TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY OF LANGUAGE SHIFT: A CASE STUDY IN WISCONSIN GERMAN AND NORTH CAROLINA CHEROKEE

by

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy
(German)

at the
UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN
2013

Date of final oral examination: 4/30/13

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To the memory of Hannah Kathryn Frey.

Love always, little sister.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to the residents of eastern Wisconsin and western North Carolina who were kind enough to share their time and their stories. Without their unique perspectives, much of this dissertation would not have been possible. Specifically I want to thank Jack Lechler of Kiel, WI for his help in locating so many consultants in Wisconsin, and Bo & Anita Lossiah of Cherokee, NC for their help in organizing my interviews there. Danke schön, Jack, and ᎬᏰᏢᎡᏢᏤᏉᏏ ᏕᏢᏣᏗ ᏃᏧ ᎠᏂᏞ! I would also like to thank my colleagues, Joshua Bousquette and Alyson Sewell, whose work in conducting our interviews in Wisconsin was essential.

I owe a significant debt of gratitude to my doctoral advisor, Professor Joseph Salmons, for his help and guidance at the University of Wisconsin - Madison. His patience and kindness throughout the writing process helped preserve my sanity. I only hope I didn’t drive him to lose his. Lastly, I want to thank my family and friends for their enduring love and support during my graduate career.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation develops the emerging model of verticalization to account for the social processes that underlie language shift in minority language communities. The model of verticalization originates from Roland Warren's (1978) sociological study of the late 18th through the mid 20th century, during which American communities underwent a kind of restructuring that accompanied the phenomena of urbanization and industrialization. Although Warren examines the phenomenon he calls verticalization within a particular historical context, verticalization seems to be a feature of human society in general. Previous research on individual communities (e.g. Lucht 2007) argues that institutional changes correlate with a shift from the community's heritage language toward English. In order to generalize Lucht and other scholars' framework on language shift, this dissertation focuses on two case studies – the situations of German in Wisconsin and Cherokee in North Carolina. In studying two such disparate language communities, I develop a more general model of language shift.

Although much research has been done on individual instances of language shift, no general model of the phenomenon exists yet. The value of the model I employ is its versatility. The communities in my case studies have vastly different histories and social circumstances, yet both show the effects of verticalization on language shift. For Eastern Band Cherokees, paved roads, the lumber industry, tourism, and public schooling began substantially altering traditional social structures beginning around the 1910s. By the 1950s, Gulick (1958) reports that there are no Cherokees in the conservative community of Big Cove who cannot speak English at all. In eastern Wisconsin, public schooling, new regulations in the dairy farming industry, and an increasing availability of technology all

began drive people to interact in different ways. As community structures and interactions changed, more social domains switched to English. For both communities this led to a tipping point at which parents began raising children to be monolingual in English. The continuation of this trend and the death of Cherokee in North Carolina would sever an important link between Cherokees and their traditions. It is hoped that studying the correlation between social change and language shift will lead to better solutions in reversing shift, and better understanding of how communities came to be as they are today.

Chapter 1: Introduction

When languages come into contact, one of the fundamental questions is why one language would win out over another. Why would one population would give up its language for the language of someone else? As language shift occurs, communities do precisely this, generally shifting from a community language to the language most widely used outside the immediate community. This transition occurs in public spaces, in community institutions, and even in the home. Shift has often been observed in immigrant communities within the United States, as groups transition from speaking the languages of their ancestors to English. Even communities with relatively large populations can undergo shift. Fundamentally, shift is the cessation of intergenerational transmission of a community language in favor of a different one. Cessation of transmission from parent to child in the home can ultimately lead to a language's death within the community. If the community in question is the only one in which a language is still spoken, as is often the case with indigenous languages of the US, language death in that community means language death generally. Understanding language shift is therefore important not only in understanding language death, maintenance, and revitalization, but also in understanding issues of immigration and assimilation.

This dissertation examines language shift in light of a recent sociolinguistic theoretical model that shows a correlation between shift and social change. Because this theory has been developed largely in studying immigrant communities, especially German-speaking groups in the US, testing it in an indigenous one will broaden its applicability and raise new questions about its potential future applications. At the same time, adding new

data from a previously unstudied Wisconsin German community will expand on results already attested. This dissertation therefore compares the process of language shift as it unfolded in two case studies: German-speaking immigrant communities in eastern Wisconsin and indigenous Cherokee-speaking communities in western North Carolina.

Studies examining language shift are particularly important given that over the course of the last century the United States has witnessed a downward trend in the number of indigenous languages spoken within its borders. Although the US was once home to 250-300 indigenous languages (Crystal 1997:322) and hundreds of immigrant languages, many of these have begun to fall by the wayside. Through the process of language shift, communities have abandoned their traditional languages in favor of English, as intergenerational transmission from parent to child began to decline in multiple locations across the country. While the situation for many immigrant languages is not dire, as people in the old countries still speak them, the cessation of intergenerational transfer threatens the very identity of many indigenous cultures.

This trend is connected with a greater worldwide phenomenon of decline. Although estimates vary, some linguists predict that of the world's ca. 6,000-7,000 languages, 50-90% will be extinct by the year 2100 (Austin & Sallabank 2011). Each language lost represents the loss of a whole body of traditional knowledge and, without the access to the community language, people can become cut off from their cultures' ancient knowledge and the ways their ancestors viewed life. For this reason, it is important to develop an understanding of how and why language shift occurs. Even for groups whose languages have already shifted, a generally applicable model of language shift will allow increased understanding of how communities changed over time and why they are the way they are

today. Perhaps most importantly, a model of language shift will allow scholars and activists to determine what the next steps in the process may be, and what steps might reverse the process entirely. Reversing shift would allow Cherokees to maintain their connections to the past and provide future generations an important means of expressing identity.

To date, no reliable general theory of language shift currently exists. Previous attempts to account for the phenomenon have been based on concepts that are too abstract to model empirically such as prestige or vitality. Recent linguistic work (Salmons 2002, 2005a, 2005b, 2008, Lucht 2007, Lucht et al. 2011, Wilkerson & Salmons 2012) has looked toward the field of sociology, specifically the work of Warren (1978) and the model of verticalization to understand the social factors involved in language shift. Warren describes communities as having both horizontal and vertical patterns. Horizontal patterns are defined as "… the structural and functional relation of [a community's] various social units and subsystems to each other" (1978:164). An example of this would be a locally-owned general store buying produce from local farmers. The organizations have few ties to the larger society outside the community. Vertical patterns, Warren explains, are "… the structural and functional relation of [a community's] various social units and subsystems to extracommunity systems. The term *vertical* is used to reflect the fact that such relationships often involve different hierarchical levels within the extracommunity system's structure of authority and power" (1978:163). An example would be the relationship between a local post office branch and the federal government. Over time, vertical patterns between communities and the larger society have generally increased – a process called verticalization. Warren describes a Great Change in American communities, characterized by "… the increasing orientation of local community units toward

extracommunity systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy" (1978:52). As this occurs, "… the ties between different local community units are weakened, and community autonomy, defined as control by local people over the establishment, goals, policies, and operations of local community units, is likewise reduced" (1978:52). Instead, control shifts to the institutions associated with the larger society. Communities experienced this change at different points and at different rates during the rise of urbanization and industrialization.

The model of shift applied in this work is founded primarily upon Warren's notion of verticalization and integrates concepts originating in other theories. Verticalization and other changes described by social theories affect language acquisition. As societies change, children are exposed to new circumstances, which lead to new patterns of acquisition. Sometimes a new pattern means that children acquire a language different from that of their parents. Social theories, therefore, can help inform assumptions about acquisition. Among the theories I apply here, Højrup's (2003) model of life-modes provides a framework for understanding the economic motivations for social changes that facilitate language shift. Højrup describes the changing relationship between economic mode of production and social networks in terms of life-modes. Life-modes represent divisions of a population into three numbered subgroups, each corresponding to a certain set of attitudes and labor practices. People in life-mode 1 are described as those whose work involves simple commodity production and who draw no distinction between work and free time. They see work as a worthwhile pursuit not because it allows them to earn a salary, but because it directly supplies their needs through production of commodities – generally in the form of crops. Any surplus can then be sold for profit. Those in life-mode 2 are typified

by wage-workers such as factory employees who work as a means to an end, such as earning a salary to spend during their free time (2003:29-36). The different mentalities characterized by each life-mode lend insight into the motivations behind structural change in American communities via Warren's model of verticalization and the Great Change. The effects of these processes on community cohesion affect social network structure, and consequently, linguistic behavior.

Milroy's (1987) linguistic application of social network theory serves as the component of the verticalization model that establishes a link between social and linguistic change. Milroy's model provides an empirical basis for the correlation between degree of social integration and adherence to linguistic norms. In her study of Belfast, Milroy describes social networks as having the potential to be either high density or low density, and either multiplex or uniplex. This terminology is defined and further explored in section 2.2.3. Milroy shows a correlation between dense network ties and use of localized vernacular linguistic norms (1987:20, 175). The more integrated one is within a social network, the more likely one is to adhere to that group's language norms. On the topic of language maintenance, Milroy claims,

> One important corollary to the link between language maintenance and a close-knit territorially-based network structure is that linguistic change will be associated with a break-up of such a structure. It is likely that two effects of the processes of urbanization and industrialization will be to disperse traditional close-knit networks, and to accelerate linguistic standardization (Milroy 1987:185).

While dense social ties in which all individuals know one another promote adherence to the linguistic norms of the group, the breakup of those ties is associated with linguistic change. Milroy argues for the effect of social networks on pronunciation in Belfast dialects of English, but such aspects of language change differ from the topic of wholesale language

shift. Still, their connection to large-scale socioeconomics allows us to extend the argument. This extension predicts that the reduction of community cohesion brought about by verticalization would be associated not only with linguistic change, but also language shift. Studies such as Lucht (2007), Wilkerson & Salmons (2008), and Lucht et al. (2011) among German-American communities in Wisconsin have indeed found a correlation between degree of verticalization, social network change, and shift toward English. Data from church, school, and print records as well as information from the US federal census provide insight into German-American community structures at various stages of the Great Change. Because different communities experienced the Great Change at different rates and times, language shift occurs at various rates. It generally begins after the beginning of verticalization, as social changes associated with it do not alter people's linguistic behavior instantaneously, but rather over a period of years, decades, and generations.

The model of verticalization represents a marked improvement over former theories of language shift, which have generally relied upon abstract concepts such as prestige that are difficult to test empirically. Recent studies, however, have been restricted largely to communities of German immigrants and their descendants in Wisconsin. Because Cherokees experienced markedly different historical circumstances, and possess a very different cultural background from Germans, examining the model in western North Carolina helps to test and expand it. Accounting for similar phenomena in historically unrelated situations is a vital step in approaching a general theory of language shift.

To this end, this dissertation expands on previous work by testing the model of verticalization in a community with a vastly different historical context – the Cherokee-speaking population of western North Carolina. Using similar methodology to that used by

previous scholars, I show not only that the model proves effective in accounting for the beginning of shift from Cherokee to English, but also that examining communities with varied historical backgrounds can enrich the model. These can be accounted for based on Cherokee cultural norms, as well as the later inception of verticalization in western North Carolina. It should be noted that because there are still living speakers of both German and Cherokee, the process of shift cannot be said to be complete. I then compare the process that occurred around Cherokee, NC with a previously unstudied Wisconsin German community – New Holstein, WI. The study of New Holstein and eastern Wisconsin contributes an important piece of Wisconsin German history, representing one of the largest monolingual German-speaking populations yet studied, according to the 1910 census. Results indicate that the process of language shift unfolded in similar ways in the two communities, confirming the efficacy of the verticalization model. In both communities, the breakup of dense local social networks associated with the growing connection between local institutions and extracommunity institutions correlated with language shift.

Chapter 2 of this dissertation reviews and critiques previous work that led to the need for and development of the current model. I then introduce the model of verticalization and explain how other social and linguistic theories have been integrated into it. These theories include work by Højrup, Warren, and Milroy & Milroy. Integrating them with Warren's notion of verticalization has helped to inform and expand the current model of shift. Højrup's concept of life-modes can be said to motivate the process of Warren's verticalization. Milroy's correlation between linguistic behavior and social integration can then be extended to language shift via verticalization. Chapter 2 also introduces the qualitative and quantitative methodology I use to examine my case studies

and confirm the correlation between verticalization and shift. Through the use of secondary historical sources, recorded interviews, and data on speaker numbers over time, I establish a picture of social network change in the communities studied.

Chapter 3 introduces the Cherokee population of western North Carolina and tests the verticalization model's applicability in accounting for shift from Cherokee to English. I provide a brief overview of the community's history, followed by a summary of the process of verticalization informed by secondary historical sources. For a more thorough picture of the community's organizational structure and how it changed over time, I present qualitative data from interviews conducted with contemporary Cherokee residents conducted in the summer of 2012 and the winter of 2013. I then show quantitative evidence of shift from Cherokee to English over time, gleaned from secondary historical sources and from the 1910 United States federal census. The combination of qualitative and quantitative data shows a later onset of verticalization, greater resistance to the process of integration with the larger society, and a relatively high contemporary population of Cherokee speakers in comparison with German speakers in Wisconsin. While the data confirms the applicability of the verticalization model, the Cherokee communities reacted in different ways to the process of verticalization than the German communities of Wisconsin. These differences were based largely on Cherokee cultural norms, which are introduced in **Chapter 3** and discussed in contrasting community reactions to verticalization in **Chapter 5**.

Chapter 4 introduces new data on Wisconsin German, building on earlier work by Schmahl (2008), and Schlemper (2003) for historical background on the German-speaking population of eastern Wisconsin. I focus on the region between Lake Winnebago and Lake

Michigan, populated largely by descendants of immigrants from Germany's Eifel region and the vicinity of Hessen-Darmstadt. I present quantitative data from the 1910 census and qualitative data on community structure gleaned from interviews conducted during the spring of 2012. Data from Wisconsin German communities shows that as farms and local establishments waned, institutional use of English rose.

In **Chapter 5** I compare and contrast the ways the process of language shift unfolded in the two case studies and highlight the differences in how each community responded to verticalization. I present arguments for why each group underwent verticalization to a different degree, and why this may correlate with degree of language shift. While both communities experienced external pressures, I argue that the changes that occurred in the communities' social networks due to verticalization constitute the major factor that influenced shift. After analyzing the differences in the ways the communities responded to verticalization and shift, I provide some insights on how this knowledge could benefit the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians' language revitalization program.

Chapter 6 concludes, noting how comparing instances of shift can deepen and expand the current model, and how this is valuable both for developing a generally applicable theory of shift and in application of that theory toward revitalization. If successful, this dissertation can serve in multiple capacities, from expanding the field's theoretical knowledge of the process of language shift to aiding in revitalization programs, to understanding issues of language and immigration and historical development.

