differences were not significant. Additionally, there were no between-groups differences, indicating basic trend agreement. All in all, the participants largely agreed that media use in the state is generally the domain of MUSE, with very little THL and NAE use.

Table 45

SEVQ item Media Use results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	10	1	1-3	1	1-3	6	1-6	23.700	6	0.001	THL=NAE<MUSE
Male	9	1	1-3	1	1-5	5	1-6	16.929	8	0.031	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		0.014		1.619		6.298					
B-G: df		2		3		4					
B-G: p		0.993		0.655		0.178					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	12	1	1-3	1	1-5	6	3-6	31.794	8	0.000	THL=NAE<MUSE
Older	7	1	1-3	1	1-3	5	1-6	10.500	8	0.232	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		0.377		0.735		6.465					
B-G: df		2		3		4					
B-G: p		0.828		0.865		0.167					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	8	1	1-3	2	1-3	6	1-6	17.073	8	0.029	THL<NAE<MUSE
Distant	11	1	1-3	1	1-5	6	2-6	27.833	8	0.001	THL=NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		3.275		5.326		4.300					
B-G: df		2		3		4					
B-G: p		0.195		0.149		0.367					

The final item in this category is 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Religious Use,' which asked, *How often are the following language varieties used in churches and places of religious observation in Oklahoma?* Participants scored THL, NAE, and MUSE on a scale from 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time). The percentages of vitality for this item are found in Table 46. These scores follow the common trends of increase from THL through to MUSE, but here THL and NAE objects have received higher scores than has been seen in the speech community-oriented items for this category. The scores are suggestive of perceptions that all three language varieties have a venue for use in the religious life of Oklahoma, but that MUSE is typically used more than the others.

Table 46

SEVQ item Religious Use scores

Object	%	Median	Range
THL	20	2	1-6
NAE	40	3	1-6
MUSE	80	5	1-6

Pattern   THL<NAE<MUSE

Figure 28 shows histogram distributions of responses for each object. There were numerous disagreements, but the bulk of responses for THLs and NAE fall on the scale's low-end whereas the majority of the MUSE responses fall on the high-end.
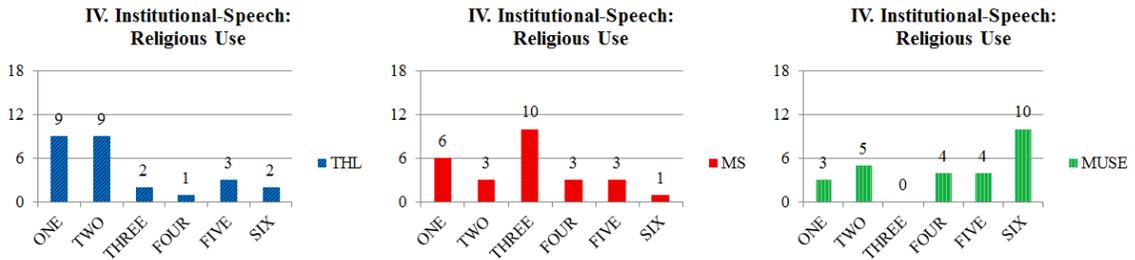

Figure 28. 'IV. Institutional-Speech Community: Religious Use' ratings histogram.

Some of the participants whose responses defied the trends include the women Christy, Hanwegumi, Jackie, Maryanne, Raven, and Wazhazhe and the men Bobby, Denvvis, Jack, and Tenuhpuh, all of whose THL scores were either equal to or higher than their scores for MUSE. Several of these, including Denvvis, Maryanne, Raven, and Wazhazhe, scored NAE the highest of the three objects. These choices may reflect a belief that Native American religious customs are still very vital in Oklahoma and are acceptable venues for use of linguistic codes that reflect Native ethnic identity. In fact, as was discussed in the interview findings, these contexts may actually encourage people to

use more Native-oriented speech behaviors than they would otherwise use in everyday

contexts.

Table 47 gives medians and ranges for responses organized by primary variable

groupings. All of the groupings demonstrate the common pattern of increase from THL to

MUSE, and all but males showed significant within-group differences favoring higher

scores for MUSE. This indicates widespread agreement that THLs, NAE, and MUSE are

all used in religious observance in the state, but that MUSE is used more often than the

others.

Table 47

SEVQ item Religious Use results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		THL		NAE		MUSE		W-G			
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Female	15	2	1-6	3	1-6	5	1-6	20.924	10	0.022	THL<NAE<MUSE
Male	11	2	1-5	3	1-5	5	2-6	17.979	10	0.055	THL<NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		7.791		2.101		3.057					
B-G: df		5		5		4					
B-G: *p*		0.168		0.835		0.548					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Younger	15	2	1-6	3	1-5	5	1-6	22.721	10	0.012	THL<NAE<MUSE
Older	11	2	1-5	3	1-6	4	1-6	19.957	10	0.030	THL<NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		3.922		5.242		6.676					
B-G: df		5		5		4					
B-G: *p*		0.561		0.387		0.154					
Variable	n	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p	Pattern
Close	13	2	1-5	3	1-6	5	1-6	20.190	10	0.028	THL<NAE<MUSE
Distant	13	2	1-6	3	1-5	5	1-6	24.167	10	0.007	THL<NAE<MUSE
B-G: χ^2		5.556		5.067		2.933					
B-G: df		5		5		4					
B-G: *p*		0.352		0.408		0.569					

The category 'IV. Institutional-Ethnic & Speech Communities' is the largest in

terms of numbers of items and offers the most items specifically geared toward speech

community vitality assessment. Several things could be said to summarize the meaningful

parts of the data. For instance, in terms of ethnic communities, Primary Tribe affiliations, Native Americans as a whole, and the Mainstream are all perceived as well represented in the cultural life in Oklahoma, but the Mainstream has more economic and political influence; PT communities in particular have little political influence. As for speech communities, the participants tended to agree that Mainstream U.S. English is used more than either THLs or NAE in business, education, government, religious observance, and especially the media. Tribal Heritage Languages, meanwhile, have almost no place in business, government, and media, with only limited place in education and religion. Native American English varieties, on the other hand, enjoy only limited use in business, education, and government, but more so in religious customs and none at all in media. Females tended to rate their PT communities higher than males for cultural presence, and younger participants tended to rate MUSE higher than older participants for business and governmental use. The younger participants also continued to pattern their responses similarly to the distant participants. Still, numerous individuals scored language-related items in such a way as to stymie interpretation. These scores may be indicative of problems inherent in the instrument or may be attributable to any number of other factors that are not immediately clear.

5.3.5 Category V. The final category of the standard SEVQ portion of the survey instrument—recall that there is still a language variety choice section to be discussed later—is 'V. Contact-Ethnic Community.' Unlike the previous categories, however, this one is arranged and scored very differently—almost as a single item, though they were not grouped together and appeared in random order. It is divided into three separate prompts designed to ascertain attitudes regarding the level of inter-group contact between

the three possible two-object combinations of PT, NA, and MS. The three items are as

follows: (1) *On average, how much social contact is there between members of your*

Primary Tribe and Native Americans in general in Oklahoma?, (2) *On average, how*

much social contact is there between members of your Primary Tribe and members of the

mainstream in Oklahoma?, and (3) *On average, how much social contact is there*

between Native Americans in general and members of the mainstream in Oklahoma? The

three two-object social objects, then, are Primary Tribe-to-Native Americans (PT-NA),

Primary Tribe-to-Mainstream (PT-MS), and Native Americans-to-Mainstream (NA-MS),

all of which were scored on a scale from 1 (none at all) to 6 (constant contact).

Percentages for this item do not refer to vitality per se, but rather the amount of possible

contact between two groups (from 0% contact to 100% contact). These percentages are

shown in Table 48. Contact involving PT communities (PT-NA and PT-MS) were higher,

followed closely by the more general NA-MS object.

Table 48

SEVQ item Contact scores

Object	%	Median	Range
PT-NA	60	4	2-6
PT-MS	60	4	1-6
NA-MS	50	3.5	2-6

Pattern	PT-NA = PT-MS > NA-MS

Distributions for the three items are shown in Figure 29. All are bimodal in some

manner or another and demonstrate a great degree of disagreement. For instance, Nelly

scored all three combinations at 2, while Christy, James, and Selfil rated them all at 6.
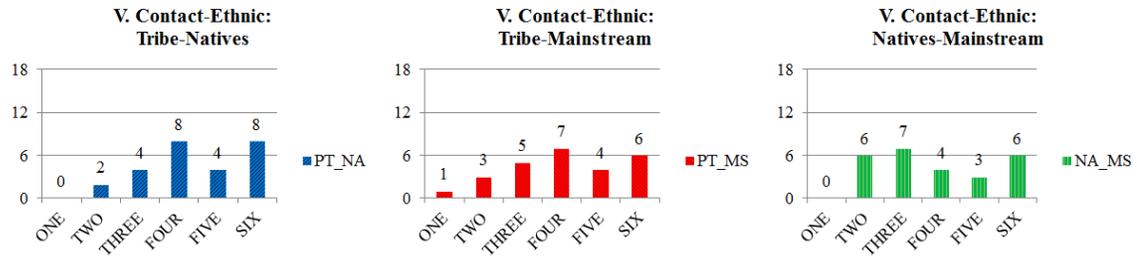
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Figure 29. 'V. Contact-Ethnic Community' ratings histogram.

Table 49 has a breakdown of response medians and ranges organized by the primary variable groupings of sex, age, and provenance. There were neither within-group nor between-groups differences of significance. In general, though not entirely, participants had their highest medians for PT-NA, followed by PT-MS, followed by NA-MS. This matches aggregate pattern; these scores are suggestive of the belief that Native Americans tend to interact with other Native Americans most, though not by a wide margin.

Table 49

SEVQ item Contact results by variable (W-G = within-group; B-G = between-groups)

		PT-NA		PT-MS		NA-MS		W-G		
Variable	N	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p
Female	15	4	2-6	5	1-6	4	2-6	6.400	10	0.781
Male	11	4	3-6	4	2-6	3	2-6	8.758	8	0.363
B-G: χ^2		4.491		6.013		2.394				
B-G: df		4		5		4				
B-G: p		0.344		0.305		0.664				
Variable	N	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p
Younger	15	5	3-6	4	2-6	5	2-6	6.600	8	0.580
Older	11	4	2-6	3	1-5	3	2-5	9.517	10	0.484
B-G: χ^2		4.491		9.427		7.710				
B-G: df		4		5		4				
B-G: p		0.344		0.093		0.103				

Variable	N	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	Mdn	Rng	χ^2	df	p
Close	13	5	2-6	4	2-6	3	2-6	12.167	8	0.144
Distant	13	4	2-6	4	1-6	4	2-6	8.382	10	0.592
B-G: χ^2		5.000		6.343		6.238				
B-G: df		4		5		4				
B-G: p		0.287		0.274		0.182				

The female participants, however, scored PT-MS as the highest combination. Furthermore, while not significant, the between-groups differences in medians for age represent the greatest separation in scores for any one variable grouping: The younger participants rated all combinations higher than did the older participants, particularly the NA-MS combination. It may be unwise to read too much into these insignificant age-base scores, but they could be indicative of generational differences in perceptions relating to physical distance and its effect on interaction. Younger individuals may be more receptive to interactions of all sorts, including not only face-to-face but also virtual contact. Additionally, they may simply view contact between Natives (either as members of PT communities or the broader NA community) and the Mainstream as occurring more regularly than older individuals do. This, then, could be evidence of changes in Native social interaction visible in apparent time. It would certainly be interesting to see if this trend bears out with a higher number of subjects of different ages and tribal backgrounds.