Chapter 2: Previous Approaches, Current Model and Methodology

Many previous scholars have introduced theories of language shift. Thus far, these theories have proven inadequate in providing a generally applicable model of how the process unfolds. Many of the concepts they employ, such as ethnolinguistic vitality and prestige, are difficult to measure empirically. This difficulty sometimes arises from definitional issues. Milroy (1992), for example, points to a mismatch in the definitions of micro- and macro-level prestige (173). While one definition seems to be institutionalized, the other appears subjective (173). These issues are discussed further in 2.1.1. Other frameworks, such as the one introduced by Lesley and James Milroy (1987, 1992), do form an empirically testable link between social networks and linguistic behavior. They argue that language change shows a correlation with the density and multiplexity of social networks. This dissertation expands this argument from language change to language shift, integrating other sociological theories in order to approach a more complete picture. Højrup (2003) addresses the connection between people's means of economic production and social structures. I develop and employ his concept of life-modes in analyzing linguistic changes related to social structure. Using aspects of these theories, I situate language shift in Wisconsin German and North Carolina Cherokee communities within Warren's study of social change in the 20th century. The model of language shift I employ follows work by Salmons (2002, 2005a, 2005b), Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012), and Lucht (2007), expanding it to a non-immigrant community and a previously unstudied community of Wisconsin German speakers. This chapter introduces the model of verticalization, outlines and critiques previous approaches to language shift, and explains the methodology used to

analyze the case studies in chapters 3 and 4. The sources used orient the communities within the historical periods I am examining and provide more information on what sorts of community institutions were present over time. This information lends insight into the degree to which the communities experienced verticalization. They also help to give voice to community members' own impressions about the progress of language shift. Results indicate that verticalization in both communities did correlate with shift, but to different degrees.

Section 1 of this chapter reviews and critiques some previous approaches to language shift. **Section 2** introduces the model of verticalization, which is built on Warren's concept of the Great Change and other social and sociolinguistic theories. I argue that these theories are interrelated and can be used in combination to examine the phenomenon of language shift. **Section 3** lays out the methodology of the current study, which includes the use of secondary historical sources and monographs, recorded interviews, and census records.

2.1 Previous Approaches

Several previous scholars have attempted to construct theoretical models of language shift, though none has yet proven to be generally applicable. Recent work on the topic of language shift, much of it reviewed by Garcia (2003), introduces various potential approaches. This section outlines some of those approaches, while section 2.1.1 discusses some ways in which they are problematic. The major issue among many of these is the difficulty in testing them empirically.

Some recent work approaches the issue of language shift from the perspective of linguistic ideology. Work by Davis (1999) takes an ethnographic approach to language

policy and planning, using examples from indigenous maintenance, loss, and planning. Davis observes that political concerns, results of ethnographic research, and community needs all factor into planning. King (2000) examines the situations of Quichua and Spanish in the southern Ecuadorian Andes, suggesting that attitudes toward the societally dominant language play a role in determining behaviors regarding language maintenance. Wei (2000) discusses the importance of people's attitudes toward each other and toward society at large in regard to their language, identity, values, and goals (Garcia 2003:26). He emphasizes the importance of close-knit social networks in language maintenance and reversal of shift (Garcia 2003:26). Tosi (1998) references the concept of community, citing the importance of geographical proximity and a shared sense of group identity (Garcia 2003:27). He does not propose a general solution to shift, but suggests criteria for evaluating ethnic language use in urban environments (Garcia 2003:27).

Approaches utilizing quantitative data include Veltman (1979), who employs census data to analyze shift patterns in New England among speakers of French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese (Garcia 2003:23). Bills, Hudson, and Hernandez-Chavez (2000) utilize data from the 1990 US census to analyze home language claims among residents of southwestern states such as Arizona, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Texas. They conclude that among Mexican-origin populations in these states, economic status was a strong determinant of Spanish-language maintenance or shift to English. Related factors, they claim in another study (1995:182), were access to education and political power (Garcia 2003:30).

More current approaches include the concept of ethnolinguistic vitality. According to Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis (1994), ethnolinguistic vitality was originally defined as "that

which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting" (Giles et al. 1977:308, cited by Harwood, et al. 1994:167). The proposal is that the more vitality a group has, the more likely it is to retain its language. The approach implies a method for predicting whether or not a group will maintain its language based on a 3-factor system: **status, demographics,** and **institutional support and control** (Harwood et al. 1994:169). These factors are addressed in the following section.

Kloss (1966:206-252) develops a model of language shift built around a list of six factors that enhance language maintenance (p. 206):

1. Religio-societal insulation/isolation
2. Time of immigration
3. *Sprachinseln* – language islands
4. Denominational fostering of parochial schools
5. Pre-immigration experience with language maintenance efforts:
    - Consciously planned language maintenance efforts
    - Effortless, unplanned, unorganized language maintenance
6. Prestige

One issue with several earlier approaches to understanding language shift and maintenance is their lack of a common methodology. Garcia notes that "[i]n the past, the primary methods of investigating language maintenance, shift, or stability depended on the training of the investigator, usually following the methodology common in a single academic discipline" (2003:23). This has resulted in several individual studies that have focused largely on one method of analysis, such as assessing language ideology through questionnaires, examining census data, or studying communities by participant observation. Similarly, many studies have focused on individual groups of immigrants without comparison between groups. Although such examinations have raised valuable points, I argue below that a model of language shift requires multiple methods of analysis in order to be generally applicable. Previous studies have also focused on factors such as

prestige, language policy, and language ideology to determine potential strategies in promoting language maintenance. These studies are also worth noting, especially as complete language shift is a possible endpoint for failed language maintenance. Still, such approaches suffer from methodological and definitional issues. The following section addresses more promising approaches such as social network theory, while **Section 2.2** outlines the bases for the model of verticalization employed in the rest of this dissertation. **Section 2.2.5** introduces an expansion on the verticalization model of shift, the concept of community-internal verticalization. This concept is of particular importance in analyzing the situation of Cherokee in North Carolina, discussed in Chapter 3.

2.1.1. Limitations of previous approaches

Problems in definition of terms exist within many previous claims regarding language shift. Although scholars such as Kloss (1966) have proposed isolation as a factor in language maintenance, the precise definition of isolation is unclear. As discussed below, groups often claimed to be isolated, such as the Old Order Amish, are not as isolated as they might appear. The notion of geographical isolation is an unsatisfactory explanation for shift as it does not reference language use. I argue that the reason geographically isolated populations may retain their languages has more to do with their lack of social contact than with their location. In Kloss's list of factors, the notion of religio-societal isolation refers primarily to those societies such as the Old Order Amish, Mennonites, and the Hasidim who take their language with them wherever they migrate. While it is true these groups have been quite successful in maintaining their languages, the degree to which these cultures are isolated from the rest of society is highly questionable. According to Louden (1991:111),

the idea that the Amish are highly isolated is a stereotype; a product of American popular culture's "exoticization" of them in an attempt to distance them from the cultural mainstream. In fact, some Amish families make fairly frequent, though restricted use of such modern conveniences as the telephone and automobile (Louden 1991:118). Although such families may have been more isolated in the past, their participation in such activities belies the fact that they are no longer entirely societally isolated. A particularly important point is that it is quite difficult to determine a degree of societal isolation, considering that no basis has been established for what that might mean. In fact, Amish families' active involvement in local industries seems to indicate a certain degree of integration, rather than isolation. Hence, despite a very different religious background, and the existence of a philosophy that might keep members of a certain faith culturally separate from the rest of the population, societal isolation as a blanket term does not cover the phenomena one observes here. Furthermore, it is not actually the isolation, so much as the cultural values and social networks that are of decisive importance. Whereas the notion of isolation entails a certain geographical separation from the community – that people are out living on a farm, for example – the particularly important point is the degree of separation from the mainstream culture that people seek to establish. An easy counterexample to the notion of these religious groups being isolated in the geographical sense is the case of the Yiddish-speaking Hasidim in New York City. Despite their geographical proximity to other socio-cultural groups, the Yiddish language remains vibrant.

The notion that an immigrant population's arrival "earlier than or simultaneously with the first Anglo-Americans" (Kloss 1966:206) is favorable to language maintenance also seems to be flawed, in that it lacks explanatory power. Some immigrant groups that

arrived around the same time as the first Anglo-American settlers, such as the ancestors of Pennsylvania Dutch speakers, have maintained their language successfully. However, arrival time alone does not guarantee that a group can maintain a language. Although Kloss provides an accurate observation, it provides no predictive power about whether maintenance will continue. Because arriving simultaneously to or earlier than the first Anglo-American settlers is a historically bound event, it cannot be replicated and therefore cannot be truly considered part of a general theory about why languages shift occurs. This explanation is also unsatisfying in its inapplicability to indigenous languages of the United States and around the world. It becomes non-functional when one attempts to apply it to indigenous cultures. Even if one were to view arrival time without regard to Anglo-Americans as a factor, the unequal degree of endangerment among indigenous languages suggests there must be some other factor. Menominee, spoken in Wisconsin, has approximately 5-10 fluent speakers (Monica Macaulay, personal communication). The Ethnologue reports that Lumbee, of North Carolina has no speakers (Lewis et al. 2013:http://www.ethnologue.com/language/LMZ) , and Navajo has 171,000, with 7,600 monolinguals (Lewis et al. 2013: https://www.ethnologue.com/language/nav). Given that all three groups arrived in North America thousands of years ago, arrival time alone cannot explain the vast differences in speaker loss between the tribes. The third factor in Kloss's list is the existence of language islands, "… circumscribed territories where the minority tongue is the principal tongue used in daily conversation by at least four-fifth [sic] of the inhabitants" (1966:207). This definition is more descriptive than predictive. While the description may work in categorizing language islands such as Spanish-speaking northern New Mexico, French-speaking southern Louisiana, and German-speaking eastern and

central Pennsylvania, it does not explain why they exist as islands in the first place. The point begs the question. If a language island exists, then of course it has maintained its language, as that is the definition of a language island. Because the argument is circular, it cannot be counted in a productive way toward a theory of language shift. This point is also the same as the point about isolation – a language island, by its very nature, is isolated.

A more interesting claim is perhaps "affiliation with denominations fostering parochial schools" (Kloss 1966:206). The primary underlying claim here seems to be that being part of a denomination that fosters parochial schools is particularly helpful in saving a language from being lost to the dominant language of society. In fact, there may be some empirical basis to this. Some German-American interviewees from eastern Wisconsin who attended Catholic confirmation classes, for example, recalled receiving formal instruction in German later than others who did not attend such classes. Still, I would argue that it is not the school or the denomination itself that preserves the language, but the values of the community that lead it to establish such a school and the role the school plays within the community. If a local parochial school is governed largely by the social norms of the community in which it is located, it will serve as an extension of the horizontal social ties already present in the community, thereby continuing to provide a domain in which the language can be used. If a parochial school were associated by strong ties with an extra-community entity such as the Catholic Church, however, the extra-community entity would be able to mandate changes to the way the parochial school operated. Whether it actually did so or not would vary from instance to instance.

The sixth point in Kloss's list – prestige – has to do with official language use – "former use as the *only* official tongue during the pre-Anglo-American period." (1966:206).

This point assumes much about local adherence to top-down language policy. It is less likely that people were using certain languages pre-contact and post-contact because they were officially legislated than that these were simply the languages people happened to be using in everyday life, regardless of what the legislation (if it existed) may have said about language use. Milroy points out that high prestige forms often enter a linguistic variety via forms used by people of lower socioeconomic status. This introduces a logical contradiction that "… renders the term prestige almost meaningless: the high prestige variety, it is proposed, borrows from lower-prestige varieties because some of the forms in the lower-prestige varieties have higher, not lower, prestige. Therefore, in some respects, the higher-prestige variety must have lower prestige" (Milroy 2012:574). One possible underpinning of this argument may also be that a language might be maintained if its users remember a time when the language was "official," and therefore also institutionally supported. Given the number of newspapers published in German, in addition to the prominence of German in the Lutheran church (Lucht et al. 2011:8, 12), it can be shown that German enjoyed a substantial degree of institutional support. Still, Lucht et al. (2011) show a trend of shift among both church and press domains from German to English in the mid-20th century (p. 362-369). The scenario of German speakers in Lutheran churches being reticent to adopt English for church services suggests the imprecision inherent in the notion of prestige. Such reticence would suggest that, at least in the eyes of the church community, English was less prestigious than German. Despite this, English was ultimately adopted in the majority of domains in formerly German-speaking communities. Prestige, therefore, lacks explanatory precision. It cannot be accurately measured – there are no standard units of prestige, and its relative value changes based on locally held beliefs, making

standardization problematic. Concepts of status vary widely based on people's notions of how much prestige can be ascribed to a particular dialect, variant, or individual form.

Explanations such as ethnolinguistic vitality are also unsatisfactory, generally for similar definitional reasons. The definition "that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collective entity within the intergroup setting" (Harwood et al. 1994:167) makes a statement about how a group is likely to behave based on a particular model of how other groups already behave. A group considered to have high vitality is likely to retain its language, but only groups that have maintained it well already are considered to have high vitality. Because "vitality" can only be measured based on how groups have already fared in maintaining their language, the claim that more vitality makes a group more likely to retain its language is circular. The factors upon which the model is based – status, demographics, and institutional support and control – have issues in their definitions as well. The primary issue with status as an indicator of linguistic vitality is that like its underlying notion of prestige, status is subjective, and generally not empirically measurable. Harwood, Giles, & Bourhis include demographics in their approach, defining it as " … related to the sheer number of members composing the ethnolinguistic group and their distribution throughout a particular urban, regional, or national territory" (1994:168). The assumption here appears to be that sheer numbers of group members concentrated in a particular area will lead to successful maintenance of those group members' language, or that there might be some number of group members that would constitute a critical mass at which point the language could become self-sustaining. Indeed, large numbers of fluent, especially monolingual speakers concentrated in a single location does usually signify a currently healthy language, but large numbers of speakers do not preclude their linguistic

situation ever changing. Massive numbers of speakers of Algonquian varieties, for example, once lived concentrated in swaths of what is now the United States and Canada, but many have now shifted to English or French. The notion of critical mass in demographics therefore proves insufficient in predicting that a language will necessarily survive. One issue with many of the models presented is that they do not take intergenerational transmission into account. The degree of input children receive in their community language will directly affect the degree to which they acquire that language. On this basis, a generally applicable model of shift must account for how children's input and acquisition are affected. For a more generally applicable theory, we now turn to the model of verticalization and its integration of other existing theories.

2.2 The Verticalization Model: Theoretical Background

The present discussion of language shift has been forged out of a combination of existing theories on community systems and their relationship to linguistic behavior. These theories include Højrup's concept of life-modes, Warren's notion of verticalization, and Milroy and Milroy's social network theory and theory of language change. The combination of these theories follows the methodology of a recent extensive study of German-to-English shift in Lebanon, Wisconsin by Lucht (2007). Each component theory provides insight into some aspect of the constellation of factors that contribute to language shift. In conjunction these theories provide a cohesive model of how socioeconomic factors correlate with shift.

Although they do not address language, scholars such as Højrup and Warren have both observed changes occurring in the structure of communities, owing at least in part to shifting economic circumstances. These changes lead to reformulations of previous community structures, often in the direction of integration with the society outside of the

local community. Milroy observes that when local community structures change, community members' linguistic norms are affected as well. Because social groups define the norms of their members, disrupting a group's social network can cause members to drift away from those norms. Thus, the less well socially integrated someone is, the less likely their language is to resemble that of their community. Extending this idea to Warren's notion of the Great Change and its attendant reduction in community cohesion allows for the conclusion that the Great Change should also reduce individuals' adherence to local linguistic norms – even to the point of language shift. Previous studies such as Salmons (2002, 2005a, 2005b); Lucht (2007); Lucht et al. 2011; and Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012) have shown this to be the case in Wisconsin German communities. As these groups experienced the social restructuring of the Great Change, the density of social networks diminished and German language use gave way to English.

2.2.1 Højrup and Life-modes

A primary question about the analysis of structural change in society is why changes occur at all. Højrup's (2003) model of life-modes allows us to establish a link between modes of economic production and social structures. The ideologies of individuals accustomed to certain life-modes can explain potential motivations for moving from one type of work to another. Work, and consequently life-mode, can contribute significantly to individual social networks. In aggregate, a shift of many community members from one occupation to another – or several others – can change the structure of a community. Life-mode, because of its association with economic well-being, can provide insight into the motivations behind the Great Change.

In formulating a description of the various subcultures and strata into which societies can be divided, Højrup employs the concept of life-modes that "… form the bases for … practices and ideologies and … entail distinct types of social institutions and social organisation" (2003:15). Life-modes as concepts are based on mode of production, and "[c]onceptually speaking, 'society' is a complex of life-modes, each mode having its specific ideology and a class-specific system of practices" (2003:16-17). The primary goal of life-mode 1 is to be self-employed, to own the means of production, and to work as an end in itself rather than a means to some other end. The ideology of people in life-mode 1 does not include concepts of work or free time, since all time could be dedicated to producing simple commodities, and since one is self-employed (2003:22-23). Life-mode 2 is typified by wage-earners. "For the employee," Højrup explains, "work serves the function of providing an income which will make it possible to live a meaningful life beyond work, during his free time. To be free is the opposite of being at work" (2003:24). Factory workers in life-mode 2, therefore, often maintain a distinction between work and free time that people with a life-mode 1 mentality, such as family farmers, do not.

It is important to note that any individual performing any type of labor could possess the mentality of either of these two life-modes. Højrup gives the example of Danish herdsmen who possess a life-mode 1 mentality working at a factory with workers of primarily a life-mode 2 mentality. The herdsmen do not divide the concept of work from free time and do not understand why they must stop work at a specific time to allow others to begin their shifts. Factory workers with life-mode 1 ideologies clash with union officials because they do not understand "… the power relations and exploitation against which the workers have organised themselves" (2003:63). On the other hand, the herdsmen's life-

mode 1 ideology causes them to greatly appreciate factory work. From their perspective, the work provides an incredible amount of freedom and a large salary (2003:64). As we shall see especially in Chapter 4, movement from life-mode 1 to life-mode 2 can be economically appealing. The attendant changes in social structure, however, can break up the dense social networks typical of life-mode 1, helping to promote language shift.

2.2.2 Warren, the Great Change and Verticalization

Work by Warren (1978) attempts to define the concept of community in the United States and explain how community structures have changed in recent decades. The present model of shift is based on his observation of changes that occurred in American communities and on models of language and social network (cf. section 2.1.3).

Warren outlines a Great Change in American community structure that has been occurring since the second half of the nineteenth century. This change entails "an increasing orientation of local community units toward extra-community systems of which they are a part, with a corresponding decline in community cohesion and autonomy" (1978:52). The degree to which communities have experienced these changes varies. Warren examines the process in four case studies, including El Cerrito, New Mexico; Springdale, New York; Middletown, Indiana; and Crestwood Heights, Ontario. The Great Change Warren observes involves a number of components (1978:53):

- Division of labor
- Differentiation of interests and association
- Increasing systemic relationships to the larger society
- Bureaucratization and impersonalization
- Transfer of functions to profit enterprise and government
- Urbanization and suburbanization
- Changing values

These components describe changes to local community structures that diminished the cohesion of social networks. I argue that this reduction in cohesion led to language shift. I now turn to a discussion of some components of the Great Change that are particularly relevant to social network change, and thereby also to language shift.

Division of labor, typified especially by factory work, led communities to be more interrelated. Each factory branch represented a single part of a larger, more complex system. For people accustomed to farming, factory work meant a move into the cities. This transition represents what Højrup might identify as a change from life-mode 1 to life-mode 2. Warren explains,

> In American society, the family farm has represented the closest type of relationship between the family as a unit of economic production and the family as a unit of economic consumption. The traditional family farm was highly self-sufficient. The trend toward specialization on the farm is of course part of the trend we are describing, and the absolute as well as proportionate number of farm families in the economy has decreased for several decades, a particularly significant instance of the change being considered here (1978:57).

Division of labor therefore reduced self-sufficiency, as individuals became part of a greater network.

Locally held power, values, and organizations, Warren claims, constitute part of the basic horizontal patterns that began to erode at various points in American communities. Horizontal patterns are relationships "… across the many different units and subsystems that operate on the community level" (1978:164). These units "… tend to be on approximately the same hierarchical level (a community unit level, as opposed to a state, regional, national, or international level of authority, administration, decision-making, and so on)" (1978:164). Those social units that maintain more local relationships among each other than relationships to institutions outside the community, in other words, maintain

horizontal ties. Local farms, independently-owned restaurants, or local volunteer organizations would be examples. Vertical patterns, on the other hand, are "… the structural and functional relation of [a community's] various social units and subsystems to extra-community systems. … Examples are chain stores, branch banks, branch offices or plants of a national company, and local offices of state or federal governmental agencies" (1978:163). Social units inside the community that have connections to each other and no connection to organizations or institutions outside the community constitute a community's horizontal pattern, while units inside the community that serve as links between the community and some larger extra-community organization are its vertical pattern. Verticalization refers to the systemic increase of communities' vertical patterns, particularly during the period Warren refers to as the Great Change. Verticalization is a relevant factor for the current discussion based on the social changes with which it correlates and their effects on people's adherence to established norms. One benefit of the model of verticalization is that it can generalize about particular phenomena cited by earlier theories. The fourth factor on Kloss's list, "Denominational fostering of parochial schools" (1966:206), for example, can be viewed as part of a wider trend of increasing interconnections between local and extralocal organizations rather than a factor in itself. This allows us to extend the analysis further and apply it to a broader context. Instead of considering communities with parochial schools as examples of successful language maintenance factors, we can look at the reasons why such schools would have that effect – namely, that they may help to maintain local, horizontal networks.

According to Warren, growing interdependence and individual autonomy reduced the number of functions performed by the family. This reduction led to a decrease in the

family's significance in economic production and as a center for recreation and service (1978:58). This reduced significance on a community level weakened community cohesion. Because people no longer shared occupational proximity and occupational interests, they had less in common (1978:58). Rather than associating with those in their immediate vicinity to fulfill needs such as production and distribution, socialization of the young, social control, and mutual support, people began to associate with those from outside their localities on the basis of shared interests. These associations, however, were categorical (lawyer-client, salesperson-customer, home owner-plumber) rather than personal (Warren 1978). Whereas people who Højrup might consider having life-mode 1 such as farmers had once dealt with their families and neighbors in personal relationships (mother-son, neighbor-neighbor), they found themselves associating with multiple people who each played individual roles. The development of categorical relationships is a key factor that undermined community cohesion, equilibrium, and social control. Equilibrium "involves the community's ability to exercise sufficient social control to achieve adequate conformity to community norms and to minimize change impacts" (Warren 1978:166). Division of labor though, "… could also be accompanied by a certain normlessness, or *anomie*, a condition in which there was no longer general agreement among individuals regarding the norms that should guide their behavior" (1978:58). Therefore, verticalization serves as a catalyst for the dissolution of personal relationships in exchange for categorical ones. This correlates with a decline in adherence to established social norms – which, as Milroy (1987) shows, include linguistic ones.

2.2.3 The Milroys, Social Network Theory, & Language Shift

Lesley Milroy's 1987 study of lower income communities in Belfast, Northern Ireland, establishes a link between the density and multiplexity of social networks and adherence to vernacular linguistic norms. While Milroy's 1987 work, as well as the later work of James Milroy (1992), relate social network structure to language change, this dissertation applies the model to language shift. Milroy (1987) notes that scholars such as Gumperz (1982) and Gal (1979) have previously related social network to language shift using different approaches. In the Gail Valley of Kärnten, Austria, Gumperz sees continued bilingualism in Slovenian and German as a product of local kin and social relationships (Gumperz 1982:46, cited in Milroy 1987:170). Gal (1979), meanwhile, sees maintenance of Hungarian in Oberwart, Austria as symbolizing peasant values while shift to German symbolizes worker values. Milroy notes that "[t]he correlation between speaker-status and language choice was … reasonably good, but despite the complexity of the index, not as good as the correlation between the speaker's *social network*, measured on a very simple scale, and his language choice" (1987:171). Based on this, I take social network to be a relevant factor in language shift as well as language change. In her study of phonetic change in the dialects of Belfast, Milroy follows Blom and Gumperz (1972), noting that people who most frequently used dialect forms in her study were members of closed networks, meaning that people's social contacts generally know one another (Milroy 1987:20). People in open personal networks, however, "… moved … outside territorial boundaries, and a given person's contacts each had his own contacts, none of whom necessarily knew each other" (Milroy 1987:20). The former type of network, in which a person's contacts also nearly all know

each other, is identified as high density, while the latter, in which each contact has his own contacts, is low density. Milroy makes this distinction to move away from a binary definition, as networks may be more or less dense than one another without being either open or closed per se. A second definition Milroy establishes is the distinction between multiplex and uniplex ties. Multiplex ties are characterized by relationships in which "… each individual is likely to be linked to others in more than one capacity – as a co-employee, a kinsman and a friend, for example" (Milroy 1987:21). This contrasts with uniplex ties among people who interact with one another in only one capacity (Milroy 1987:21). As will be discussed, this definition parallels Warren's notion of categorical relationships.

Milroy shows that social relationships can be calculated empirically using formulas that determine density and multiplexity (1987:50-51). These concepts give rise to another concept called clustering. Milroy defines clusters as "… segments or compartments of networks which have relatively high density: relationships within the cluster are denser than those existing externally and may also be considered as being relationships of like *content*. Most people's personal networks consist of series of clusters where ties are, for example, those of kinship, occupation, specific group membership and many others" (Milroy 1987:50). Clusters such as peer groups can provide the basis for the establishment of linguistic norms.

In her study of Belfast, Milroy observes a direct correlation between social integration and adherence to linguistic norms. The work bears out Le Page's (1968) claim that "the individual creates his system of verbal behaviour so as to resemble those common to the group or groups with which he wishes from time to time to be identified" (Milroy 1987:132). Milroy hypothesizes that a correlation exists between adherence to vernacular

speech norms and the level of a person's integration into local community networks (1987:134). Indeed, her fieldwork in Belfast shows that shifts in voice quality occurred when study participants spoke with outsiders, and the frequency with which they used vernacular phonological features declined. This contrasted with in-group speech, in which these phonological features were very frequent. "Persons standing in multiplex relation to each other," Milroy claims, "are more mutually accessible than if the link is uniplex, and therefore susceptible to the obligation to adopt group norms. These norms include an obligation to use an unmarked style in one another's presence" (Milroy 1987:60).

Dense, multiplex social networks thus operate as norm-enforcement mechanism. These networks, however, can change according to a variety of circumstances. One circumstance in which Milroy observed changes in social networks was during the aftermath of an urban redevelopment program that relocated members of one community to the local suburbs or to the city center (1987:81). The primary setting of interaction for the community had been streets and street corners in front of residents' homes, and after relocation many members were able to make the trip to the street corners less frequently. Milroy explains, "[m]en complained about the physical difficulties of corner hanging if they lived in high-rise flats: a visit to the corner had become an occasion, rather than simply a stroll outside the door. Interactional patterns in the [community called] Hammer had, therefore, been severely disrupted. The territorially based Hammer network was in the process of breaking up" (1987:82). As this situation illustrates, one way of breaking up local network ties is a geographical change of location. If community members are no longer able to interact with one another with the same regularity, network ties become weaker. Social mobility causes disruptions in network ties as well. According to Milroy,

Frankenberg (1969) implies that the involuntary destruction of reciprocity networks sometimes results in upward social mobility (1987:82). Milroy challenges this assumption, claiming that "… dense multiplex networks along with their characteristic ethic of reciprocity and solidarity are viewed as a basic adaptive strategy for economic survival" (1987:82). This claim is discussed in Chapter 3. Ultimately, Milroy claims that "… the solidarity factor may influence linguistic behavior of *individuals*, regardless of the social status variable" (1987:84). The correspondence between network structure and adherence to linguistic norms is therefore not contingent upon social class or status, but rather can be calculated with regard to network structure between individual community members. Indeed, Milroy later notes the structural similarities that exist between upper-class and low-status close-knit social networks (1987:179). People of both low and high status engage in reciprocity networks because they share an "equality of wants" (1987:179). Addressing language maintenance, Milroy suggests

> … close-knit network structure is an important mechanism … in that speakers are able to form a cohesive group capable of resisting pressure, linguistic and social, from outside the group. If the individual's network structure becomes less close-knit, it follows that he will be robbed of an important mechanism of nonstandard norm maintenance; he will also be free of … constant supervision and control (1987:178).

In fact, loosening of social networks and control of linguistic norms seems to be precisely what we see during Warren's Great Change. We now turn to the application of these models to language shift in communities in the United States, viewed through the lens of the Great Change and verticalization.

2.2.4 The Verticalization Model of Language Shift

Based on the precepts of the preceding theories, the verticalization model analyzes the Great Change in terms of Højrup's life-modes, assuming Milroy's framework of social networks and the attendant correlation with linguistic behavior. The model predicts that as people move from life-mode 1 to life-mode 2, their dense, multiplex social networks become less dense and multiplex. As local communities become more and more integrated into the larger society through increasing vertical ties, dense multiplex individual networks – which Warren might refer to as being characterized by personal relationships – are replaced by a preponderance of uniplex – weak, or, in Warren's terms, "categorical" (1978:60) relationships. This lessens the exertion of network control on their linguistic norms. As people from minority language-speaking communities interact more with those from outside their communities, they are more apt to use those people's language than their home language. If, for example, a person's social network is characterized by 30 uniplex weak (i.e., superficial) ties with people from outside the home community and 5 multiplex ones with locals, they are likely to spend a greater percentage of their time speaking the extra-community language than their home language.