It is also interesting to see higher scores for PT-MS versus NA-MS, which may indicate that participants see contact between Natives and the mainstream as occurring mostly in and around tribal population centers, such as tribal headquarters, Oklahoma Tribal Statistical Areas, and so forth, and not so much in the broader non-Native areas of the state. This may be a function of the fact that, in much of Oklahoma, tribal areas are

somewhat removed from one another. In terms of simple numbers, there are more non-Natives to occupy those interstitial spaces than Natives. Even in large cities with high overall numbers of Natives, the basic likelihood of encountering a non-Native is far greater than the likelihood of encountering a Native. As such, there may be fewer opportunities for Native Americans as a whole to deal with members of the Mainstream throughout the state than for members of a particular tribe dealing with members of the Mainstream in the jurisdiction of the former.

5.3.6 Summary. In sum, the basic results of this SEVQ can be reduced to a series of statements generalized from the participants' responses to items regarding their *perceptions* (that is, attitudinal tenets within the collective cognitoria of participants) of the ethnolinguistic communities in question.

1. The Mainstream is the most vital community in the state now, but all are fairly vital.

2. Neither Natives as a whole nor the Mainstream will be as vital in the future.

3. Natives, particularly individual tribes, are prouder of their cultural heritage in the state than the Mainstream, but all are very proud.

4. There is less regard for Natives in the state than for the Mainstream.

5. The Mainstream is the wealthiest ethnic grouping in the state by far.

6. There is not much regard for Native-oriented language varieties in the state.

7. There is even less regard for Native-oriented language varieties outside of the state.

8. Birth rates among all three groups are fairly equally matched in the state.

9.   The populations are fairly mixed in the state, but there are pockets of tribal concentration.

10.   Natives do not marry back into their own tribes very often.

11.   Individual tribes make up only small portions of a large Native minority group in the state.

12.   There is not much migration into the state, especially for individual tribes.

13.   Natives are less willing to leave the state than members of the Mainstream.

14.   All three ethnic groupings are fairly evenly represented in the state's cultural life

15.   The Mainstream has far more economic influence in the state than Natives, especially with respect to individual tribes.

16.   Individual tribes do not have much political power in the state.

17.   THLs have almost no place in the state's business sector.

18.   MUSE use dominates educational institutions in the state.

19.   Governmental agencies in the state are not receptive to THL use.

20.   There is almost no media representation of Native-oriented language varieties in the state.

21.   Though MUSE is used for most religious observation in the state, all varieties have some venue for use.

22.   Inter-group contact is plentiful among all combinations of PT communities, Natives as a whole, and the Mainstream, but less contact occurs between Natives as a whole and the Mainstream.

These statements are little more than statistical codifications of implicit ethnolinguistic attitudes based on the perceptions of the 26 individual participants who completed the

survey. As such, the statements may not reflect the objective ethnolinguistic situation in Oklahoma, nor even the conscious views of any single participant in the study (recall n. 6 on page 47).

Some of the statistically significant differences in responses can also be summarized. First of all, vitality tended to increase from the ethnolinguistic community of PT + THL to MS + MUSE through two common patterns, one in which PT + THL is lower than NA + NAE and one in which they are the same. Out of 21 items for which these communities were objects—the inter-group contact items were different—the results of only five items violated these two orders. This is indicative of an overall perception that Native-oriented communities (ethnic or speech) are less vital than non-Native-oriented communities. Second, the binary groupings of sex and age showed occasional disagreements. For instance, females tended to rank Native Americans as a whole higher than did males for items relating to general vitality, cultural pride, and cultural presence, but averaged lower scores for PT communities for estimations of inter-group marriages. These differences seem to indicate that the women in the study were more sensitive to a supratribal level of identification above that of the Primary Tribal community while the men have a slightly more restrictive view that privileges PT affiliations versus Mainstream membership. If this is the case, then this is somewhat unexpected given the fact that a greater percentage of males (27%) identified foremost as Native Americans than did females (13%). Additionally, younger participants tended to rate MUSE higher than did older participants for items relating to its use in business and government contexts. These differences are suggestive of an apparent-time change in perceptions regarding the usefulness of MUSE in contexts where professionalism and

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formality matter most. Additionally, younger and distant provenance participants tended to pattern after one another, as did older and close provenance participants.

Finally, a word or two about the individual participants is in order. There was a great range of difference in terms of how individuals rated the objects. Perhaps the easiest way to describe these differences is how often out of the 21 items that compared ethnolinguistic communities directly an individual differed from what was shown to be one of the most common patterns (i.e., PT + THL < NA + NAE < MS + MUSE or PT + THL = NA + NAE < MS + MUSE). Two participants fall at the extremes. Rowdy (male, younger, distant Kiowa) followed the expected patterns 21 out of 21 times, even when, on five items, the rest of the participants sided against him—strong evidence for him perceiving a real difference between the Native-oriented and non-Native-oriented community vitality. On the opposite end, Bobby (male, older, close Osage) went against the expected patterns 21 out of 21 times, often by ranking all three objects at equally low levels. This may be indicative of the fact that he does not see a strong difference between, say, NAE and MUSE, a fact that he mentioned in his interview. However, it is not clear why his scores for ethnic items would also score so low for all three communities. The average number of violations of the familiar patterns for an individual participant was between eleven and twelve; fifteen of the participants affirmed these patterns more often than that average, and eleven denied the common order more than that average. This indicates a general level of agreement that the more tribally-specific ethnolinguistic communities are the least vital while the most Mainstream-oriented communities are the most vital.

5.4 SEVQ Results in Aggregate

Given the conceptual difficulty of lumping several Primary Tribal affiliations and Tribal Heritage Languages together, aggregate scores of the ethnic and speech communities represented in the study are somewhat misleading and perhaps worth less than scores for individual items, as were discussed above. Still, they do help to situate a big picture perspective of the survey results. Moreover, one may assume that the NA and MS as well as the NAE and MUSE ethnic and speech community scores are substantially more cohesive than the PT and THL scores.

5.5.1 Ethnic community SEV. Figure 30 represents median scores of subjective vitality for the SEVQ items that deal only with ethnic communities. What is most obvious about this chart is that the Oklahoma Mainstream is regarded as more vital than either Primary Tribal communities or Natives as a whole.

Figure 30. Ethnic Community Vitality (%)
(14 items, n = 26)
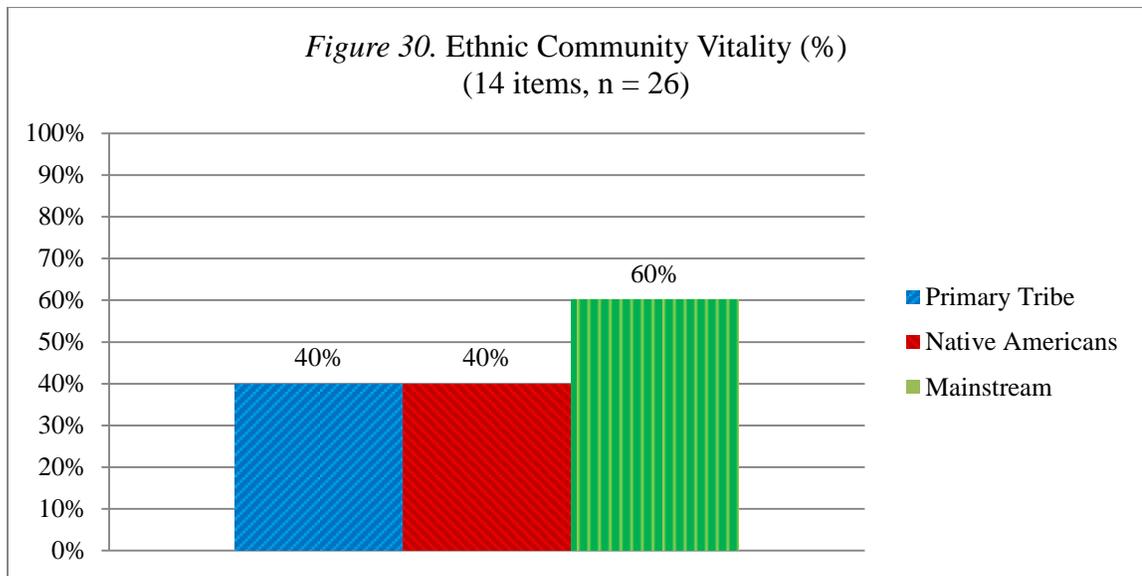
The ethnic community vitality scores present a more nuanced view when broken down into SEVQ categories, as in Table 50. For most categories, just as the bare medians show in Figure 30, the mainstream seems to dominate, with Primary Tribal communities

equal to Native American supratribal ethnicity. The exception here is Category IV, which has PT rated as lower than NA. PT communities fare better in the General, Status, and Demographic categories than they do in the Institutional category. Meanwhile, Natives as a whole are seen as more or less equally vital across all categories. The Mainstream, on the other hand, is rated consistently highly, and highest in the General and Institutional categories.

Table 50

Ethnic community vitality by SEVQ category (%)

Category	PT	NA	MS
I. General-Ethnic Community (2 items)	40%	40%	70%
II. Status-Ethnic Community (3 items)	40%	40%	60%
III. Demographic-Ethnic Community (6 items)	40%	40%	60%
IV. Institutional-Ethnic Community (3 items)	20%	40%	70%

Recall from section 5.3.2 above, however, that the participants seem to believe that the Mainstream is not overly proud of its own contribution to Oklahoma culture, a sentiment that at least impressionistically rings true throughout the state. Natives, on the other hand, are rated as much prouder, both in terms of individual tribal cultures and supratribal culture; the cultural pride score alone buoys the Status scores for PT groups. This Native cultural pride may be expected in a state widely considered an important source of pan-Indianism and the birthplace of powwow culture. Nevertheless, the participants seem to feel that the state as a whole does not have high regard for either individual tribes or the supratribal community; individual tribes do fare better here. So, in spite of pride, these ethnicity vitality scores seem to indicate the participants' collective awareness of a concentration of social and economic capital in the hands of non-Natives

in Oklahoma. This social advantage is also borne out in their estimations of the Mainstream's relative vitality and its General and Institutional dominance.

5.4.2 Speech community SEV. Figure 31 shows medians of speech community vitality scores. The most immediately striking features here are that 1.) there is a clear trend of increase from Tribal Heritage Languages through Native American English to Mainstream U.S. English, but 2.) the trend is so dramatic as to present THLs entirely devoid of vitality, NAE as having very low vitality, and MUSE as absolutely dominant. Notice the differences between the corresponding ethnolinguistic communities between Figures 30 and 31. Where PT ethnic communities average 40% subjective vitality, their speech community counterparts, THLs, muster 0% on average. NA is approximately 40% vital for the study participants, but NAE is 20% vital. However, MS rates almost 60% vital among the participants while MUSE rates as 100% vital.. While NAE fares better in aggregate than THLs, they both experience sharp decreases from their corresponding ethnic community vitality measures. Insofar as THL speech communities are facing rapid language shift and obsolescence in this state while tribal populations are actually on the rise, this could indicate that the participants perceive an obsolescence of NAE itself in Oklahoma in favor of MUSE. It must be pointed out here that subjective ethnolinguistic vitality is, of course, not the same thing as use. Still, it may not bode well for THLs and NAE that the individuals most likely to use them (that is, Native Americans) view these varieties as much less vital than MUSE.

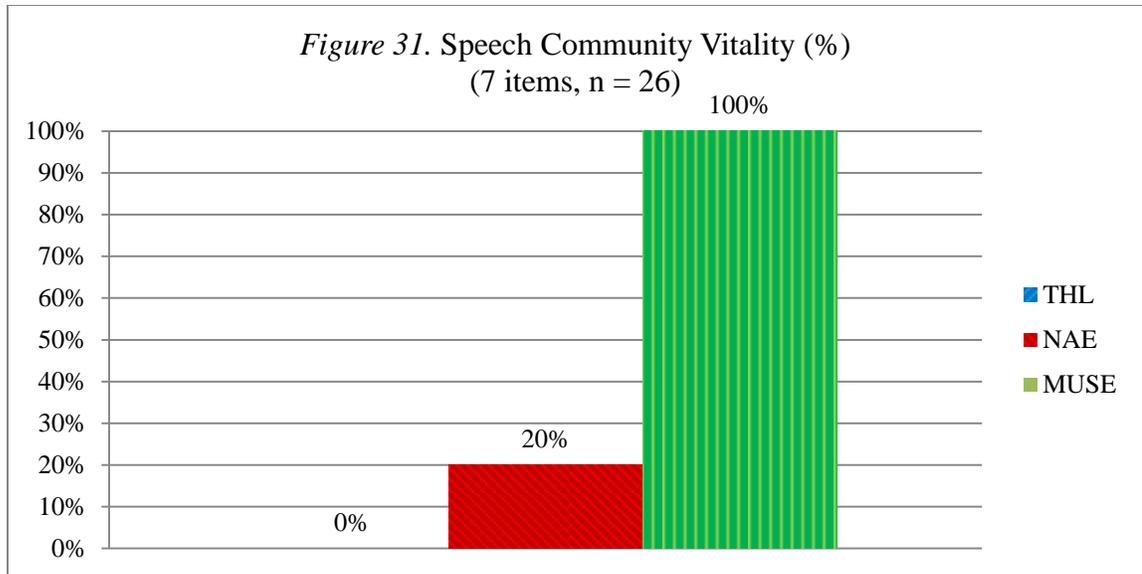*Figure 31.* Speech Community Vitality (%)
(7 items, n = 26)

Table 51 shows the aggregate speech community vitality by SEVQ category. Due to the small number of item categories in the survey instrument specifically geared toward measuring speech community vitality (only Status and Institutional categories have speech-related items), the breakdown of aggregate vitality scores by category does not go far beyond reinforcing the perceived vitality of MUSE in Oklahoma.

Table 51

Speech community vitality by SEVQ category (%)

Category	THL	NAE	MUSE
II. Status-Speech Community (2 items)	0%	20%	80%
IV. Institutional-Speech Community (5 items)	0%	20%	100%

Having already seen these scores before the aggregation immediately above—including the great range of individual responses, variable grouping trends, and differences between and within specific items—the data in Figure 31 and Table 51 may be somewhat unexpected. Weren't THLs and NAE shown as more vital previously than they are shown to be here? To address such a question, it is necessary to return to some of

the points discussed in the SEVQ item analyses. For instance, in terms of media use (an Institutional item), while there are mass-media representations of THLs in Oklahoma, including the Cherokee Nation's weekly "Cherokee Voices, Cherokee Sounds" web and radio broadcast, there is really no comparison with MUSE in terms of either the size of the audience or the frequency and diversity of representations. Likewise, a visitor at a tribal administrative complex (governmental use) is likely to hear some use of NAE and may see or even hear some THL use. Yet, tribal governments are to be found in only about three to four dozen towns and cities in the state, and they make up only a small part of the overall governmental profile of Oklahoma, which also includes governments at the city, county, state, and federal level. Thus, in aggregation, many of these differences wash out entirely.

Meanwhile, the Status items for speech community concern in-state versus out-of-state regard. Recall from Tables 16 and 18 above that MUSE scores for both in-state and out-of-state regard stayed at 80% vitality whereas THLs and NAE both went from 20% in-state to 0% out-of-state. The parity of median scores for the two Native-oriented language varieties is potentially suggestive of participant perceptions that these two varieties are viewed as overtly indexical of Native American ethnicity both in Oklahoma, for good or for ill, and outside of Oklahoma, but that regard is conditioned by familiarity with those varieties. In essence, there may be a belief that when a fellow Native American hearer in the state encounters either of these varieties, she registers them as specifically Native, which then activates a (presumably) positive regard tenet for the ethnicity within the system of language ideological tenet sets for that individual. Alternatively, when a non-Native hearer encounters either variety, the participants may

perceive that experience as also activating ethnic regard tenets and reactions, either positive or negative. Perhaps participants expect greater numbers of Native interlocutors in Oklahoma or greater familiarity with Natives and Native-oriented language varieties from their non-Native Oklahoma interlocutors, leading to higher in-state regard for both varieties (though still lower than MUSE). Out-of-state, however, the participants may expect fewer Native interlocutors and less awareness of Native American ethnolinguistic communities as a whole, though the old NAE stereotypes may still be alive and well. Inasmuch as it is unlikely that most people outside of Oklahoma have even heard of, say, the Kansa language, it stands to reason that THL scores are likely to be lower than NAE for this item, and both are likely to be lower than MUSE.

Given these Status concerns, it is perhaps easy to see why the range of responses for these items was great. Recall, though, that the range for both items had 1 as a minimum score. While the responses to the in-state regard item were maximal (range = 1-6) for THLs and NAE, the out-of-state regard responses were much more focused (range = 1-5 for THLs, and 1-3 for NAE). Thus, the central tendency of the Status item category as a whole is actually lower than *either* of the two individual Status items.

5.4.3 Overall SEV. Overall SEV scores reflect combinations of ethnic community measures and speech community measures as expressed in a union between ethnic and speech communities. Thus, the Primary Tribal ethnic community overlaps with Tribal Heritage Language speech community (PT + THL), the general Native American ethnic community with NAE (NA + NAE), and the Mainstream ethnic community with the MUSE speech community (MS + MUSE). As such, it is easy to predict the ranking of the medians shown in Figure 32, having already seen both ethnic

community and speech community medians in aggregate. This hierarchy indicates that individual tribal ethnicity and speech communities were perceived as less vital than supratribal Native ethnicity overlapping the NAE speech community, which was in turn less vital than the Oklahoma mainstream and MUSE (or, as a logical corollary to this statement, vitality increases as ethnolinguistic communities become broader).

Figure 32. Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality (%)
(21 items, n = 26)
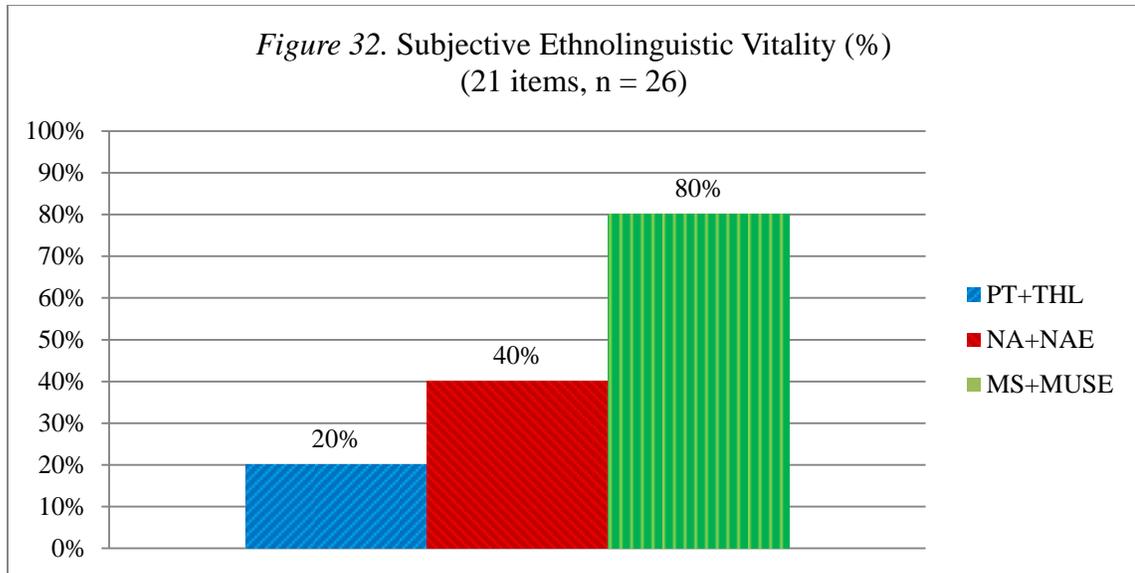
These scores are somewhat unexpected in light of the possible hypothesis that NAE may be more vital than either THLs or MUSE based on its usefulness in indexing Native identity and its widespread comprehensibility (see 2.9 above, p. 69). Nevertheless, there is clearly more at stake in the decision to use or not to use NAE than mere comprehensibility and an index of tribal ethnicity, perhaps something reflected in the social lives of potential NAE users. Such solidarity and stigmatization was previously addressed in Chapter 4.

5.5 Language Choice Results

I now turn to more conscious attitudes of the participants regarding the three language varieties. Based on the linguistic network assessment of Ehala and Niglas

(2007), this is essentially a snapshot of contexts of language variety use. The nine

contexts in this study include the following:

- Among close family

- Among close friends

- Among work/school peers

- Among work/school supervisors/instructors

- At cultural events

- For sports/hobbies

- In shops/services

- In print materials

- In auditory materials

For each context, subjects were asked to choose which language variety they used

the most, with 1 representing THL, 2 representing NAE, and 3 representing MUSE. The

nominal nature of the variables here precludes parametric statistics, as above, but permits

a holistic view of language choice as a sort of implicational hierarchy of discourse

contexts.

Figure 33 shows the foremost language variety choice of participants by context.

Not surprisingly, NAE is used most often in contexts where its use is unlikely to be

stigmatized by those in the environment, such as at cultural events (presumably events

related to Native culture), and in the homes of family and friends, and among work peers.