Previous scholars such as Salmons (2002) and Lucht (2007) have linked changes in social network and language use to the degree of verticalization a community has undergone. Degree of verticalization can be seen in the number of extracommunity ties that exist in a community over time. Such ties often have the effect of putting small local organizations out of business or merging them with other organizations whose centers are

outside the local community. This pattern is shown by Salmons (2002:183-184, 190) in his discussion of the German press in Wisconsin:

> Small publications like those making up most of the Wisconsin German press came and went very quickly, often with a life span of only a few years … . Founding of new publications, however, drops off drastically after the turn of the century and those publications that do start up are more often bilingual (and in the case of the WISCONSIN EQUITY NEWS, trilingual with English, German and Norwegian), or occasionally English-titled with some German text … . Publication failures, beginning at this time, were also on the rise. During the period from 1900 to 1909, we find a substantial number of closings (19 outside of Milwaukee), overwhelmingly of **small** publications. For example, only one of the newspapers that closed in this period, the SHEBOYGAN VOLKSBLATT, had a circulation listed at more than 1500. This represents then an initial stage of weakening of the status of the German-language press: Few new outlets founded and many small ones close. Perhaps the biggest factor driving down the number of titles being published is a substantial wave of mergers. Some of the most prominent and largest papers absorbed many of their competitors within the same town and even regionally … . Both the size of surviving papers and the increasingly regional focus exemplify Warren's shift from horizontal to vertical structures. The German-language press is participating in that change, itself becoming less local and more vertical, even before the press dies out or switches to English.

In addition to newspapers and magazines, local institutions such as churches and schools became increasingly connected with extracommunity institutions. Salmons explains,

> … before the Great Change local schools were more closely connected to local religious, political, and other institutions; after the Change they were more closely connected to a state board of education and national educational policy. This systematic transfer of power and authority weakened local ties almost everywhere in American society, including minority-language communities, unraveling the institutional threads of a social fabric indispensable for language maintenance (2005a:135).

Other previous documentation of shift includes the tapering off of German language use in Milwaukee Lutheran churches and the consolidation of several small town German presses (Lucht et al. 2011:362, 368). Such local presses were affected by a rise in technology that left them less financially viable. Lucht (2007) notes that although larger organizations were

able to afford new print technology, smaller publications often remained restricted to hand presses (p. 75).

The history of Cherokee language printing also provides insight into the process of shift. Printing technology in Cherokee originated after the invention of the Cherokee syllabary in the early 1820s. Devised independently by a Cherokee man named Sequoya, the syllabary divided the Cherokee language into 86 characters, each representing a syllable (McLoughlin 1986:351-352). The word *tsalagi*, meaning "Cherokee," for example, would be rendered: "ᏣᎳᎩ." The system allowed monolingual Cherokees to read and write in their own language. The Cherokee Nation, then headed in Georgia, translated its laws into the syllabary and obtained a printing press with a Sequoyan font (McLoughlin 1986:352). The printing press allowed the publication of official documents (McLoughlin 1986:352), a Cherokee translation of the New Testament, and a newspaper called the Cherokee Phoenix (Bender 2002:26). Although printing in the Cherokee Nation was violently interrupted during the late 1830s due to the removal of many Cherokees to what is now Oklahoma, newspapers, political materials, and religious materials continued to be printed throughout the 19th century (Bender 2002:26). Publications declined in the 20th century, but materials such as the Cherokee New Testament and Hymnal remained important indexes of identity to North Carolina Cherokees even in the 1990s (Bender 2002). Using sources such as publication and church records, it is possible to make testable claims about the degree of verticalization in a community, and how this affects language shift. We now turn to the methodology used to establish this tie in the current study.

2.2.5 Internal Verticalization

One recent innovation (Bousquette et al. in preparation) to the model of verticalization has been the concept of community-internal verticalization – the increasing of a community's vertical pattern, generally as a means of dealing with external institutions. This process usually entails either the appointment of individuals or groups to make decisions on behalf of the local community, or an individual or group's de facto assumption of that role. Examples include the election of local government officials, local business-owners' associations, or the expansion of a local restaurant into a centrally-administered local chain. Internal verticalization makes it possible for people in dense, multiplex networks inside a community to negotiate the degree to which they will permit connections to community-external organizations. Such connections are gate-like, in that they can be ongoing and open, or closed off entirely. The person or group in charge of negotiation with outsiders, therefore, is a gatekeeper.

The idea of internal verticalization is based on concepts laid out by Warren (1978) Milroy (1987), Bousquette & Ehresmann (2012), and Bousquette et al. (2011 and in preparation). Warren discusses the role of individual social units as they relate to extracommunity systems: "The offices occupied by the variety of local unit officials, whether voluntary or paid, are positions within both the local community social structure and the structure of an extracommunity system of which the local unit is a part. We are concerned here with their positions, or social locations, as they relate to an extracommunity system" (1978:253). Warren describes certain institutions as being "amphibious," in that they act both as community institutions and constituents of external

organizations. Such institutions must have some point of interface between those roles. This position could be filled by a single decision-maker or a group of people designated to interface with the external organization. Warren gives the example of the president of a local bridge club or the owner-operator of a local store (1978:254):

> Should the local bridge club affiliate itself with an extracommunity federation of bridge clubs or the local retailer affiliate with local retailers from other communities in a local distributing cooperative, the unit would in each case be involved in a relatively weak type of tie. The positions involved in the tie would involve the retailer's status as a member of the cooperative (or an officer, if he or she should be so elected) and the status of the president or other elected delegate of the local bridge club in the extracommunity federation.

Such people, Warren claims, are

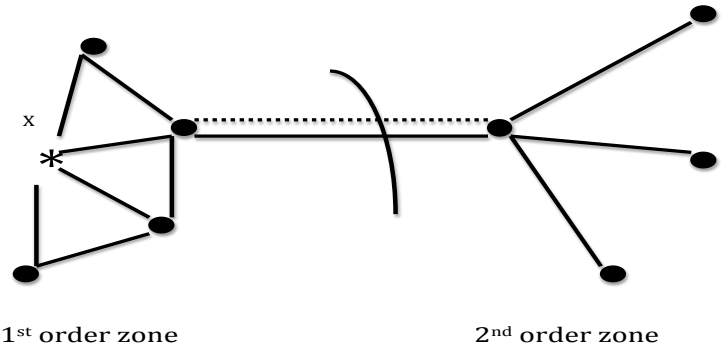
> … at once a part of the extracommunity system, having a corresponding position in its structure and behaving in regard to expectations of the extracommunity system, and also a part of the local community system, having an appropriate position in its structure and behaving in regard to expectations of the local community system. Such linkage roles are sometimes difficult to enact while meeting social expectations from the two different types of systems simultaneously. To the extent that such expectations diverge, it may become impossible to meet them to the satisfaction of both systems (1978:254).

There exists a potential division of interests between the extracommunity organization and the local community which must be dealt with by people occupying linkage roles. The decisions of such people will vary depending on the expectations placed upon them by the local community or the extracommunity organization. In some instances, this means that the organization fulfilling the linkage role is only a waypoint of the external organization. largely fulfilling its expectations at the expense of those of the community. An example of such a waypoint organization would be a branch of the local post office. Its function and operation is determined almost entirely by the federal government, with little regard to the desires of the local community. If these expectations prove incompatible with the desires of

both groups, the decision on which expectations to fulfill rests in the hands of the person or group in the linkage role.

Milroy (1987) discusses a similar social role in defining the fieldworker's link to local social networks. Using the concept of anchorage, or the network as conceived from the perspective of a single individual, she defines network zones by first and second orders. First order network zones are "… persons who are linked directly to ego" (1987:46). "Each of these people may be in contact with others whom ego does not know, but could come into contact with *via* his first order zone. These more distantly connected persons form ego's *second order zone*" (Milroy 1987:46). A connection with a person inside a dense social network may be established via that person's second order zone, or, in other words, a relationship comparable to a friend of a friend. This relationship is illustrated in **Figure 1**, a reproduction of Milroy's Figure 3.1 (1987:48).

Figure 1: Milroy's chart of first and second order zones (1987:48)



In Warren's terms, a second order zone connection would place ego's friend – the one who is part of ego's network and another network – in a linkage role. This person would connect,

for example, the high-density network of X in **Figure 1** with the low-density network in the second order zone.

People in linkage roles, or gatekeepers, have the ability to allow or deny access to the local community. While allowing ongoing access to local social networks – opening the gate entirely – leads to verticalization, Chapter 3 of this dissertation shows that permutations of this strategy exist as well. For Cherokees, the gate was often opened in order to access resources in the external society, and then re-closed once those resources had flowed into the community. This gate-keeping strategy is likely the result of a historical precedent in Cherokee society. Members of one of the seven Cherokee clans were employed as literal gatekeepers in order to regulate who was allowed into towns (Thomas Belt, Cherokee elder, personal communication). Regulating access to the community helped to retain political sovereignty. As Chapter 4 shows, German-American institutions did not generally re-close the gate in as many circumstances. Motivations for allowing access to local social structures are generally economic, especially when more resources and opportunity exist outside the local community.

2.3 Methodology

In order to apply the theoretical framework of verticalization to my analysis of language shift, it was necessary to acquire empirical data about the historical socioeconomic situations of both communities under study. Data on the social histories of these groups could then be examined in order to determine the extent to which the model of verticalization applied. The methodology used in this analysis of language shift among North Carolina Cherokees and Germans in Wisconsin establishes an empirical basis for the degree of verticalization these communities underwent over time and its correlation with

language shift. To obtain and document the broadest possible view of the process over time, I have consulted secondary sources, census data, and recorded personal interviews for both German and Cherokee populations.

Secondary sources such as monographs and local histories help to construct a sociohistorical profile of the communities I examine. For information on Wisconsin German communities I refer to Schmahl (2008) and Schlemper (2003). Information on other towns and individual institutions in eastern Wisconsin comes from local school histories, chiefly those dealing with the histories of Lutheran- or Catholic-affiliated parochial schools. To construct a general picture of Wisconsin history, I refer to the Wisconsin Historical Society's six-volume series, *The History of Wisconsin*. In combination, these sources detail various aspects of German communities' histories including settlement and relations with outsiders, and the founding and development of local churches and schools. Sources on Cherokee history include McLoughlin (1986), histories of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians by Finger (1984 and 1991), and work by Perdue (2003), and Perdue and Green (1995). These provide a picture of the communities' histories and their socioeconomic status over time and shed light on practices such as collective farming and consensus-based government that arise out of a particular set of cultural values. These are outlined in Chapter 3. By considering the modes of production active in each community over various periods, I infer what life-modes residents might have, and thereby also the probable density and multiplexity of their social networks. Social histories also provide insight into when, and to what extent extracommunity institutions interacted with the communities. One example of a vertical tie in the Cherokee township of Yellow Hill, for example, was the federal boarding school. The US government had taken over Cherokee education from the

Quakers in 1892 and the boarding school was overseen by a federal agent (Finger 1991:8-9). The boarding school represents a single branch of an organization whose headquarters lie outside the local community – specifically in Washington, D.C. Similarly, the interaction of individual Catholic churches in Wisconsin with the Vatican indicates a degree of verticalization.

While monographs, ethnohistorical works, and local histories provide a broad overview of the communities studied, quantitative information from census data provided a quantifiable link between speaker numbers and the social changes I observed in secondary sources. I used information from column 17 of the 1910 census – "whether able to speak English, if not, give language spoken," to determine how many monolingual speakers of each community language were present in the respective communities. Knowing the number of non-English-speaking monolinguals gave an index by which to judge the degree to which community members had or had not acquired English in 1910. Cross-referencing this information with information on individuals' occupations provided insight into the degree to which a town had developed specialized labor and increased vertical ties. Following Wilkerson & Salmons (2012:8-9), I also adopted the categories of presumed bilingual for individuals who reported an ability to speak English but lived in houses populated by at least one monolingual speaker of the community language. I then correlated the number of monolingual and presumed bilingual speakers with those individuals' occupations. Results generally confirmed a correlation between life-mode 1 and monolingualism. The more diverse a community member's labor, the less likely they were to be monolingual in their community language. Given the position of division of labor

as part of the Great Change (Warren 1978:56-57), this correlation is consistent with the model of verticalization.

To augment data from monographs and local histories, I conducted recorded interviews with current residents of each community. Consultants discussed their personal histories growing up in their communities and their recollections of how their communities had changed over time. They talked about their families' modes of production when they were children and young adults, their exposure to the extra-community society through media such as public schooling, radio, and television, and their own work histories. These often differed from the labor and life-modes of their parents. Many consultants were themselves speakers of their community languages, though often they were among the last generation in their community to grow up speaking them. Few consultants who were speakers transmitted their community languages to their children, even after the language had survived for multiple generations prior to their own births. Common reports indicated that school and work had a profound effect on what language consultants generally used. Using the methodology laid out here, the following chapter details the situation of shift in the first of two case studies, the Cherokee communities of western North Carolina.

Chapter 3: Language Shift Among the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians in North Carolina

3.1. Introduction

The verticalization-based model of language shift has been developed thus far almost exclusively in the context of immigrant communities in the United States, and especially in relation to German communities in Wisconsin. In order to test the model more thoroughly, this chapter investigates verticalization's correlation with shift in a group indigenous to its current area of residence – the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians of North Carolina (henceforth EBCI). Given the vastly different history and culture of the EBCI, testing the model in the context of Cherokee communities in western North Carolina broadens the model's applicability. In order to apply the verticalization-based model of shift, this chapter describes some historical Cherokee social structures and characterizes them in terms of Warren's notion of verticalization. For historical context I consulted sources such as Perdue (2003, 2005), Perdue & Green (1995), McLoughlin (1986), Bender (2002), and Finger (1984, 1991) among others. After introducing and identifying these structures, I discuss how they have changed over time, specifically with reference to the period Warren refers to as the Great Change. Finally, I discuss how changes in these social structures affected patterns of language shift. Applying the model in an indigenous community shows that it is effective in accounting for language shift not only in immigrant settings but also in indigenous ones. My empirical analysis also represents an advancement over previous accounts of shift.

The federal boarding school in the Cherokee township of Yellow Hill has been cited as one of the primary factors that contributed to language shift. The empirical evidence

presented in sections 3.3-3.5, however, paint a different picture. Duncan (1998) reports that community residents such as Rev. Robert Bushyhead were forced to speak English while they attended the boarding school and punished if they spoke Cherokee (p. 143). Duncan claims that this is the reason why many Cherokees did not pass the language on to their children (1998:143). As should be clear from earlier discussion, however, no individual factor was responsible for a community-wide shift from Cherokee to English. Indeed, such a complete shift has not occurred. Although social stigmatization and some tribal members' experiences at boarding school likely played a role in contributing to the process of shift, the widespread change in social networks accompanying verticalization extended its reach. Indeed, attending boarding school represents one example of verticalization. Each individual instance of verticalization among local institutions increased the pressure to shift to English. No individual instance, however, can be said to have triggered shift in the community as a whole.

Secondary historical sources, oral interviews and census data, presented in **Sections 3.3-3.5**, suggest that an increasing number of members of the EBCI began raising their children to be monolingual in English during the early 20th century. I argue here that the primary differentiating factor between the 20th century and other historical periods was the increasing degree of social contact that EBCI members had with people from outside their community, and the extent to which Cherokees became integrated into the larger American society during the Great Change. Increased social contact with outsiders in multiple domains altered traditional community structures that had supported the widespread use of Cherokee. As traditional community structures changed, domains of English use increased, while domains of Cherokee use decreased. Ultimately the number of

domains in which people used English instead of Cherokee became so great that parents began raising children to be monolingual in English. However, despite widespread contact with outsiders and that contact's correlation with shift, I also show that the tribe employed traditional cultural strategies in order to mitigate the effects of that contact, and thereby also shift. **Section 3.2** discusses the historical background of the EBCI and describes some important traditional social structures. **Section 3.3** examines how these social structures grew and changed over time, accommodating the arrival and increased accessibility of people from outside the Cherokees' local communities. **Section 3.4** orients these changes within the framework of the model of language shift employed here, applying evidence from secondary sources and interviews with contemporary EBCI tribal members on their experiences with language use over the course of their lives. This section also argues that the Great Change, verticalization, and increasing community interdependence triggered the breakup of traditional social networks that led to language shift among Eastern Band Cherokees. **Section 3.5** examines quantitative data on shift from the 1910 US Federal census and information on speaker numbers over time from several different Cherokee townships. **Section 3.6** concludes.

3.2. Background

The traditional Cherokee social structure was egalitarian, with decisions made by consensus in a council (Perdue 2005:5, 11). Chiefs, or headmen, were those who could influence people's opinions through skilled rhetoric (Hoig 1999:12-13). They led by persuasion and example (Finger 1984:4). Cherokee villagers consulted different chiefs depending on their circumstances. Peace chiefs (referred to as white chiefs), held sway during peace time and war chiefs (referred to as red chiefs) were consulted during war

(Hoig 1999:12). White chiefs were generally older men who were able to use their oratorical skills and their collected wisdom to influence people (Hoig 1999:12-13). They handled civic matters and facilitated orderly, democratic discussion during council meetings (Hoig 1999:12-13). Red chiefs were those who had garnered accolades in battles. During war time, red chiefs would be in charge of rallying warriors (Hoig 1999:13).

Besides civic and wartime roles, chiefs controlled access to foreign goods and spiritual power (Perdue 2005:48). This practice originated among southeastern Indians in the Mississippian cultural period, c.a. 800 A.D. (Perdue 2005:48). Mississippian societies were hierarchical and conflated military, political and spiritual power (Perdue 2005:48). Although the Mississippian culture fell into decline after arrival of Europeans, southeastern chiefs retained symbols of chiefly power, especially in the form of exotic goods not available to others (Perdue 2005:48). Goods that came from outside the tribal domain were considered to have come from a chaotic world filled with danger and substantial spiritual power (Perdue 2005:48). Goods from outside the community therefore had value beyond their material worth, in that they functioned as signs of chiefly power (Perdue 2005:48). The acquisition and proliferation of external sources of knowledge also represented chiefly authority. New religious concepts and rituals could be added to existing ones in order to increase spiritual power (Perdue 2005:53). Missionary schools were looked upon in a similar fashion (Perdue 2005:55). The ability to make skills such as reading, writing, and arithmetic available to tribal members was a secondary priority to establishing a school as a demonstration of chiefly power (Perdue 2005:55).

Another sign of chiefly power was the right of redistribution of goods. Chiefs received no tribute, but did control access to the public granary (Perdue 2005:49). Part of a

chief's authority rested on his ability to provide for people in the village and extend hospitality to visitors (Perdue 2005:49). European policies often gave chiefs control of economic resources and gifts. Many became wealthy by keeping a percentage of those resources as signs of chiefly power while redistributing the rest (Perdue 2005:50). Much of the wealth accrued in this manner was passed from men to their sisters' children, according to the obligations of the matrilineal clan system (Perdue 2005:59). Maternal uncles who successfully amassed signs of chiefly power and arrived in positions of authority would groom and position their nephews for leadership roles as well (Perdue 2005:40). Clans, therefore, were the source of rights and obligations.

The only coercive power in Cherokee society was that exercised by the clans (Finger 1984:5). Decisions about civic matters as well as warfare were made independently in each Cherokee town, as each town was an autonomous unit, but clans united people even between towns (Finger 1984:4-5). Membership in a clan conferred both citizenship and certain responsibilities – most notably that of blood revenge. Finger explains:

> To the extent that there was legal coercive power among the Cherokees, it resided within the clan in the form of blood revenge. A clan was obligated to repay in equal measure the murder of one of its own and was also responsible for its members' actions. Revenge for an injustice was a privileged action and not subject to further retribution. The clan system thus embodied restraints that precluded an endless chain of violence. To be without a clan, as was the case of some outsiders living among the Cherokees, was to be without identity as a human being. Such an individual could in theory be murdered with impunity, for there was no one to avenge his death (1984:5).

Clan kinship, therefore, was the only good option for getting along in Cherokee society. Consequently, outsiders who wished to deal with Cherokees needed to acquire familial connections. Clan affiliation could be gained only through birth or adoption (Perdue 2005:20), but marrying Cherokee women established particular rules of decorum for

dealing with outsiders (Perdue 2005:21). Outsiders who married into the community were treated as befitting the husband of a clan member and were sometimes even given Cherokee names (Perdue 2005:21). Receiving these names may have signaled their status as adoptive or fictive kin (Perdue 2005:21). Intermarriage particularly aided English traders among the Cherokees in the late 1700s by providing access to the Cherokee language. Wives were able to serve as translators and language instructors (Perdue 2005:19).

Because human beings fit into either the category of family or enemies (Perdue 2005:9), the clan system made it possible to adopt outsiders so that they could be interacted with peacefully. Being adopted from outside the community into one of the seven clans conferred Cherokee citizenship, along with the rights and protections that citizenship implied. In one instance in the 1770s, a trader named Samuel Bend presented a slave woman named Molly to the Cherokee Deer clan as recompense for a family member he had killed (Perdue 2005:5). The clan adopted Molly, who changed her name to Chickaw (Perdue 2005:5). Chickaw married a Cherokee man and had two sons. When a white woman came in 1833 to claim Chickaw and one of her sons as slaves whom she had inherited from her father, the Cherokee council refused on the grounds that Chickaw and her son were Cherokees (Perdue 2005:5). Whether one obtained clan status through birth or adoption, having it wove one tightly into the fabric of Cherokee society.

Because membership in a Cherokee clan meant being part of an extended family, Cherokee towns were characterized predominantly by horizontal structures and tight social networks. Milroy notes that such systems are often characterized by dense multiplex social networks, as individuals engage in reciprocity based on an equality of wants

(1987:179). Historically, tight regulation over who and what was able to enter the community allowed Cherokees to maintain their horizontal, egalitarian social structure. The traditional strategy for dealing with new people, goods, and knowledge that were deemed permissible, was to integrate them into Cherokee society and adapt them to Cherokee norms. The social structure ensured that those who entered were socialized into the norms of the community, including the Cherokee language. Chiefs and female clan members were able to act as gatekeepers – a role similar to that which Milroy (via Labov) refers to as a second-order tie (1987:48), and what Warren refers to as a linkage role (1978:254). The term gatekeeper highlights the chief's or clan's agency in deciding whether to allow access to the local social network or deny it. In this capacity, chiefs acquired and distributed wealth from outside the community, while the matrilineal clan system regulated citizenship. Regulating community access was a way for Cherokees to interact with other groups on their own terms. The role of chiefs as gatekeepers represents an internal vertical structure, as discussed in Section 2.2.5. Certain individuals within the community were able to make decisions for larger groups of people who were in horizontal relationships with each other. Because traditional Cherokee communities were able to maintain this structure, they were able to regulate the amount of contact they had with outside communities. That ability to regulate meant that they were historically not overwhelmed by outside influences, but rather were able to interface with them and eventually subsume them into the existing community structures by way of their chiefs.

Chiefs were responsible for acquiring not only material wealth but also new kinds of knowledge, such as religion. Because southeastern indigenous religions were inclusive rather than exclusive, new religious knowledge could be integrated into existing beliefs

(Perdue 2003:53). The clan structure functioned in a similar capacity for individuals. The social order maintained tight control over everyone who was adopted, and all goods and ideas brought into the community. Usually this meant that everything that came in was pulled into Cherokee social structures, rather than pulling Cherokees into external structures. This is one way a group can maintain autonomy.

Bringing people, institutions, and knowledge into the community meant that those entities enriched the community. Historically, Cherokees did not exist within the fabric of a larger nation than their own. Integrating outsiders from other tribal nations, therefore, was an exercise in national sovereignty. For language, that meant that no matter what or whom the tribe adopted, Cherokee was always the language used in the highest number of social domains. Because outsiders became Cherokee, they came into a situation where the Cherokee language was the one most frequently used in daily life. Because Cherokees had control over whom and what they adopted, people and ideas came in on Cherokee terms. All social domains remained under the control of people who spoke Cherokee. If someone was adopted from another tribe, or even from a settler community, they and/or their children became Cherokee speakers.

If someone entered the community and for some reason did not learn to speak Cherokee, their children typically did learn it, occasionally at the expense of learning their immigrant parent's language. In one situation, this was the case with an English speaker whose children did not learn English. According to Perdue (2003, following Norton 1816), "John Norton, a Mohawk who visited relatives in the Cherokee Nation in the first decade of the nineteenth century, encountered a Scottish trader who lived with his wife and children, some of whom were adults, but could not converse with them" (Perdue 2003:36).

According to Norton, this Scottish trader had a Cherokee wife and children who could speak Cherokee, though he could not speak it himself. The claim that he "could not converse with them" also suggests that the mother's influence in Cherokee society on children's language acquisition was greater than the influence of the father. Given the matrilineal nature of Cherokee society and the clan system's strong influence on children's socialization, it is unlikely that the children spoke English. Anecdotes like this suggest that even if newcomers did not learn the language, their children were integrated into the society via the matrilineal clan system and did do so.

The clan system represented an organizational superstructure of horizontal familial ties. It united people without deference to the authority of any centralized organization, with reference to the relationship between mothers and children as the defining unit of membership. It represented the strong, tight-knit social structures that existed among matrilineal relatives at the local level, and united people through kinship ties even between Cherokee towns. Cherokee systems of regulation for entry into the community helped maintain horizontal egalitarian social structures, which allowed Cherokee to remain the dominant language used within the community.

Much of the political history of the EBCI in North Carolina remains separate from that of the Cherokee Nation after the Nation's removal to what is now Tahlequah, Oklahoma. Although there was contact between the two groups via letters, family gatherings, and as the result of a few Oklahoma Cherokees' return to the homeland, the political events that affected the two groups were markedly different. The group of Cherokees that would form the Cherokee Nation had more extensive contacts with Euro-Americans from an earlier time period, often due to conflicts with them over Cherokee land.

Cherokees in North Carolina, by contrast, remained relatively geographically isolated. McLoughlin (1986:57, 119) notes that the Valley Towns of North Carolina were considered among the most culturally conservative and poorest Cherokee communities. Part of the reason for this was the mountains of western North Carolina. Before 1900 there was no way to access the communities without an arduous journey. Anyone visiting would have had to depart Asheville via the Southern Railroad, heading west through Waynesville, Sylva, and finally Whittier. From there, a traveler would have needed to hire a wagon for the journey to the town of Yellow Hill, now known as downtown Cherokee (Finger 1991:2). This geographical isolation was one factor that kept the Cherokee communities separate from neighboring non-Cherokee communities. Limited interaction with outsiders meant that there was relatively little need for Cherokees to learn or use English.

Over time, increasing interactions with Anglo-Americans led to a preference for leaders with more knowledge of English. Many of these leaders were the descendants of European men who had married into powerful Cherokee families (Perdue 2003:23-24). One reason for this was that Cherokees realized early on that marrying European traders brought material advantages, and powerful Cherokee families tried to monopolize intermarriage to capitalize on that advantage (Perdue 2003:24). Perdue explains that after the Cherokee towns known as the Chickamauga towns in northwestern Georgia were invaded in the early 1790s,

> Diplomacy and accommodation promised the best hope for stemming the tide of white settlement and protecting the homelands of southern Indians. Family connections and traditional accomplishments continued to matter, but familiarity with Anglo-American customs, some knowledge of English, an openness to culture change, and a steadfast resolve to resist land cessions also became important considerations in the choice of leaders (2003:43).

In order to retain their lands, leaders began to need English to make decisions on behalf of their people. This allowed them to serve effectively in their position as gatekeepers. Because of their successes, Cherokees managed to retain some land in western North Carolina. Today that land is called the Qualla Boundary, after the Quallatown settlement, approximately 15 miles northeast of the Little Tennessee River (Finger 1984:13). The boundary is divided up into townships, many of whose names reference the Cherokee clans: Yellow Hill, Paint Town, Bird Town, Big Cove, Wolf Town, Big Y, and Snowbird. Tribal government today is centered in the township of Yellow Hill and administered by a council of representatives from each township and headed by a chief and vice chief. The formation of such a government structure, discussed below, provided an effective means of dealing with the US government and other outside organizations. This political status was hard-won, as Cherokee residents were continually forced by outsiders to defend their land claims.

Many residents of the Qualla Boundary are able to live in North Carolina today in large part because of a government promise that accompanied an 1819 land cession treaty and because of the actions of a man named William Holland Thomas. The promise accompanying the land cession treaty stipulated that individual heads of households could remain in the ceded area by applying for individual 640-acre reservations and becoming citizens of the United States (Finger 1984:10). Cherokee leaders such as the conservative chiefs Euchella and Yonaguska took advantage of these promises, claiming United States citizenship (Finger 1984:11). Even though this should have guaranteed them the right to keep their land, Euchella was forced to defend his reservation in an 1824 court case called *Euchella v. Welsh* (Finger 1984:11). The case arose because the state of North Carolina had

sold Euchella's reservation to someone else. Euchella's ability to defend his claim in court suggests familiarity with Anglo-American customs and likely some knowledge of English.