After this, its use begins to roll off quickly without ever ceasing to be an available

language variety. THLs follow a similar but not identical pattern. Uses of THLs at

cultural events tend not to be rated high; this is likely to be a result of the fact that Native

American languages are not widely spoken in general, and one may tend to use more accessible codes around others if they are not known to be speakers of the THL. As such, close family, close friends, and auditory materials tend to have the highest scores for THLs—these are all contexts in which a speaker has the most personal freedom of selection of either known interlocutors or materials. Work and print materials are viewed as low but still available THL contexts, due probably to the lack of institutional support and control. The lowest ranked are the most public: Shops/services and sports/hobbies. For these and indeed most other contexts, MUSE is the preferred option.

Figure 33. Individual Uses of Language Varieties by Context
(n = 26)
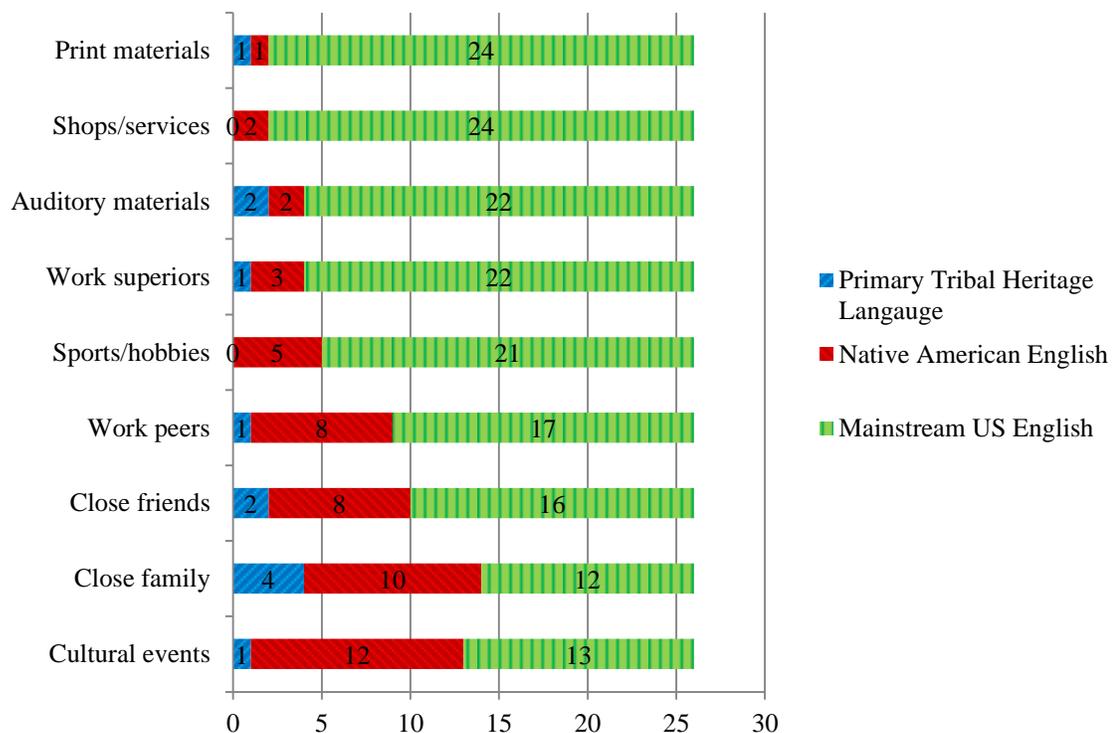
Again, the nominal nature of the choice categories and the very low whole number responses do not lend these data to powerful inferential statistics, nor even such basic descriptive statistics as medians. Nevertheless, responses were subjected to three

separate χ^2 Tests (context by binary variable grouping), one for each of the three primary variables in order to test the significance of between-groups differences for a given variable. Within-group differences were not tested due to the difficulty in tracking down the source of the differences across multiple contexts. Significant differences are shown italicized in Tables 52-35, which show distributions of responses by primary variable groupings. Note that occasionally the degrees of freedom dipped below what SPSS would allow for use of the χ^2 Test. In these cases, Fisher's Exact Test was used instead.

Table 52

Distribution of language choice results by sex (B-G = between-groups)

| Context | Female (n = 15) | | | Male (n = 11) | | | B-G | | | |
	One	Two	Three	One	Two	Three	χ^2	df	*p*	FE
Print materials	1	1	13	0	0	11	1.589	2	0.452	-
Shops/services	0	2	13	0	0	11	-	-	-	0.492
Audio materials	2	1	12	0	1	10	1.604	2	0.448	-
Work superiors	1	1	13	0	2	9	1.480	2	0.477	-
Sports/hobbies	0	3	12	0	2	9	-	-	-	1.000
Work peers	1	4	10	0	4	7	0.936	2	0.626	-
Close friends	1	5	9	1	3	7	0.138	2	0.933	-
Close family	3	7	5	1	3	7	2.374	2	0.305	-
Cultural events	0	9	6	1	3	7	3.545	2	0.170	-

Table 52 shows widespread agreement between women and men. Most differences are attributable to the differences in the numbers of each (15 females to 11 males). The women appear to choose THLs in the more public contexts more frequently than the men, and choose NAE more frequently than the men in the more private contexts (especially among close family and at cultural events). Still, there were no significant differences for any context between females and males.

Table 53 shows the distribution of language choice responses by age. This time, there appear to be many differences between the two groupings. For instance, with the exception of the close family context, there no instances of THL choice for younger

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participants; one or two older participants, though fewer in number as a whole than younger participants, choose THLs in all but two contexts. The greatest difference is among close family, where the younger participants overwhelmingly choose MUSE while older participants overwhelmingly choose NAE; this difference is statistically significant (χ^2 = 6.471, df = 2, p = 0.039). This seems to be yet another apparent time difference between the two groupings, with younger people opting for NAE presumably as a result of recent language shift and even dialect shift favoring non-Native codes in most contexts.

Table 53

Distribution of language choice results by age (B-G = between-groups)

Context	Younger (n = 15)			Older (n = 11)			B-G			
	One	Two	Three	One	Two	Three	χ^2	df	p	FE
Print materials	0	0	15	1	1	9	2.955	2	0.228	-
Shops/services	0	1	14	0	1	10	-	-	-	1.000
Audio materials	0	1	14	2	1	8	3.094	2	0.213	-
Work superiors	0	2	13	1	1	9	1.480	2	0.477	-
Sports/hobbies	0	2	13	0	3	8	-	-	-	0.620
Work peers	0	4	11	1	4	6	1.900	2	0.387	-
Close friends	0	5	10	2	3	6	2.955	2	0.228	-
Close family	*2*	*3*	*10*	*2*	*7*	*2*	*6.471*	*2*	*0.039*	*-*
Cultural events	0	6	9	1	6	4	2.364	2	0.307	-

Table 54 presents distributions of responses by provenance. Once more, there were no statistical differences; indeed most results for a single context are quite similar, irrespective of how close the participants may live to their tribal headquarters. Nevertheless, for the close family context, there are clear differences that approach but do not achieve significance (χ^2 = 5.933, df = 2, p = 0.051, n.s.). Here, those participants who live closer to their PT community headquarters choose NAE far more often than the other options, while those living farther away prefer MUSE. It is not known if these differences

would have been clearer or less clear had more individuals participated in the survey, but the differences remain as they stand. They are suggestive, particularly in light of the significant differences in this context between younger and older participants and the SEVQ response alignment between younger and distant participants, of a possible breakdown in home-based transmission of THLs, yes, but also NAE, increasing in intensity depending on one's youth and possibly the distance one resides away from one's Primary Tribal population center.

Table 54

Distribution of language choice results by provenance (B-G = between-groups)

| Context | Close (n = 13) | | | Distant (n = 13) | | | B-G | | | |
	One	Two	Three	One	Two	Three	χ^2	df	p	FE
Print materials	1	0	12	0	1	12	2.000	2	0.368	-
Shops/services	0	2	11	0	0	13	-	-	-	0.480
Audio materials	1	1	11	1	1	11	0.000	2	1.000	-
Work superiors	1	2	10	0	1	12	1.515	2	0.469	-
Sports/hobbies	0	3	10	0	2	11	-	-	-	1.000
Work peers	1	4	8	0	4	9	1.059	2	0.589	-
Close friends	1	5	7	1	3	9	0.750	2	0.687	-
Close family	1	8	4	3	2	8	5.933	2	0.051	-
Cultural events	0	7	6	1	5	7	1.410	2	0.494	-

5.6 Summary

The purpose of this chapter was to identify, through analysis of the results of a computer-mediated survey containing a Subjective Ethnolinguistic Vitality Questionnaire and a language choice component, the following:

- Evidence of attitudes regarding the ethnolinguistic phenomenon of NAE that may affect one's choice to use it (see research question 2);

- A measure of subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of NAE in comparison to THLs and MUSE in Oklahoma (see research question 3); and, secondarily,

- Possible areas of improvement to the survey instrument itself.

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Let us look at each of these areas in turn to sum up what has been learned.

5.6.1 Attitudes. First of all, it is important to bear in mind that evidence for attitudes is simply not the same thing as the attitudes themselves. Still, there is ample evidence for a number of attitudes that may affect choice of language variety at the ethnolinguistic level. For example, the Mainstream may be perceived as more vital, more numerous, more widespread, more mobile, more influential, and less likely to marry Natives. MUSE, likewise, may be perceived as having far more regard overall and more venues of routine use, including in business, education, government, media, and religious practices. On the other hand, Native Americans, both as a supratribal group and as individual tribal communities, may be perceived as prouder of their own culture and as making a slightly larger contribution to the overall culture of the state. Nevertheless, their Tribal Heritage Languages and Native American English may be viewed as having very little place in formal and informal institutions in Oklahoma. Moreover, Natives appear to be viewed as far more numerous than they actually are within the state. In short, the Mainstream + MUSE ethnolinguistic community appears to align itself in the minds of the participants with most of the institutions, customs, and traditions of contemporary American society. Meanwhile, Primary Tribes + Tribal Heritage Languages and Native Americans as a whole + NAE are viewed on an ethnolinguistic level as associated mostly with Native American culture but having no real place in broader Oklahoma society, despite their great perceived numbers—a position of near powerlessness from an inter-group point of view.

Additionally, there appear to be differences in attitudes by sex, age, and provenance. For example, the women in the study seem to align themselves with Native

Americans as a whole more than the men, despite the fact that they identify themselves as Native first and foremost at a lower rate than men. Likewise, younger participants appear to have more favorable opinions about MUSE and choose to use it in intimate family contexts more often than do their older counterparts. They also seem to have similar overall attitudes about things to those who reside more than 25 miles from the headquarters of their Primary Tribe. In this way, the younger and more distant participants seem to have certain attitudinal and practical affinities to the aggregate perception of the Mainstream despite their own Native ethnicity. This is not to say that that the younger and distant provenance participants are somehow less Native than the others, only that they may have somewhat different attitudes about Nativeness (and non-Nativeness) and may choose to express their ethnicity in a different, perhaps less overtly linguistic fashion.