Although North Carolina Cherokees living in the ceded areas on reservations were no longer within the political boundaries of the Cherokee Nation, the signing of the Treaty of New Echota in 1835 put them at risk. The treaty, signed by a small minority of Cherokee Nation citizens, ceded all Cherokee lands in the southeast for a sum of $5 million and required that all Cherokees move west of the Mississippi within two years (Finger 1984:16). This move would come to be known as the Trail of Tears. Chief Yonaguska's adopted son, William Holland Thomas, became instrumental in helping North Carolina Cherokees retain their right to remain in their homeland. Thomas had become the tribe's legal counsel in 1831 (Finger 1984:13), and was able to represent them in conferences in Washington before the Treaty of New Echota's ratification (Finger 1984:17). Thomas successfully argued that North Carolina Cherokees possessed a claim on the Treaty of New Echota's financial benefits by birthright, which he was able to collect. Thomas used the money to buy up land and necessities for tribal members who needed them (Finger 1984:17).

Despite Thomas's best efforts, some Cherokee residents of North Carolina were less fortunate and had to flee from US soldiers to avoid removal. Many escaped into the mountains and hid (Finger 1984:21). Some were more brazen in their defiance of the removal than others. Finger relates the stories of Hog Bite, a 97-year-old man who threatened soldiers with a rifle, and Tsali, who fled after killing a soldier who had mistreated his wife (1984:21-22). Concerned that such fugitives would jeopardize the right

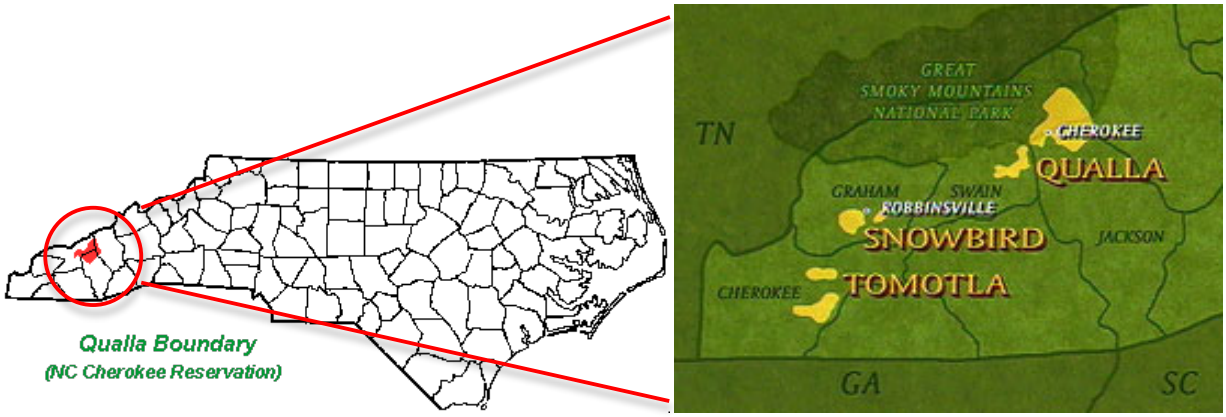
of Quallatown Cherokees to remain on their land, Will Thomas employed the help of Euchella to apprehend and execute Tsali (Finger 1984:24-27).

By 1838, the majority of Cherokees had been removed to the west via the now infamous Trail of Tears (Finger 1984:28). Those who remained behind, whether by legal right or by hiding in the mountains, were ignored by the War Department, who deemed the expense and effort of removing them not worthwhile (Finger 1984:28). Thus, the approximately 1,100 remaining Cherokees (Finger 1984:29) were granted tacit permission to remain, as long as they abided North Carolina laws and the state did not object. By the time Yonaguska died, his son Thomas became the de facto chief of the Quallatown Cherokees (Finger 1984:31). In an effort to restore the tribal homeland, Thomas began buying parcels of land piecemeal. These purchases were funded by Thomas's own money and a federal disbursement in recompense to North Carolina Cherokees for their equitable interest in the tribal domain (Finger 1984:44). Although they had not moved west, Thomas argued, NC Cherokees were still entitled to the $53.33 per person they were promised by the Treaty of New Echota for transportation to Indian Country in what is now Oklahoma (Finger 1984:44). By 1842, the parcels of land amounted to 50,000 acres, the largest block of which became what is now the Qualla Boundary (Finger 1984:44). In order to officially grant the land to the Qualla Cherokees, Thomas organized them into a corporation under an 1836 North Carolina law providing for the establishment of silk and sugar corporations with himself as chief executive officer (Finger 1984:44). The Cherokee Company served as a way to hold land for the tribe until it was formally recognized by congress in 1862 (Finger 1984:105). A formal relationship with the federal government led Cherokees to elect one person to represent their interests in Washington. 1868 saw the formation of the first

annual tribal council and the drafting of a constitution (Finger 1984:107). The constitution specified that each community should elect a delegate for every 150 people to represent them in general council. The council would then elect a chief for a period of not more than 4 years (Finger 1984:107). The formation of a more American-style government in order to deal with the United States government represents internal verticalization.

The period of the late 1800s and early 1900s represented the beginning of a transitional period for the communities, as more Eastern Cherokees were beginning to adopt lifestyles similar to their white neighbors. Many lived in log cabins that were similar to those built by poor rural whites, farmed, hunted, and fished. Many began moving away from matrilineal society and toward more male dominance. Some had even converted to "… a nominal kind of Christianity" (Finger 1984:60-61). Still, many traditional ways and practices remained intact (Finger 1984:153). In an effort to "civilize" Cherokees further, Indian Agent James Henderson planned a fair in 1914. He hoped it would encourage the tribe to have more contact with the surrounding local communities of western North Carolina. Working with the Agent, the tribal council initiated the Cherokee Fair in 1914 (Finger 1991:32). The fair became an annual event, and laid some of the groundwork for a series of interactions that would have lasting ramifications on the community's social structure and linguistic practices.

Figure 2: Current locations of the Cherokee communities



Data from: http://www.ncgenweb.us/cherokeereservation/nc-chero.gif, http://www.knowitall.org/periscope/pageimages/allcherokeecommunities.jpg

Because Cherokee clans historically upheld the law of blood revenge, law enforcement had always been informal. It was maintained by local clan members rather than consolidated into the hands of a single organization. As such, enforcement of laws depended on horizontal social networks. Decision-making in general was done by consensus, though individuals could withdraw from participation in an activity decided by council. Because of this consensus-based decision-making, power was diffuse rather than concentrated. Mechanisms like social ridicule, shunning, or joking were used to reinforce behavior (McLoughlin 1986:11-12), but no *one* individual had the power to compel another's choices. Behavior among Cherokee community members was also largely governed by the Harmony Ethic "… a traditional concept among the Cherokees embodying … the main characteristics of non-aggressiveness, non-competitiveness, the use of third party negotiators to avoid interpersonal confrontations, and generosity" (Swafford 2009:20). According to laws of blood, kinship, respect, and reciprocity, people in Cherokee towns would enforce rules, to the point that most individuals would have generally known

their clan and/or village's values. Decision-making power and authority were distributed among members of the community, making the clan system a horizontal structure. It was governed by relationships of people in Cherokee towns without regard to a non-local entity or organization. This horizontal social structure set the precedent for Cherokee behavior toward outside organizations. As I demonstrate in section 3.3 below, these cultural patterns persisted well into the 20th century and shaped the way Cherokees dealt with the Great Change. By sticking close to their traditions, Cherokees maintained social structures that were conducive to language maintenance.

One institution which served the purpose of regulating relationships and behaviors was the ᏍᏚᏩ (gadugi). Besides being a "… free labor society, which coordinated agricultural activities and expanded into areas of relief for the needy," the ᏍᏚᏩ "… illustrates societal obligations in the form of gifts." Those the ᏍᏚᏩ helped would be socially obligated to provide its members with a meal after the work was done. Not participating in the activities of the ᏍᏚᏩ could gain a person a reputation as disrespectful to fellow community members (Swafford 2009:8, 12). During the 18th century white chiefs would summon the ᏍᏚᏩ together to help those in need (Swafford 2009:25). Through its regulation of community labor, the ᏍᏚᏩ assured equal access to resources such as housing and food. It consolidated efforts in order to benefit all members of the community. Economist Matthew Gregg identifies the ᏍᏚᏩ's farming strategy as "… an optimal response to the high variation in self-sufficiency levels during the nineteenth century" that would "… ensure individuals against the idiosyncratic risk inherent in agricultural-based societies (2008:2). Because individual households were not all alike in their degree of self-sufficiency, pooling the risk of farming helped the community achieve subsistence for all members. This put community

members into a reciprocity network that Lesley Milroy might describe as an equality of wants (1987:179). Such networks are described as being dense and multiplex, promoting a high degree of solidarity (1987:82) and adherence to linguistic norms (1987:134).

The existence of individuals who were able to summon the members of a ᏍᏚᎩ (gadugi) together is reflective of the traditional role of a headman or chief. In a culture primarily built around egalitarianism and a community-centered mentality, a chief served as a point of consolidation; a gatekeeper for wealth and a provider of hospitality. Because wealth and knowledge were distributed equitably, they served to increase and become part of the Cherokee town itself. In a similar fashion, the labor of individuals adopted into a clan also served to benefit the community. By being adopted into a clan, a person acquired all the rights, privileges, and obligations of Cherokee society (Perdue 2003:5-8). This included participation in community work, such as the ᏍᏚᎩ. In practice, being adopted into the social order also meant developing dense, multiplex ties that enforced linguistic norms.

Even during James Mooney's research in 1887, tribal interpreter James Blythe served as a gatekeeper for Mooney, connecting him with Swimmer, a primary informant. Mooney became integrated into the social network, "… learned the Cherokee language and quickly became a fixture in tribal life, conversing with young and old and melting away initial suspicions" (Finger 1984:153). Once Blythe had used his English skills to assist Mooney in connecting to the community, the social structure brought Mooney in. The extent of his integration can be seen in the responses other researchers received when they mentioned his name. Finger quotes Frans Olbrechts, arriving for his fieldwork in 1926, as saying that Mooney's name "served as the best introduction I could have desired. People who looked askance, and medicine men who looked sullen when first approached, changed

as if touched by a magic wand as they heard his name and as I explained my connection with his work" (Finger 1991:56-57). As Blythe's example shows, Cherokees' knowledge of English initially served to increase their own power and bring outsiders into the community rather than connect Cherokees with outside institutions. Being able to speak English was a benefit to politicians like Blythe and other council members who needed to deal with the US government and other outsiders. Maintaining sovereignty, however, meant striking a balance between dealing with outside institutions and becoming embedded in them.

While some Cherokees such as chiefs and/or politicians used English when they dealt with external organizations, these dealings were initially somewhat constrained and regulated because of the traditional preference for bringing outsiders in. Knowledge and use of English were mechanisms by which people could increase their perceived power and deal with outsiders. It was not until later that English became more widely used within internal Cherokee social structures, generally after more vertical ties had been established. The following section shows how Cherokees balanced the formation of vertical structures with their traditional pattern of integrating outsiders.

The traditional Cherokee town structure as described above is effectively a strategy of internal verticalization, in which gatekeepers regulate the flow of outsiders based on their benefit to the community and its egalitarian ideals. As discussed in Chapter 2, the process of internal verticalization involves consolidating decision-making power in a single person within the community, as Cherokees did with their chiefs. Such people play a linkage role between extracommunity institutions and local networks. In Cherokee society, acquiring and integrating outsiders was the traditional strategy. This process later served

as a template for shaping community institutions. Having internal vertical structures allowed people and organizations such as chiefs and the tribal council to interact with outsiders on behalf of people within the community, insulating local networks to some degree against dissolution. Regulating community access preserved traditional horizontal social networks by limiting interactions with external organizations. This preservation of social structures and limited contact meant that community members were still able to use Cherokee in most aspects of their daily lives.

Part of the reason behind the traditional town structure was the way Cherokee people saw kinship, and even personhood itself. The strategy of internal verticalization, regulation of outsiders, and the process of acquiring entities from outside the local community derives from an older strategy for dealing with threats. Historically it was only by temporarily or permanently becoming family that people from outside the community were able to access Cherokee community life. By assigning people kinship status or allowing them to marry into the community, Cherokees (especially chiefs) were able to acquire those people's wealth in the form of goods and labor, which they would then redistribute throughout the community. Kinship status was no trifle, as the only other category one could fit into was effectively non-human. Perdue explains, "For southern Indians, human beings fell into two camps – relatives, who belonged within the community, and enemies, who did not. If a person had no ties of kinship to the community and no position within it, Native southerners regarded that person as an enemy, and enemies had no rights, not even the right to live" (2003:9). This made practices of adoption and notions of fictive kinship incredibly important. People in the category of enemy would not necessarily be killed, but there would be no penalty from within the Cherokee communities

for doing so. Verticalization towards non-local entities and organizations was therefore more tightly regulated at an early stage. While the number of outside organizations they dealt with was comparatively low, Cherokees engaged with outside entities by taking them in and making them Cherokee rather than becoming part of another society. In this way, Cherokees maintained autonomy and strength. Based on this template, internal verticalization, adoption, and redistribution much later became valuable strategies not only for economics and language revitalization, but also for the general assertion of sovereignty.

3.3. Transition & Changes

During the early 20th century, the formerly geographically isolated portions of western North Carolina that were home to Cherokee communities witnessed growing connections to organizations and entities originating outside the tribal domain. The first Model T Fords appeared on the reservation in 1914, and within a decade a network of paved roads – a product of the Federal highway acts of 1916 and 1921 – connected the counties of western North Carolina (Finger 1991:55). While Cherokees had interacted with locals in the region to some extent for many years, the construction of the new roads made it possible to encounter outsiders more frequently. New roads brought a wide variety of tourists, businesses, and industries, as well as more reliable services to tribal members. Though increasing interconnectedness with non-local communities pulled Cherokees into the Great Change, Cherokees often pulled back. Utilizing the traditional strategies of internal verticalization, adoption, and distribution into the community, Cherokees in western North Carolina maintained organizations such as the ᏍᏏᏉ (gadugi) and set up new organizations whose tight-knit social structures still reflected those of the old Cherokee town. By doing so,

they preserved some traditional horizontal social networks. Although even members of these social networks eventually shifted to English, they were often socially conservative individuals who were among the last to do so. This section gives an overview of some local organizations and the ways they employed traditional strategies to negotiate the relationships between North Carolina Cherokees, the federal government, and other Appalachian communities. Section one discusses the Cherokee Boys Club, which originated out of a vertical tie between the federal government and the boarding school. Section two examines the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual Co-op, a product of increased Cherokee participation in extracommunity sales of traditional crafts. Section three addresses the changes in the Cherokee educational system, from the influence of the federal boarding school through the tribe's adoption of education as a tribally governed enterprise. Each scenario illustrates the tribe's forming of vertical ties with extracommunity organizations and its steps to bring them under community control according to the traditional town structure.