5.6.2 Vitality. Perhaps the most salient point regarding the vitality of the ethnolinguistic communities I have chosen to focus on is that the more Native-oriented communities (that is, Primary Tribe + Tribal Heritage Language groupings and Native Americans as a whole + Native American English) tend to have a lower overall subjective vitality among the participants than the more non-Native Mainstream + Mainstream U.S. English community. This difference is even more dramatic for speech communities than for the ethnic communities themselves. In fact, not only do the Native-oriented speech communities rate as less vital than the MUSE speech community, they do not even rate as vital as their corresponding Native-oriented *ethnic* communities. NAE does rate more vital than any single THL, but nowhere near as vital as MUSE.

Furthermore, for most of the participants, NAE is not a preferred medium of communication for any discourse context.

This final fact is a particularly intriguing finding in that it runs directly counter to the practicality-centered language choice hypothesis I mentioned in Chapter 2 (2.9, p. 71): "Given the comprehensibility of NAE coupled with its ability to index Native ethnicity, I expected to find its vitality rather high—certainly higher than THLs and possibly even higher than MUSE." In retrospect, this seems an almost foolish statement to have made because, in so making it, I appear to have misjudged the relative importance of two or more levels of practicality and, by extension, identity.

On the one hand, there is the simple level of speech practicality and interplay between the degree of comprehensibility and potential indexicality of ethnic identity for the available repertoires. On the other hand, there is a far more complicated level of social practicality associated with perception and expectation. This includes both the expected reactions to language variety choice and its subsequent deployment, which may be imbued on hearing with the detritus of positive or negative regard depending on the discourse context, and the expected expression of any number of a multiplicity of identities—some ethnic, some linguistic, some *merely* social—arising afresh with each new interlocutor. There is obviously more at stake for perception and expectation, such as the possible instant disfavor one may earn from a hearer in uttering a single, regard-laden syllable that calls to mind negative (or just un-positive) connotations about one's ethnicity. It is, then, maybe more practical not to index ethnicity in many cases, saving that for special times when one can be sure that the expectations point in a different direction.

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5.6.3 Instrument. With respect to the survey instrument—and SEVQ instruments in general—I have discovered several areas for improvement. For starters, there are far too many items relating to ethnicity and far too few for speech. The result of this disparity is that there are not only fewer data points available for comparison, but also that the data points do not have a broad range of social domains that they speak to. For instance, what is gained by asking a participant how strong and active an ethnic community may be in a general sense without also asking, generally, how often a particular language is spoken? Future SEVQ designers would be wise to include more speech community-oriented items in their instruments, preferably in each of the possible categories. This would make for an even richer data set and, in some ways, one that might be even better suited for low-N studies, where one individual's responses to ethnicity-oriented items could be directly compared to her speech-oriented responses.

Next, the items on language require more detailed operationalization to ensure that each participant is in agreement about what language varieties are under investigation. The ethnic groups (particularly the vaguely-defined 'Mainstream') may have been operationally problematic for this study, but I do not believe the participants were as troubled by the distinctions as some scholars may be; the distinction between Native and non-Native, while complex within Native American communities in Oklahoma, are quite natural and—at least impressionistically—frequently discussed. This is not the case for distinctions as subtle as NAE and MUSE, which may be more immediately recognizable to scholars than to users of both who may perceive no real difference in one versus the other. MUSE, too, is a problem. The regional English varieties in Oklahoma may be thought of as 'standard' only with respect to even more

stigmatized varieties, but are not particularly part of the larger U.S. mainstream; I suspect, following Labov, Ash, and Boberg (2006, p. 129), that most Oklahomans would be perceived as some manner of Southern American English speakers. If so, then is MUSE even spoken in the state? It is a fair question, and I cannot guarantee that all of the participants believe so.

Plus, while it would make for a longer survey for a participant to complete, a helpful addition to the instrument would be an option to explain any ratings of 1 or 6 for each item. As it stands, I have both survey and interview data for all but one of my participants, but it is very difficult, if not impossible, to track down a single clear explanation for one extreme survey response in the interview data. The option of adding additional text-based responses on an already long survey may result in fewer extreme responses, but the possible benefit of learning what a participant may have meant by a single extreme response may shed light on a great deal that remains murky in my data.

The language choice component would be bolstered by including some ranking mechanism for each of the possible language choices. While a person may not choose, say, NAE *exclusively* or even a majority of the time in a given context, it may occur a great deal in that context—perhaps about as much as another variety. The option could exist to provide a percentage for each option instead of a single choice from among the three to represent the majority.

It is worth mention, also, that my non-parametric inferential statistical method involving an abundance of χ^2 Tests, while less than ideal, does demonstrate that the SEVQ instrument I have chosen is in fact sensitive to fairly fine-grained distinctions in social variables—even with very few participants. I am confident that with a larger

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sample, the findings would be much more robust. They may even allow for more normalized data, which would afford a parametric treatment.

5.6.4 Richness of data. Finally, I must reiterate an earlier statement about the general richness of my survey data. The analysis I have included here represents only a very small fraction of what is possible with literally hundreds of raw data points, to say nothing of data that can be derived from a variety of comparisons—for example, individuals to one another, levels of identity to one another, items to one another, categories to one another, etc. Thus, this discussion of the survey results was not intended to be anything other than the simplest and most direct means of dealing with my specific research questions.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

6.1 Purpose

The three-fold purpose of this study was as follows:

1.   To identify how Native American members of the expected Native American

English speech community in Oklahoma define the variety;

2.   To identify key attitudes toward Native American English use and expectation

of use in Oklahoma, including especially those attitudes, both conscious and

subconscious, that may affect language variety choice in various social

contexts; and

3.   To investigate the subjective ethnolinguistic vitality of NAE within its

Oklahoma ethnic and speech communities in comparison to THLs and MUSE,

particularly in terms of the social factors that may contribute to language

variety choice as well as the social and geographical domains of these

varieties, in the hopes of informing future Native American English research.

A longer-term objective was to inform future research on NAE, both

sociolinguistic and documentary, especially in Oklahoma. To that end, interview and

survey methods alike were employed to gather a more detailed picture of the NAE situation in Oklahoma.

6.1.1 Organization. This chapter is organized as follows. I provide a summary of the key findings of the study in section 6.2. I then discuss, in section 6.3, how these findings bear on an understanding of the ideologies and vitalities of the three major ethnolinguistic communities in question (primary tribal ethnic communities and their tribal heritage languages; supratribal Native American ethnicity and Native American English; and the largely non-Native mainstream and mainstream U.S. English). I offer concluding thoughts and recommendations in section 6.4.

6.2 Summary

I review some of the key findings of both the interview and survey components of the study below. I then discuss how these two sets of findings relate to one another.

6.2.1 Interview review. All participants engaged in interviews to collect data about their experiences, beliefs, and attitudes about the language varieties in their environment. Additionally, several completed a perceptual dialectological mapping task. Spoken data from the interviews were presented in three ways, (1) as a set of individual profiles for the participants themselves; (2) as a "definition" of NAE emerging from responses and themes within the interviews; (3) and recurring belief and attitude themes surfacing from the responses. It was hoped that these three transformations of the data would provide insight into the beliefs, attitudes, and larger language ideologies relating to the individual identities of the participants. Maps, meanwhile, were aggregated to show collective perceptions of concentrations of NAE within Oklahoma.

The individual participants all brought numerous histories, relationships, interests, and social behaviors to the table, again confirming that Native Americans in Oklahoma are a diverse group of people difficult to generalize across. Accordingly, the definition and themes that emerged from the interviews were anything but uniform, allowing for full disagreements on particular points—even major ones, such as the role that voice cues play in identifying NAE—and individual variation on the emphases placed on those points, ranging from none to great.

There was much disagreement among the participants, for example, as to the nature of the variety itself. Many assert that NAE has a characteristic prosody, including possibly stress or syllable timing issues out of sync with MUSE, giving it a choppy or "broken" character whose rhythm may be especially discernible. Others say that NAE is slow. It may be either melodic or monotonous. At any rate, most agree that NAE involves the frequent use of a set of informal slang terms (some derived from THLs and some from MUSE), which are used more often among Native interlocutors than among others. It may also involve some degree of code-switching between THLs and English in certain speech acts; this can be as low-level as greeting another using a THL word or phrase or as high-level as inter-sentential (or higher) code-switching during culturally contextualized speech acts, such as prayers. Use of NAE is perceived as limited to contexts involving Native American interlocutors and cultural topics. Attitudes among the participants toward NAE range from neutral to positive, and mostly concern its perceived informality, comfort, and close association with Native culture. Meanwhile, the participants perceive that non-Natives evaluate it more negatively and associate NAE with informality, poverty, lack of education, lack of professionalism, and several negative

ethnic stereotypes. The participants associated certain aspects of NAE more with females, older individuals, those who live in more rural or more Native-oriented communities, and those who wish to assert Native American ethnicity. It may also have certain associations with regional Oklahoma English in general.

Users of NAE may unconsciously drift into NAE from MUSE and vice versa depending on the ethnicity of their interlocutors and their overall level of comfort; it may take some time to return to the earlier state. It can also be switched on and off consciously to accommodate interlocutors, facilitate communication, and to avoid ethnic stereotyping; powwow emcees seem to have very little trouble in doing so. NAE use (and Native American ethnicity) is also subject to evaluation in terms of authenticity. While it may be part of a desire to pass on one's Native cultural heritage to future generations (see section 4.4.5), it is also perceived as the target of great stigmatization, both in and out of Native communities. While the participants appear not to hold NAE in as high a regard as they do THLs, they seem to have at least comparable attitudes toward NAE and MUSE insofar as a range of attitudes toward both can be identified from the interview data. Still, it can be clearly seen as indexing more Native-oriented ethnicity than MUSE can lay claim to.

Regarding evidence of the beliefs and attitudes that serve to promote, suppress, or hold constant NAE use in the state of Oklahoma, the best that can be presented is a series of perception-based statements—visible only in aggregate, and perhaps then only in portions of the participant sample. NAE is perceived as indexing certain qualities (such as hominess, informality, and tribal provenance), knowledge (Native structures of meaning, slang forms, THLs), behaviors (participation in tribal culture, Native humor practices,

interest in tribal politics), contexts (the home, ceremonies, dances) and social relationships (family intimacy, responsibility for future tribal generations) largely considered positive *within Native American communities*. These qualities not only reinforce a highly-valued solidarity or social cohesiveness among Natives, both inter- and intra-tribally, but the ready availability of NAE can provide quick displays of social identity. At the same time, NAE is perceived, by the same individuals, as indexing certain qualities considered negative *among the mainstream*, including low levels of educational attainment, lack of professionalism, chemical dependency, and so on. These negative attitudes may not have originated within Native communities, but *perceptions* of their existence now reside there, right along with the more positive ones. In other words, the participants have provided evidence in their interviews of conflicting attitudinal sets (i.e, ideologies) within their Native communities in Oklahoma.