3.3.1. The Cherokee Boys Club

The organization now known as the Cherokee Boys Club began as the Cherokee Boys Farm Club in 1932 under the auspices of the federal boarding school in the township of Yellow Hill. Though it originated within a program with strong vertical ties to the US government, Cherokees eventually transformed it into a program more suited to their traditions: a horizontally structured institution that worked for the mutual benefit of tribal members. Just as chiefs had traditionally subsumed organizations from outside, the tribal council subsumed the Boys Farm Club. Examining the preservation of traditional horizontal social

structures can provide insight into the endurance of the Cherokee language in the community and avenues to revitalize it.

The original intention of the Boys Farm Club was to teach students non-indigenous agricultural production techniques, all while the farming organization of the ᏀᏍᎩ (gadugi) still quietly continued to operate in providing assistance to the needy (Swafford 2009:59). While the Farm Club represented a vertical tie to the federal government, the traditional horizontal organization of the ᏀᏍᎩ (gadugi) was still active. This tension between new and traditional social structures represented a transitional period during which language shift began. The school, a local waypoint of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, intended to socialize Cherokee youths and teach them the means of production of the larger society. This was one aspect of the US government's attempt to socialize Cherokees into becoming more like Anglo-Americans. Cherokees — whose chiefs, as laid out above, had traditionally possessed a keen interest in acquiring knowledge from outside their own communities — found this knowledge a welcome addition to what they already knew about farming. Schools, as discussed, had become a symbol of chiefly authority (Perdue 2003:55). Community members approached the program with enthusiasm, as attendance at club meetings averaged 375 students per year in the early 1930s (Swafford 2009:59). The club continued to operate throughout the 1940s, as its members acquired valuable agricultural training via its vertical connection to the BIA Farm Agent. The Agent offered "… a series of meetings and training sessions on maintaining field crops, Victory Gardens, soil improvement techniques, farm leases and general extension work … . The topics of the January meetings included farm planning and organization to better meet the needs of war, in accordance with the Rural War Production Training Program" (Swafford 2009:73-74).

Learning about farming from a federal agent and participating in the war effort were both ways Cherokees became more interconnected with the larger American society. The government agent represented a vertical tie from the community to a non-local entity: the federal government. That non-local entity, often historically because of coercion and force, possessed considerable decision-making power. Participation in the war effort, which the Indian Agent encouraged, also represented a growing sense of connection with the larger American society. Cherokees joined with many other nodes of support across the country by growing victory gardens, banding together with other communities across the country against a common enemy. In doing so, they became less locally-oriented and more a part of the national society. Because neither the Agent nor coordinators of the war effort learned Cherokee, however, interacting with them meant another domain in which Cherokees had to use English.

Although the Cherokee Boys Farm Club's connection to the war effort denotes a degree of verticalization, Swafford notes that the club "… later utilized the various types of training received from these government farm programs as they became a successful tribal enterprise in the 1960s" (Swafford 2009:76). The tribe, after making this vertical connection, integrated the program into itself. After World War II, United States government policy moved toward restoring traditional life ways among American Indians. Commission of Indian Affairs John Collier's Community New Deal Program "… attempted to unite individuals on a basis of shared values at the local level. Cooperation replaced competition, especially in economic activities and people became more involved in group life and self-government as federal programs during the New Deal era promoted group solidarity and grass-roots participation" (Swafford 2009:84). According to Swafford,

> [t]he adaptation of the concept of *gadu:gi* [Swafford's spelling] to the newly emerging tourism industry allowed the EBCI community leaders to transform their communities into the local functioning democracies which existed prior to European contact in the form of their old town organizations. The federal government's farm programs and academic focus on agricultural practices and job training allowed the EBCI to increase the responsibilities of the Cherokee Boys Farm Club and provide the foundations for a highly successful and traditionally-oriented tribal enterprise" (2009:85).

Making the enterprise traditionally-oriented, of course, entailed making it horizontal, operating for the general benefit of the community. After the New Deal programs of the 1940s allowed a return to traditional ways of community organization – a sort of de-verticalization – the Lyndon Johnson administration provided additional economic assistance in the form of the Economic Opportunity Act (Swafford 2004:16). After the formation and training of the Boys Farm Club under government-assisted programs, the tribe incorporated the Club in 1964, shortening the name to the Boys Club (Swafford 2004:16). The club went on to acquire a school bus contract from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, (BIA) and serve many important infrastructural functions within the tribe. When the tribe incorporated the club, the drivers resigned from the BIA to continue working for the club (Swafford 2004:17). Such an incorporation represents a traditional Cherokee response to outside organizations – acquire, adopt, and distribute for mutual benefit. Even the General Manager of the Boys Club, Raymond Kinsland, originally a BIA teacher from outside the community, was adopted as an honorary member of the tribe in 1968. He was given a Cherokee name and "… accorded full rights and privileges reserved for chiefs" (Swafford 2004:21). Where good leadership existed, it too became Cherokee.

Although the tribe made vertical connections with organizations outside the local community, they generally attempted to acquire knowledge from those organizations and then subsume them into becoming part of the local community. In the case of the Boys

Farm Club, knowledge and funding came from the federal government. Rather than maintaining a standing relationship with the government in the form of this program, however, the tribe quickly took steps to integrate the knowledge and the organization into the local community. Integration of the Boys Farm Club and its subsequent name change to simply the Cherokee Boys Club suggest adherence to traditional understandings of community planning, which preserved autonomy while integrating new wealth, knowledge, and citizens. Traditional planning strategies regulated the duration and degree of contact with outsiders while preserving existing horizontal social networks. This meant that while Cherokees charged with representing the tribe to organizations like the US government or the Bureau of Indian Affairs had occasion to use English, absorbing the organizations obviated that need. Still, in many circumstances, the simultaneous need to use English in dealing with multiple outside organizations led to a prevalence in the number of social domains in which people used English. When attendance at schools, clubs, craft fairs, factory and lumber industry jobs, and various other workplaces each represented an obligation to learn and use English, the combination of circumstances began proving too much to regulate. Because of this, many families became accustomed to using English, and did not stop even once certain individual organizations, such as the Boys Club, had been subsumed. Although the tribe was integrating organizations into the local community structure, the dense, multiplex social ties that had regulated linguistic norm adherence had already been broken. Additionally, an ever-increasing number of organizations the tribe had not yet subsumed meant that while some organizations had been brought under community control, new vertical ties were always being created.

3.3.2. Qualla Arts & Crafts Mutual Inc.

Though trade among Cherokees and non-Cherokee residents of western NC existed as a cottage industry for years (Duggan 1997:33), increased accessibility brought changes. Whereas the production of items such as baskets or pottery was historically part of the labor women typically did out of necessity (Duggan 1997:34), that production eventually evolved into a commodity for tourists and a medium of self-expression (Duggan 1997:40-41). Increased economic interest from outsiders in traditional crafts led to increased specialization of labor. This division of labor re-oriented social networks in the domain of craft production, as artisans began affiliating with others who plied the same trade rather than those who merely lived close by. Other dedicated craftspeople in the region, however, were generally English speakers. As contact with individuals from outside the region increased, Cherokees found it more and more lucrative to peddle traditional arts and crafts to interested buyers (Duggan 1997:38-39). Because non-Cherokee buyers and sellers seldom spoke Cherokee, doing business with them meant that Cherokees seeking to sell or purchase crafts had to either learn some English or be accompanied by an English speaker. The crafts trade began to formalize as an institution alongside the arrival of the first automobiles in the region – in the form of the Cherokee Fair in 1914 (Finger 1991:32, 55). The tribal council made the decision to host the fair in conjunction with the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. This is an example of an internal vertical structure, the council, serving as an intermediary to an external institution. Because the council consists of individuals elected by the various Cherokee townships, decision-making power is consolidated in them. As a gatekeeper, this internal vertical structure made a connection to an external vertical structure that was part of the larger society. The tribal council's dealing with the federal

government to establish the fair is an example of verticalization. The fair as an institution connected certain Cherokees with individuals from outside their community and outside their region in the form of tourists (Finger 1991:98). The fair represented a first step in a progression of increased interaction. As a yearly event, communication with outsiders was limited, but its instantiation represented an avenue along which relations could continue. As the success of the fair led to increasing dependence on craft sales and tourism as a source of income, Cherokees had to begin using more and more English with tourists. Later, the boarding school received funding from the Indian Arts and Crafts Board – one of Superintendent of Indian Affairs John Collier's Indian New Deal programs (Duggan 1997:37-38). This federal funding and its placement in the boarding school represent further vertical ties. Consequently, sales to tourists and classes in the boarding school were both domains in which people used English. The boarding school existed to socialize Cherokee children into the norms of the greater society anyway, which already meant teaching them English. Funding from the federal government represented a connection to the resources of an external institution, and to anyone who was responsible for delivering and securing that funding. Such a connection meant another domain for English use. Cherokees' use of the funding, however, illustrates the degree of negotiation at play in the relationship between the government and the tribe. Despite its origins in connection with external institutions, the New Deal funding provided a way for Cherokees to gain a greater measure of control over craft production and its benefit to them via local consolidation. Although the craft program introduced changes in the social structure via increased interaction in English with people from outside the community, Cherokees again found a way to absorb the outside institution and preserve local horizontal social networks. While

they used more English to do so, they brought the organization back to being a Cherokee institution.

As tourism increased, Cherokees found themselves in competition with other local Appalachian craftspeople. In response, many basket weavers began integrating Anglo-American and European designs into traditional forms of Cherokee basketry (Duggan 1997:37). The emergence of basket weaver as an occupation indicates a new degree of labor specialization among Cherokees. Simultaneously, competition and increased engagement with other craftspeople displays a growing orientation toward the larger society based on interest. Artisans became keenly interested in people who shared their profession, instead of occupying themselves primarily with others who lived in their neighborhood or town. Conversations with these people, were necessarily in English. This pattern continued, as the Cherokee Indians became members of the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild. With this membership, Cherokee craftspeople had become part of a southeastern network of craftspeople. As competition drove Cherokee craftspeople to improve, however, "… representatives of the Eastern Band of Cherokees, BIA, Department of Agriculture, and IACB pushed for the addition of crafts instruction to the curriculum of the Cherokee Boarding School" (Duggan 1997:38). Crafts instruction at the school presented the perfect opportunity for Cherokees to enact their traditional strategy toward extra-community organizations. Now having the means to consolidate and subsume the outside knowledge provided by the federally-orchestrated training programs, Cherokees formed a cooperative organization that provided for the mutual benefit of its members – the Cherokee Indian Crafts Co-op, which today is known as Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual, Inc. Cherokees were likely very comfortable with the structure of a cooperative business.

Its structure resonated with the traditional values of other organizations such as the ᏀᏍᎩ (gadugi), which they likely would have witnessed during their childhoods (Duggan 1997:42-43). Duggan reports,

> "In 1946, fifty-three Cherokee craftspeople organized the Cherokee Indian Crafts Co-op. A number of the founders had participated in the Cherokee Boarding School crafts program, or sold through its sale shop. Nearly half of the early Co-op members were female basket weavers … . Perhaps as many as three-quarters of the founders spoke Cherokee or were bilingual, indicating a high degree of cultural conservatism in the early membership" (1997:39).

Part of the founders' cultural conservatism likely included familiarity with traditional horizontal town structures. Although it originated in competition and interaction with English-speaking people from outside the community, the founders of the co-op responded to that competition and interaction in a typical Cherokee fashion. As an egalitarian organization, the co-op's decisions are still made by consensus and passed unanimously. Officers are not perceived as part of a hierarchical chain of command, and the co-op provides a means for members to pool resources for mutual economic benefit (Duggan 1997:44). Although the structure of the organization is ostensibly similar to a corporation, the fact that members are perceived as equals and mutually benefit from contributions reflects an instantiation of traditional patterns. "Day-to-day operation of the co-op (including buying, marketing, benefits allocation, and training and educational programs)," Duggan notes, "… is implemented through the cooperative's manager and staff … . These individuals form an interface between cooperative members … and interested outsiders, who include potential customers, journalists, researchers, and crafts exposition developers" (Duggan 1997:44). Using members of the co-op's staff as go-betweens carries on a tradition of employing intermediaries "… to deal with situations of potential crisis or conflict that threaten traditional values or lifeways" (Duggan 1997:45, following Kupferer 1966). The

members of the co-op's staff represent another internal vertical structure, in that they are empowered to fill many of the co-op's functions on behalf of the membership. In serving as an intermediary between customers and individual artists, the staff also mitigates direct social and linguistic connection with outsiders, thereby preserving existing horizontal networks. For those artists who are less comfortable using English, the intermediary's presence can obviate the need to learn it in order to sell their crafts.

As tourism came to replace agriculture as the primary means of economic production, Cherokees in western North Carolina responded in traditional ways. Although the communities did begin negotiating ties with extra-communal entities in the form of tourism, federal programs, and the teachers at the boarding school, New Deal programs provided the mechanisms they needed to reestablish a measure of autonomy. In doing so, Cherokees instituted organizational systems that reflected traditional values of harmony, mutual dependency and obligation. Rather than allowing the practice of craft production to be integrated into extra-communal organizations, Cherokees consolidated the activity into a cooperative that resembled other traditional institutions. Using internal verticalization to allow them to interface with outside organizations, Cherokees negotiated the establishment of vertical ties. These ties often led certain members of internal vertical organizations to learn and use some English. In the case of Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual, Inc., this became the role of the management and staff. Because of the way internal verticalization regulated outside organizations' community access, no individual instance of this allowed English use to become widespread. By mitigating the degree of contact tourists, journalists, researchers, and the like had with artists, for example, the co-op staff provided a buffer. Because it was the staff's role to interact with English-speaking clients,

individual co-op members were under no particular pressure to learn and use English regularly because of their affiliation with the craft industry. Instead, multiple instances of connections with outsiders in other domains such as factory work, school, employment in the tourist industry, and work by some as migrant workers led to increasing English use in the community at large. Enough of these combined connections led to a tipping point at which children began being raised monolingual in English.

3.3.3. Cherokees and Religion

The advent of Christianity, largely in the form of Baptist and Methodist missionaries, brought tension to the EBCI. Although members approached the new religion with the same general strategy as they approached most outside influences, membership in Christian denominations entailed vertical ties. Because of their traditional religion's inclusivity, initial Cherokee interpretations of Christianity were highly syncretic. Cherokees initially tried to absorb the church, treating it as a typical source of external wealth and knowledge. By 1913, the Baptist denomination had become particularly preeminent in Cherokee (Finger 1991:73-74). Reasons for this preeminence included an informal organization, a high degree of autonomy among individual congregations, and the firm Baptist allegiances of nearby whites; many of whom had intermarried with Cherokees (Finger 1991:74). This religious commonality between Cherokees and people from outside the local community formed a sort of cultural bridge, linking the two groups. Despite the church's initial emphasis on congregational autonomy, many Baptist groups began instituting administrative bureaucracies similar to those of government or business during the Great Change (Warren 1978:198). Becoming Baptists, therefore, tied converts to the

external society. Being part of an emerging Baptist hierarchy meant that Cherokees could not integrate the church into the tribe and sever external ties. By definition, doing so would have meant they were no longer part of the organization. These new vertical ties began to correlate with language shift, as more services began to be conducted in English (Finger 1991:74). This section examines the tension between tradition and Christianity and note how it persists into the present.