6.2.2 Survey review. A computerized and expanded subjective ethnolinguistic vitality questionnaire (SEVQ) was used to gather data regarding the relative vitality of ethnic and speech communities in Oklahoma, along with demographic and contextualized language variety choice data. From these, it was shown that twenty-six Native research participants (one of the twenty-seven did not participate in the survey) differed from one another in many ways, including primary source of identity, level of activity within their primary tribal community, and proficiency in tribal heritage languages. These factors may contribute to an overall view of ideologies within the state's Native American population, but the primary contribution is probably still further reinforcement of the fact that there is no monolithic tribal identity shared by all Natives in Oklahoma; though much may be similar on a group level, all individuals vary.

In terms of attitudes, the participants perceive the mainstream as vital, numerous, widespread, mobile, influential, and more likely to marry within itself, while they perceive mainstream U.S. English as having a great deal of in-state and out-of-state regard and enjoying many venues of use, including businesses, governments, the media, and educational and religious institutions. In other words, as an ethnolinguistic community, the mainstream is perceptually aligned with the culture of contemporary American society. On the other hand, participants view tribal and supratribal Native American communities through the lens of Native American customs and traditions, which they see as having an important cultural (as opposed to political or economic) influence on Oklahoma—an influence they are proud of. Perhaps because of this influence, they tend to overestimate the Native population of Oklahoma. Still, they appear to find almost no place in the state for either tribal heritage languages or Native American English varieties. Furthermore, the women in the study appear particularly sympathetic to the ethnic grouping of Native Americans, though they tend not to identify this way primarily. The younger participants, meanwhile, appear to favor MUSE and share attitudinal similarities with those who reside father away from their tribal headquarters. As such, these groupings seem to have affinities toward the mainstream and mainstream U.S. English despite their own Native ethnicity. The reverse is also true: Older and closer provenance participants tended to respond similarly to one another, though in ways that did not favor the mainstream ethnolinguistic community as dramatically.

The SEVQ data presented a snapshot of the participants' perceptions regarding the state of the three ethnolinguistic communities under investigation: Primary tribal

groups (PTs) along with tribal heritage languages (THLs); a supratribal Native American ethnicity (NA) and Native American English varieties (NAE); and the broader mainstream (MS) and Mainstream U.S. English (MUSE). The participants tended to see these three groups as distinct from one another, in terms of both their ethnic and speech components. On the main, the PT + THL community was seen as the least vital ethnolinguistic community and MS + MUSE as the most vital, with NA + NAE appearing in the middle or aligned with PT + THL. Nonetheless, these rankings differed in terms of certain social domains, for instance, cultural pride of ethnicity versus institutional support of language. As far as the speech components of these communities go, however, the differences were much more extreme, which would suggest that the ethnic components for PTs and NA are far more vital than their associated speech varieties, THLs and NAE. Inter-group contact between the three ethnolinguistic communities is perceived as strong, but participant responses indicated that less contact occurs between Natives as a whole and the Mainstream. General vitality for both the NA and MS ethnic communities, moreover, was perceived as on the decline. It is not at all clear, however, what additional ethnolinguistic community could usurp them.

Language choice among the participants was seen as particularly motivated by social context; the more private and comfortable the context, the more likely one was to choose NAE in that context. THL use was more restricted, involving only those contexts where users could be certain of a presumably Native interlocutor or the presence of recorded materials. Nevertheless, MUSE was by far the most dominant language choice in almost every context.

6.2.3 Comparative review. Several points emerge from comparison of these two sets of findings. First of all, there is the matter of NAE vitality. For the most part, the participants view NAE as a currently vital language variety, stronger than any single tribal heritage language in Oklahoma but much less so than MUSE. Bear in mind, also, that participants tend to view NAE and MUSE as varieties that are available to Natives, either consciously or less than consciously, in contexts for which English (and not THLs) is most appropriate. Nevertheless, it is a variety whose domains of use are limited mostly to those in which it carries with it an expectation for positive reception, such as at Native-oriented venues, when among Native interlocutors, or when discussing Native cultural topics.

NAE ethnolinguistic vitality occupies a middle position between the vitalities of THLs and MUSE for the Native American participants in this study. This goes against my originally hypothesized order. I had initially—perhaps naively—anticipated that two features of NAE, (1) its index of Native American ethnicity and (2) its widespread comprehensibility, would lend it greater value to Native Americans than THLs or MUSE, regardless of tribal background, and thus may buoy its overall vitality as a linguistic code within at least the Native American supratribal ethnolinguistic community. Its index of Native ethnicity, as it turns out, is something of a double-edged sword: If deemed authentic, NAE has mostly positive associations for Natives as an index of Native American ethnicity and culture; but, it is perceived as having different associations of, at the minimum, linguistic alterity (i.e., ethnic out-group status) for the non-Natives who make up the vast majority of the state's population.

That is to say, a user of NAE potentially opens herself up to two levels of language regard-based evaluation of her speech, no matter the ethnicity of her interlocutors—at least in terms of perception of attitudes held by the Mainstream. On the one hand, Natives may expect a non-Native interlocutor to notice the divergence of NAE from MUSE, classify it as Native American, and imbue this classification with a number of ethnolinguistic associations, from *negative* to *positive*, and then react accordingly. On the other hand, Natives may believe that a Native interlocutor would notice the form, classify it as Native American, and imbue this classification with a number of ethnolinguistic associations, from *inauthentic* to *authentic*, and then react accordingly (see Preston, 2010, p. 102). As such, it is, in some sense, not surprising that NAE's comparative vitality is so low. Although none of the three varieties in question is without both positive and negative attitudes or even authentic or inauthentic evaluations, a complex duality of ideologies within Native communities regarding NAE appear to hold it back from achieving the full flower of its potential usefulness, both as an ethnic index and a widely comprehensible English code. As a result of this complex ideological duality, it is also no surprise to see higher vitality scores for the tribal or supratribal *ethnic* components (for which choice may play less of a role) of Native ethnolinguistic identities than the corresponding *linguistic* components (for which choice plays more of a role). In short, linguistic choice—together with its potential ramifications—complicates matters when so much is at stake.

Next, the diversity of participants and their perspectives came up in both sets of findings, as did the association of NAE with certain contexts of comfort and familiarity with Native culture. The latter point is of special importance in understanding the

comparatively restricted domains of NAE use and choice. A number of demographic groups came up in both sets, as well, including women, older Natives, and those who live farther away from their tribal headquarters. The degree to which these groups overlap with one another is not known. For instance, there was some indication that women may have a slightly greater association with NAE use and a greater affinity for the supratribal Native American ethnicity, and other evidence of younger and distant provenance participants sharing affinity for MUSE (this affinity for MUSE, by extension, was greater than that of older and close provenance participants). Still, it is not known how, say, younger females versus females living close to their tribal headquarters would perceive NAE.

It must also be re-stated here that evidence of beliefs about and attitudes toward the three ethnolinguistic communities in question, arising from either the interviews or from the surveys, do not necessarily represent *actual* beliefs and attitudes, which are notoriously elusive. This is also true of SEVQ-based estimations of vitality; these are only estimations. The degree to which SEVQs describe more objective realities has never been demonstrated to anyone's satisfaction, though SEVQ findings may—and necessarily must—align with perceived realities.

6.3 Ideologies and Vitalities

Let us return briefly to the duality of ideology and its effect on vitality; again, the idea here is that there are both positive sets of attitudes and negative sets of attitudes within the same speech community regarding the same language variety. Consider for a moment the question of which ideology will win out: the Native community-oriented positive attitudes toward NAE; or the mainstream community-oriented negative attitudes.

To minimize the drawbacks of perceived negative reactions to NAE from the mainstream, an NAE user could simply avoid using NAE among the mainstream. Alternatively, to maximize the benefits of perceived positive reactions to NAE from either a PT or NA community, an NAE user could simply remain among the community and avoid the mainstream while maintaining NAE or even THL use. This two-fold strategy can itself be stated as an attitude or, better yet, a set of attitudes (i.e, an ideology):

    (1) Native Americans should use only MUSE when interacting with members of the mainstream to minimize the drawbacks of negative reactions from the mainstream community to THL or NAE use; and

    (2) Native Americans should remain among Native American tribal or supratribal communities to maximize the benefits of positive reactions from either primary tribal or general Native American communities to THL or NAE use.

As it turns out, there is evidence among the interview data for just this ideology. Recall several points that have been discussed already: (a) that Natives can switch back and forth between NAE and MUSE; (b) that Natives are perceived as less mobile (in this sense, remaining in tribal communities) than the mainstream; and (c) that associations with other Natives are considered more comfortable. Tenet (1) is supported by point (a), and tenet (2) is supported by points (a, b, c). A hypothetical Native American could, then, adopt and adhere to either or both of the two above ideological tenets to ensure a strong future vitality for NAE (or THLs) without running afoul of an ideology that she may already buy into. If this is the case, why has this ideology not paid off to make NAE as vital as it could be in Oklahoma?

One simple answer is that the collective perceived vitality (yet another ideological set) of the three ethnolinguistic communities in question prevents this self-protective ideology from benefitting either NA or THLs. The research participants in this study seemed to agree that the mainstream was far more vital than any Native community, be it Natives as a whole or a primary tribal group. In terms of demographic vitality (i.e., SEVQ Category III), for instance, the participants rated MS high enough and both NA and PTs low enough that it is fair to say the participants may not believe such a strategy even possible in Oklahoma. There just does not seem to be enough freedom from the mainstream, at least in terms of the perceptions of these participants, to be able to adequately minimize the ideological (and socially real) drawbacks to NAE use while maximizing its benefits.

To put it another way, it would take far more social isolation of tribal groups, either among themselves tribe-by-tribe or in supratribal groups, than is possible in Oklahoma for this strategy to promote NAE to the point where it would be more vital than MUSE among such a community. Of course, these environments do exist, such as in the Southwest or the Northern Plains, and contact between Natives (tribal or supratribal) and members of the mainstream can be low enough that NAE never need be suppressed. It is no surprise, then, that these are the communities the participants and scholars all point to as having clearly identifiable Native accents.

6.4 Conclusion

6.4.1 Limitations. There were a number of major limitations associated with this study, foremost among these are the low number of subjects—a number closer to 60 may have made the survey component easier to analyze in terms of distributions of responses

without unduly overburdening the interview component—and the lack of tribal and geographic diversity of the sample. For instance, no full-bloods were recruited, and recruiting men of any age was challenging, hence the disproportionate numbers of female participants. Moreover, there were numerous technical challenges collecting survey data and making analyzable and easily transcribed recordings in the field—but these are by no means new concerns for researchers. The most difficult of these technical hurdles involved the development and reliable deployment of the survey instrument.

6.4.2 Recommendations for future research. A major goal of this research was to help situate future studies of NAE, especially in Oklahoma, and especially those involving either sociolinguistic, discourse analytic, or documentary approaches. Additionally, the contradictory nature of the participant responses regarding NAE prosody or voice quality suggest that there is more going on in the speech of NAE than has been previously documented. Leap (1993a) concurs:

> Scholars have not paid much attention to the suprasegmental features of Indian English. However, the limited information available shows that these features contribute substantially to contrasts with standard English—and to contrasts that distinguish Indian English codes from different tribal communities. . . . To my knowledge, no scholar has reported evidence of such phenomena in the English of any tribe. (pp. 50-52)

One potentially fruitful area of study, then, would be a general acoustic or sociophonetic study of conversational recordings of Oklahoma Natives in groups engaged in ordinary dialogic interaction; my data could help in this regard, but it is perhaps not ideal because of the specific purposes of my research. Nevertheless, one implication of this study is that

Natives in Oklahoma employ NAE and THL more often among each other when the mood is relaxed and the social setting is informal—perhaps on someone's back porch in the cool of the evening. This suggests that an attempt to bring, say, a Native Elder into a lab at a university campus to get studio-quality recordings of authentic NAE production is likely to be extremely disappointing to all involved; a group interview would be more productive.

Another possible area of research in this under-studied field is how Native American English varieties differ from one region of the country to another, not only in terms of attitudes and vitality, but also in terms of formal descriptive features. I have enough Oklahoma data now to contribute to a larger comparative study. Likewise, my current data looks only at how Native Americans perceive Native ethnolectal varieties and how these perceptions affect variety selection in social contexts. It would be worth pursuing how *non-Natives* feel about the same sorts of things for the sake of comparison.

Finally, another obvious way to extend the research done here is to conduct a full-fledged ethnographic study of one or more NAE speech communities in Oklahoma. For instance, I suspect that a study looking at powwow emcees—perhaps those living in and around a high-density Native population center, such as in the Anadarko-Carnegie area—would be very promising. Again, though, it would almost certainly require fieldwork to be conducted by Native Americans. I hope that this study has demonstrated that Native linguists in the field would be ideally suited to collecting and analyzing the necessary naturalistic recordings of other Natives. They would also be able to support these analyses with *keen* social observations.

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INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Below are the interview questions presented to the participants in the semi-structured interview component of the study. For the most part, the items were not shown to the participant, but the mapping and reading task items were shown. Each section that was not shown features a single question and a series of possible follow-up questions that could be used depending on how the participant responded; for instance, a participant who was particularly thorough in answering the first question could render some or all of the follow-up questions redundant.

Personal History

1.   Can you tell me a little about yourself?

      [Possible follow-up questions]

      (1)   How old are you?

      (2)   What do you consider your primary tribal affiliation? How much blood do you
             claim from this group? Do you have other tribal affiliations?

      (3)   What do you consider yourself first and foremost, a member of your tribe, a
             Native American, an Oklahoman, an American, or something else? Why so?

      (4)   How long have you lived where you're living now? If you weren't born here,
             how did you get here?

Early Attitudes and Experiences

2.   Can you tell me about the varieties of language you heard spoken around you when you were growing up?

[Possible follow-up questions]

(1)   What would you say is your first language?

(2)   Do you speak any other languages? If so, which ones?

(3)   Did you grow up around other Native people? How many? Which tribes?

(4)   When you were growing up, did you or anyone close to you speak a tribal language? If so, tell me about some of your specific memories of those situations.

(5)   Thinking back to times in your childhood when you remembered older Natives talking to each other, e.g., in town, at church, at dances, etc., what varieties of language did they use? How did it sound? How well did you understand what they were saying?

(6)   Thinking back to your childhood, which varieties of language did other Natives your own age, friends and family members alike, use when they were at school, at home, at church, or at play?

(7)   What did you think of tribal languages as a child? How about English the way Natives spoke it? How about English the way others spoke it? Could you tell a difference between how Natives and others spoke English?

"Talk like an Indian"?

3.   What does it mean to "talk like an Indian"?
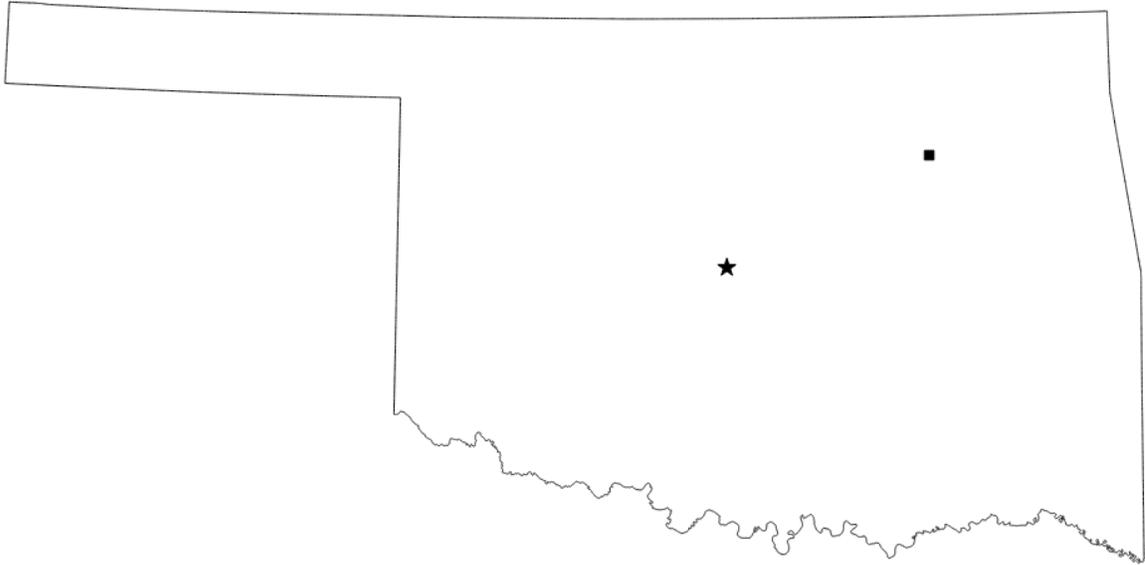
[Possible follow-up questions[24]]

(1)   Can you tell a person here is Native just by talking on the phone with them? If so, what is it about their voice or their speech sounds that gives it away?

(2)   What words, phrases, or sentences do Natives from Oklahoma use *more* frequently than others? How about *less* frequently?

(3)   What things do Natives from Oklahoma talk about that others don't talk about as often? What things do they *not* often talk about?

(4)   In what situations or places would you expect a Native from Oklahoma to talk *more* like an Indian? How about *less*?

(5)   How do you feel about how Natives from Oklahoma talk? How do you think society at large feels about how they talk?

(6)   Would you say older or younger Natives from Oklahoma sound more Indian when they talk? Why so?

(7)   Would you say urban or rural Natives from Oklahoma sound more Indian when they talk? Why so?

(8)   Are there places in Oklahoma where the Natives sound *most* like Indians when they talk? How about *least*? Would you like to draw their locations on a map of the state? (SEE ATTACHED PAGE)

---

[24] An additional follow-up question regarding the NAE use differences between women and men was inadvertently left off the interview question list when printed, but it did come up in conversation for most of the actual interviews.

Map of Oklahoma (Not to Scale[25])

Draw where people sound MOST like Indians when they talk. Draw where they sound

LEAST like Indians when they talk.

Current Attitudes and Experiences

4.   Can you tell me about the language(s) you use now?

[Possible follow-up questions]

(1)   Do you ever put words or phrases from your tribal heritage language(s) into your

English? Why so? Which ones?

(2)   How much would you say you sound like an Indian when you talk?

(3)   Are you expected to speak a certain way at times? How do you feel about that?

(4)   What do you think of your tribal heritage language(s)?

(5)   What do you think of the English language?

(6)   Would you say that you speak good English or bad English? How so?

---

[25] This map *is* to scale, but it was presented as not to scale to encourage a more impressionistic
mapping of areas. Additionally, though the instructions do not say as much, the labeling of any
hand-drawn dialect regions was verbally encouraged. Oklahoma City and Tulsa are shown.

(7)   Would you say that Native Americans in Oklahoma in general speak good

        English or bad English? Why so?

Elicitation

5.   Can I get you to read some passages aloud?

        PARAGRAPH

        Mike was planning to throw a party on Tuesday night and decided to check his

        list one more time before he went shopping. He already had plenty of stuff to

        drink and he had enough plates and cups. His brother Dave was going to bring

        some fish he'd caught and maybe put them on the grill. Mike thought he should

        get chips, pretzels, and a few other snacks to start the meal. He looked around to

        see if he had anything sweet but then remembered that his friend Linda was

        baking a cake. When he looked in the cupboard he saw he was out of coffee. He

        wrote it down on his list and hoped it was on sale. Then he went to the garage,

        got in his truck, and went to the Wal-Mart.

WORDS

pig	day	Every	jab	cob	saw	hoe
good	chew	Duty	how	boy	lie	those
Ruth	wash	Business	garage	soda	shrimp	strike
Houston	Floyd	Seven	with	cloud	Steve	trade
sand	thing	Measure	shop	tin	hug	heat
mesh	thick	Strength	peel	talker	Tuesday	loan
cut	shoot	Knife	hook	forty	push	out
brother	lied	Chewed	then	happy	sang	bet
pawed	fail	Dim	ate	cool	wear	boat
mat	hem	Fish	wasn't	pen	pod	than

Debriefing

What did you think of this study? Do you have any thoughts about it that you would like to share?

APPENDIX B

SURVEY INSTRUMENT

The following is the survey instrument used in the electronic component of the study. Although all items appeared on separate screens, in the interest of saving space, they are not presented here as such. In Sections 2 and 3—including both the SEVQ and language variety choice items—all items are listed with the SEVQ categories (where applicable) shown in brackets, though such item identifications did not appear in the actual instrument presented to the participants. These SEVQ categories correspond to Figure 3 in the Methodology chapter (p. 86). Additionally, to save much space, items in these final two sections are presented in an abbreviated form. Each one of these items within the actual instrument used multiple, partially redundant screens to elicit responses for a series of three separate objects for rating. For example, the practice item for Section 2 appeared as three screens, the first of which was as follows:

How many people do you know from the following groups?

JANITORS

very few   very many

1   2   3   4   5   6

Upon receiving a rating for the object 'janitors,' a second screen appeared, partially duplicating the first, but with a new object, 'accountants,' available for rating, and with the choices for 'janitors' crossed out, as follows:

How many people do you know from the following groups?

JANITORS

X   X   X   X   X   X

ACCOUNTANTS

very few   very many

1   2   3   4   5   6

The third screen appeared after a rating for the object 'accountants' was logged. This one showed

the final object, 'carpenters,' available for rating while the choices for 'janitors' and 'accountants'

remained crossed out, as follows:

How many people do you know from the following groups?

JANITORS

X   X   X   X   X   X

ACCOUNTANTS

X   X   X   X   X   X

CARPENTERS

very few   very many

1   2   3   4   5   6

The combined effect of these screens, overlaid one right after another, suggested animation of the

text as advanced by the participant providing a rating. In this appendix, the same series of screens

has been reduced to the following:

How many people do you know from the following groups?

[Practice]

Range: 1 (very few) to 6 (very many)

Objects: {Janitors, Carpenters, Accountants}

Furthermore, be aware that none of the items below is numbered. This is because the items in

Sections 2 and 3 were presented in random order by section for each participant. The

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demographic items in Section 1 were not presented in random order, but they were not numbered

so as to maintain continuity with the items in later sections.

TRIBAL VITALITY SURVEY

Instructions: For each question, please respond by pressing the appropriate keys or filling in the

blanks as asked.

Please be as honest as possible; your answers are confidential.

Please press the space bar to continue.

SECTION 1a: BASIC DEMOGRAPHICS

In this section, we are interested in your general background information.

Please use only lower-case letters for any typed responses.

Please press the space bar to continue.

What is your sex?

      (press m for male, f for female)

What is your age?

      (enter how old you are in years)

Where do you live most of the time?

      (enter your five-digit ZIP code)

SECTION 1b: TRIBAL DEMOGRAPHICS

Many Native people claim ancestry from more than one tribal group. However, in this section,

I'm only interested in the tribal group that you identify with the MOST. Let's call this group your

"Primary Tribe."

Your Primary Tribe may actually be two or more tribes, such as Sauk and Fox, Otoe-Missouria, etc. In this case, you may claim either or both as your Primary Tribe.

Please use only lower-case letters for any typed responses.

Please press the space bar to continue.

What is your Primary Tribe, that is, the single tribal group that you identify with the most?

 (enter your preferred name of the tribe, for instance, kanza, sauk & fox, citizen

 potawatomi, united keetoowah band, etc. -- 20 characters or less)

Are there any other tribal groups you claim ancestry from?

 (press y for yes, n for no)

What is your blood quantum for your Primary Tribe?

NOTE: I'm less interested in the official figure on your CDIB card than how much ancestry you claim from this tribal group.

 (enter the fraction using the slash key to separate numbers, such as 3/4, 1/2, 5/32, etc.)

How much do you know of the heritage language(s) of your Primary Tribe?

1	2	3	4	5
nothing	a few words or phrases	beginning speaker	intermediate speaker	advanced speaker

As a follow-up to that last question, how many people in your Primary Tribe would you say are at least beginning speakers of the heritage language(s)?

1	2	3	4	5
none	1 to 5	6 to 20	21 to 100	more than 100

How active are you as a member of your Primary Tribe?

1	2	3	4	5
very inactive	fairly inactive	average	fairly active	very active

How would you identify yourself first and foremost?

1	2	3	4	Other
a member of your Primary Tribe	a Native American	a citizen of your city, county, or state	an American	(please specify in 20 characters or less)

SECTION 2: GROUP COMPARISONS

In this section, I'm interested in your IMPRESSIONS about certain groups in Oklahoma; there are no right or wrong answers.

All questions in this section will be answered using a six-point scale. You will only need to hit a single key to answer the question and advance the prompt.

Note that only the first response (1) and last response (6) for the scale are labeled, but all responses (including 2-5) are possibilities. Please assume the scale is weighted equally from least to greatest, from left to right.

For the purpose of these questions, also assume the following:

* "members of your Primary Tribe" refers to the members of your Primary Tribe who are living in Oklahoma;

* "Native Americans in general" refers to all American Indian people living in Oklahoma, including those of your Primary Tribe and people of other tribal heritages;

* "the mainstream" refers to ALL groups (for example, Native Americans, White people, Black people, Latinos, Asians, etc.) who help to make up the broader Oklahoma society.

To help you get the feel for how this task works, you will first see a set of practice questions.

Please press the space bar to continue.

How many people do you know from the following groups?

[Practice]

Range: 1 (very few) to 6 (very many)

Objects: {Janitors, Carpenters, Accountants}

You have now completed the practice phase.

When you are ready, please press the space bar to continue.

How strong and active do you feel members of the following groups are within Oklahoma today?

[I. General—Ethnic Community: Vitality Now]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (very active)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How strong and active do you feel members of the following groups will be within Oklahoma in

20 to 40 years from now?

[I. General—Ethnic Community: Vitality Later]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (very active)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How proud of their own cultural history and heritage are members of the following groups in

Oklahoma?

[II. Status—Ethnic Community: Cultural Pride]

Range: 1 (not at all proud) to 6 (very proud)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How much regard is there for members of the following groups in Oklahoma?

[II. Status—Ethnic Community: In-State Regard]

Range: 1 (no or low regard) to 6 (very high regard)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

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How wealthy do you feel members of the following groups are in Oklahoma today?

    [II. Status—Ethnic Community: Socioeconomics]

    Range: 1 (very poor) to 6 (very wealthy)

    Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

Estimate the birth rates of members of the following groups in Oklahoma:

    [III. Demographic—Ethnic Community: Birth Rate]

    Range: 1 (rapidly falling) to 6 (rapidly growing)

    Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

To what extent do the following groups make up a local majority or minority in the places where they tend to live in Oklahoma?

    [III. Demographic—Ethnic Community: Concentration]

    Range: 1 (very small minority) to 6 (very large majority)

    Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

To what extent do members of the following groups in Oklahoma marry other members of the same group?

    [III. Demographic—Ethnic Community: Endogamy]

    Range: 1 (none at all do) to 6 (very many do)

    Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

Please estimate the percentage of the Oklahoma population made up by the following groups.

    [III. Demographic—Ethnic Community: Percentage]

    Range: 1 (0-17%) to 6 (84-100%)

    Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How many members of the following groups relocate TO Oklahoma each year?

    [III. Demographic—Ethnic Community: Relocation into State]

    Range: 1 (none at all) to 6 (very many)

    Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How many members of the following groups relocate AWAY FROM Oklahoma each year?

[III. Demographic—Ethnic Community: Relocation out of State]

Range: 1 (none at all) to 6 (very many)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How well represented are members of the following groups in the cultural life of your state (for instance, at social or religious gatherings, at musical or dance events, in food or clothing styles, etc.)?

[IV. Institutional—Ethnic Community: Cultural Presence]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (very well)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How much influence do members of the following groups have over economic and business matters in Oklahoma?

[IV. Institutional—Ethnic Community: Economic Influence]

Range: 1 (none at all) to 6 (exclusive influence)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

How much political power do members of the following groups have in Oklahoma?

[IV. Institutional—Ethnic Community: Political Power]

Range: 1 (no power) to 6 (exclusive power)

Objects: {PT, NA, MS}

On average, how much social contact is there between members of your Primary Tribe and Native Americans in general in Oklahoma?

[V. Contact—Ethnic Community: Tribe-Natives]

Range: 1 (none at all) to 6 (constant contact)

On average, how much social contact is there between members of your Primary Tribe and members of the mainstream in Oklahoma?

[V. Contact—Ethnic Community: Tribe-Mainstream]

Range: 1 (none at all) to 6 (constant contact)

On average, how much social contact is there between Native Americans in general and members

of the mainstream in Oklahoma?

[V. Contact—Ethnic Community: Natives-Mainstream]

Range: 1 (none at all) to 6 (constant contact)

SECTION 3: LANGUAGE VARIETY COMPARISONS

In this section, I'm interested in your IMPRESSIONS about certain language varieties in

Oklahoma; there are no right or wrong answers.

The procedure for this task is exactly the same as the last task with the following exceptions:

* "your Primary Tribal heritage language" refers to the traditional language(s) associated with

the tribal group you identify with the most;

* "American Indian accented English" refers to English that some may describe as "sounding

Native when s/he talks," "talking English like an Indian does," "using lots of tribal slang," etc.,

but not necessarily "speaking broken English";

* "Mainstream U.S. English" refers to the usual English variety you might hear spoken by the

mainstream in Oklahoma, including on the street, on the radio, on television, etc.

Please press the space bar to continue.

On the whole, how much regard is there for the following language varieties in Oklahoma?

[II. Status—Speech Community: In-State Regard]

Range: 1 (no or low regard) to 6 (very high regard)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

On the whole, how much regard is there for the following language varieties OUTSIDE OF

Oklahoma (by non-Oklahomans)?

[II. Status—Speech Community: Out-of-State Regard]

Range: 1 (no or low regard) to 6 (very high regard)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

How often are the following language varieties used in business institutions in Oklahoma (e.g., shops, stores, banks, etc.)?

[IV. Institutional—Speech Community: Business Use]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

How often are the following language varieties used and/or taught in Oklahoma schools (e.g., public, private, or tribal schools of all levels, from Kindergarten to the university)?

[IV. Institutional—Speech Community: Educational Use]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

How often are the following language varieties used in government services in Oklahoma (e.g., city, county, state, tribal, or federal offices, such as health departments/clinics, social services, courts etc.)?

[IV. Institutional—Speech Community: Government Use]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

How often are the following language varieties used in the media in Oklahoma (e.g., newspaper, radio, TV, Internet, etc.)?

[IV. Institutional—Speech Community: Media Use]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

How often are the following language varieties used in churches and places of religious observation in Oklahoma?

[IV. Institutional—Speech Community: Religious Use]

Range: 1 (not at all) to 6 (all the time)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

In which of the following three language varieties are the majority of the audio media (such as radio, CDs, podcasts, etc.) that you choose to listen to?

[Variety Choice: Audio materials]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Which of the following three language varieties do you use the most with the majority of your closest family members?

[Variety Choice: Close family]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Objects: {THL, NAE, MUSE}

Which of the following three language varieties do you use the most with the majority of your closest friends?

[Variety Choice: Close friends]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Which of the following three language varieties do you use the most while at school or work when talking to classmates or coworkers?

[Variety Choice: Co-workers and classmates]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Which of the following three language varieties do you hear most at the cultural events you attend (e.g., gatherings, dances, etc.)?

[Variety Choice: Cultural activities]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

In which of the following three language varieties are the majority of the print materials (such as newspapers, books, websites, etc.) that you choose to read?

[Variety Choice: Print materials]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Which of the following three language varieties do you use the most in shops and services?

[Variety Choice: Shops and services]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Which of the following three language varieties do you use the most outside of school or work

(such as while doing sports, hobbies, etc.)?

[Variety Choice: Sports and hobbies]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

Which of the following three language varieties do you use the most while at school or work

when talking to teachers or supervisors?

[Variety Choice: Supervisors and teachers]

Range: 1 (THL), 2 (NAE), 3 (MUSE)

APPENDIX C

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Adapted loosely from Goodwin (1990, pp. 25-26)

1.	degree sign °	low volume
2.	dash -	cut-off
3.	*italics*	emphasis
4.	open bracket [	overlap; aligned and appearing on both lines
5.	colon :	lengthening
6.	equals =	latching
7.	tilde ~	slurred or rapid speech
8.	double parentheses (())	comment; not part of original speech
9.	parenthetical decimal number (1)	silence in seconds beyond 0.5
10.	double exclamation mark !!	increased volume
11.	three parenthetical x's (xxx)	uncertain or garbled speech
12.	parenthetical h (h)	breathiness or laughter

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