Before contact with Europeans, Cherokees revered ᎤᏁᏓᏅᏏ (unetlanvhi), who was acknowledged as the only creator of the world, and the only God. Every morning they went to the river to physically and spiritually cleanse themselves (Perdue 2003:20). Perdue and Green (1995:4) explain:

> ...Cherokees tried to keep their world in harmony, religious observances focused on the maintenance of a pure and balanced world. The Cherokees did not separate religious observance from the ordinary tasks of daily life. Bathing, farming, hunting, and eating all had religious dimensions … . The women sang sacred songs as they hoed their corn, and the men observed important rituals, such as asking the deer's pardon and offering its liver to the fire, when they killed game lest the spirits of the dead animals cause disease. Because the Cherokees believed that you are what you eat, stickball (lacrosse) players did not eat rabbit meat because rabbits are easily confused, and pregnant women did not eat squirrel because the baby might go up instead of down during delivery, like a squirrel on a tree. Cherokees extinguished fire with soil instead of water because water represented the underworld and fire the upper world, two spiritual realms that balanced each other and the earth mediated. Men secluded themselves when they were most male – before and after going to war – and women when they were most female – during menstruation and childbirth – for fear that they might overwhelm their opposite and upset the precarious balance.

Traditional Cherokee religion was so integrated into the practices of everyday life in the community as to be nearly indistinguishable from it. The relationships people held to their means of subsistence, their food, their reproductive practices, and their physical hygiene were all intertwined with their view of the physical and spiritual worlds. This meant that their relationships with each other were bound to this worldview, especially as evidenced

by the balancing function of the clan system and the egalitarian ethos. The clan system maintained social order, as "… the obligations of clan members were so strong and so scrupulously fulfilled that the Cherokees had no need for a police force or court system: protection, restitution, and retribution came from the clan. … A person's clan kin had a special obligation to avenge his or her death because the spirit of the dead could not rest until a relative quieted crying blood through vengeance. Because all Cherokees accepted the same view of a balanced cosmos, clans stood back from the guilty party and did not retaliate for his or her death. Failure to restore balance, after all, threatened them as well" (Perdue & Green 1995:4). As discussed in section 3.2, Cherokee religious ideas were inclusive, rather than exclusive, and could be added to by ideas from outside the community. This view allowed them to adapt Christianity, which was encouraged by the government's civilization program, to their own needs and goals (Perdue & Green 1995:10-11).

Cherokees in North Carolina first encountered Christianity around 1817, "… when the Reverend Humphrey Posey, a Baptist, began preaching to these 'poor benighted' people" (Finger 1984:13). By 1824, a mission school, farm, and Baptist church had been established in the Valley Towns, just north of the Hiwassee River and approximately 60 miles southwest of Quallatown – the area now known as downtown Cherokee. The church received its first Cherokee members in 1823, and by 1833 there were at least 250 Cherokee Baptists in western North Carolina (Finger 1984:13-14). Cherokees in Quallatown were more isolated from Christianity, occasionally attending frontier revival meetings or receiving visits from Methodist preachers (Finger 1984:14). Many in Quallatown, including Chief Yonaguska, or Drowning Bear, were reluctant to adopt Christianity because its

doctrines conflicted with the behavior they witnessed in its white adherents, and they preferred the ritual and belief of traditional Cherokee religion. By the mid-1840s, Quallatown was home to 103 Methodist teachers and scholars (Finger 1984:63). Some of these, such as Enola (Blackfox), had combined traditional Cherokee and Christian beliefs. Enola remained a shaman and conjurer in addition to his new duties as a hellfire preacher and Sunday school teacher (Finger 1984:64). This behavior demonstrates the continuity of traditional Cherokee cultural patterns – adoption and integration – in religious practice.

By 1900, the adoption of Christianity apparently had had little effect on social structure or language use. Rather than adhering strictly to church norms and structural patterns, Cherokees adapted Christianity to fit their existing beliefs, and simply discussed it in their language. Finger states (1991:15):

> Although an ever-growing majority of the Eastern Band attended Christian churches, sermons were in Cherokee, and there were strong elements of traditional Indian cosmology in religious practices. Quite likely the growing dominance of the Baptist denomination was partly due to its emphasis on baptism by immersion, which was similar to the traditional purification ritual of 'going to water.' Likewise, all-night vigils at the homes of those who had just died, similar to the vigils of mountain whites, probably reflected a traditional Cherokee desire to protect bodies from witches. In these and other ways Christianity coalesced with Cherokee beliefs.

To a large degree, Cherokees set out to make the church part of their society rather than allowing it to become part of the external one. Within a decade, however, this began to change. Finger reports (1991:73-74):

> By 1913 there were ten Christian churches on the reservation, all but two with Indian preachers using their native language. Some of these individuals were traditional medicine men and ceremonial leaders who saw 'no conflict in attending all night dances and attending church.' Before long there would be other churches where services were in English and the preacher was likely to be a 'generalized' Cherokee or what Robert Thomas calls a rural white Indian. Religion also intruded into political life. The Cherokee charter specified that officeholders believe in future rewards and punishment, and the council meetings sometimes granted special favors to reservation churches. Council meetings always opened with a Christian

> prayer – usually in the 1920s by Vice Chief Andrew Otter, a minister. By then the Baptist denomination was preeminent on the reservation because it had certain features, like baptism by immersion, that coalesced nicely with traditional Cherokee beliefs. Other likely factors were its informal organization, the total freedom of individual congregations, and the firm Baptist allegiance of most nearby whites, some of whom had intermarried with Cherokees. By the early 1930s the Baptists were also the only denomination with a white missionary residing on the reservation.

By the 1930s, although Cherokees may have understood Christianity based on their traditional beliefs, organization under the Baptist denomination linked them with the larger society. Local Cherokee preachers initially had to be taught by missionaries from outside the community. Those missionaries represented a local instantiation of a larger institution – a vertical tie. This opened the door to increased interaction with outsiders, and even an integration of Christianity into tribal politics. Although local congregations generally began using Cherokee as the primary mode of communication for sermons, this slowly gave way to English. This transition is still not complete, however. Presently, it is not uncommon for Cherokee congregations to sing hymns in Cherokee while the sermon is given in English, and some congregations still hear sermons in Cherokee. Significantly, I have anecdotally observed a recent rise in attendance at traditional religious gatherings, which still make use of the Cherokee language as well as English. Bender observed that during her field work in the early- to mid-1990s, fluent Cherokee speakers often attached religious significance to the Cherokee language's syllabic orthography as represented in hymn books and translations of the New Testament. Bender explains:

> It is … in the context of Cherokee New Testament reading that total transparency, phonetic and semantic, was attributed to the syllabary by many of my consultants. Indeed, the syllabary New Testament was considered by many users to be their clearest point of access to the word of God – word in a superlinguistic sense. Some consultants suggested to me that the words in the syllabary New Testament cannot be changed, to reflect dialect in reading aloud, for example. The New Testament is

> held by many not just to provide access to a particular set of recorded spoken language, or a particular set of meanings, but to truth itself (2002:75-76).

Although Christian churches often opposed Cherokee cultural traditions, especially traditional religion, Bender notes that "… this anti-tradition message does not apply to the Cherokee language, and particularly to the production and use of printed syllabary, for the preservation of which, in North Carolina at least, the churches have been largely responsible" (2002:92). Presumably because of its usefulness in attracting converts, Christian churches have utilized the syllabary as part of religious services since shortly after its invention by Sequoyah. The language, therefore, has come to index spirituality for both Christian converts and adherents of traditional religion. In written form, it serves as a sort of physical token of former community ties; a sign of identity encapsulated in gospel and song rather than social structure. Although this encapsulation entails a narrowing of the language's use to within church or traditional religious contexts, it also enshrines it within these contexts. Encapsulation of values and indexicalization could help explain why, as Salmons notes for German, "Religion has proven to be one of the last institutional domains to support German in many areas. In my own experience in such communities in Texas and Indiana, religious publications in German play an important role for many older speakers, which would help to account for retention in this realm" (2002:191). Although religious domains have been affected by language shift, they seem to be insulated more than other domains. For Cherokees, part of this seems to be due to their creation of a syncretic form of Christianity that was, in essence, still a Cherokee institution. We now turn to the history of education in Cherokee and its effects on language shift.

3.3.4. Cherokee Central Schools & New Kituwah Academy

The federal boarding school at Yellow Hill is often anecdotally cited as the cause of shift from Cherokee to English. Giles Morris of the Smoky Mountain News, for example, reports:

> Native languages are disappearing across the country in part because government-sponsored boarding schools eradicated a generation of speakers. Children who grew up in the 1940s and '50s were sent to "Indian" boarding schools where they were treated harshly and forbidden to speak their own language under the guiding philosophy that they had to assimilate into the dominant culture to survive. The boarding school programs have been widely linked to post traumatic stress disorder and other emotional traumas that inhibited language retention even in children who spoke a native language first. But the particular history of the Kituwah, as the eastern Cherokee call themselves, lent itself to hanging on fiercely to their identity (2009).

Certainly, the trauma many students endured in boarding school played a role in shaping their ideas about their language and influenced their linguistic behavior to some degree. I argue that the trauma of boarding school alone, however, is not responsible for community-wide shift, but that education did play a major role in altering local social networks and linguistic behaviors. During the Great Change, Warren claims that public schools became increasingly responsible for the function of socialization. He defines socialization as "The process through which individuals, through learning, acquire the knowledge, values, and behavior patterns of their society and learn behavior appropriate to the various social roles that their society provides" (1978:177). The US policy of Americanizing or 'civilizing' Cherokees was set early. The Treaty of Holston, concluded in July 1791, included the passage: "That the Cherokee nation may be led to a greater degree of civilization, and to become herdsmen and cultivators, instead of remaining in a state of hunters, the United States will, from time to time, furnish gratuitously the said nation with useful implements of husbandry" (quoted in Perdue & Green 1995:11). Institutions such as the boarding school continued this policy. As more Cherokee children attended school,

education became a key means of socialization and connected them to the broader society. Due to a longer duration of federal and extra-community control over the schools Cherokee children attended, it took Cherokees much longer to apply traditional strategies of community organization to the school system than to other local institutions. Initially, due to US policies of assimilation, much of the boarding school was dedicated to acculturating Cherokees into the larger society. Part of this was teaching them English. However, taking the students completely away from home effectively put them into a social vacuum. Living at the boarding school meant that while they acquired a non-indigenous education and socialization, they were interacting less often with family and friends who were not living there. In a similar fashion as the urban redevelopment program discussed by Milroy in Belfast (1987:81), a geographic redistribution meant a loosening of social network structures. If people are unable to physically interact with one another with the same frequency, the density of their ties decreases. This correlates with a reduction in adherence to linguistic norms. After students at the boarding school returned home, it was their social environment that determined whether they would continue using English. Without other social institutions that required the use of English, there would have been no reason to continue using it. Instead, the boarding school represents one of a constellation of related factors that led to community-wide shift. Without other factors, shift may not have occurred. Within its first few decades of existence, the boarding school did not constitute an influential enough social domain to trigger community-level language shift, but rather a period of bilingualism (Finger 1991:63). Of course, as an English language school, the school did reduce the number of monolingual Cherokee speakers in the community.

The first boarding school among the Cherokees in North Carolina was established at Cheoah, near the town of Robbinsville, in 1875 (Finger 1984:130-131). The boarding school was accompanied by four day school facilities in Yellow Hill, Bird Town, Big Cove, and at the Echota Mission (Finger 1984:131). Most students at the Cheoah boarding school came from over 20 miles away. Some students boarded with whites or mixed bloods for five dollars per month, while others stayed in tents or makeshift cabins outside the facility (Finger 1984:131). After some political turmoil, these first schools shifted from federal to state control in 1876 (Finger 1984:133-134). Federal control was reestablished in 1877, but more political conflicts drove schools to close in 1879 (Finger 1984:135). For a time, federal agents began selecting individuals to send to academies and colleges such as Carlisle Institute in Pennsylvania, Weaverville College, Asheville Female College, and Trinity College (Finger 1984:135). Removing students from their homes for months at a time was conceived as a way to "civilize" students.

Eventually, tribal factionalism led to jealousies regarding whose children were selected to attend non-local schools. These sentiments led to a decision to reestablish a school on the Qualla Boundary (Finger 1984:137). In response, The federal government contracted with the Quakers to provide a ten-year educational program for the Cherokees. By 1884 they were building boarding schools for boys and girls at Yellow Hill (Finger 1984:138). Day schools at Big Cove, Macedonia (site of the old Echota Mission), Bird Town, and Snowbird Gap in Graham County also fell under Quaker control, with oversight by Indian Agent Henry Spray (Finger 1984:150). Though the Quaker educational program had enjoyed widespread support, the federal government retook control of Cherokee schools in 1892 (Finger 1984:158). Educational policies remained largely the same, with boys

focusing on agricultural and industrial arts and girls focusing on housework (Finger 1984:162). At the end of the 19th century, 294 out of 440 school-age Cherokees were receiving at least part-time instruction (Finger 1984:162). Through various school administrations, Cherokees made much progress toward what the US government considered "civilization," but tribal traditions remained strong even into the 20th century.

Although Quakers founded the boarding school at Yellow Hill in 1881, Finger notes that even after World War I, "… Cherokee pupils frequently appeared at school speaking only their native tongue" (Finger 1991:73). In fact, it is not until the mid-1920s that "… certain 'archaic, ritualistic expressions' found in early Cherokee documents were disappearing from usage. Probably most distressing of all to traditionalists was the mounting success of white educators in teaching children to speak English" (Finger 1991:60). While the boarding school certainly had a profound effect on individual Cherokee speakers who attended it regularly, it is telling that Finger cites loss of language proficiency at a time concomitant with the increased development of paved roads (Finger 1991:55). Prior to increases in funding and road improvements, attendance at the school by students from communities other than Yellow Hill was quite low (Finger 1991:14). When students did attend, it was often because their parents sent them to the school during hard times to acquire food and clothing (Finger 1991:60). Utilizing the school's resources as a waypoint for goods in this way is consistent with the traditional strategy of using intermediaries to acquire resources from outside the community while keeping the community itself insulated from outside influence. The adoption of this strategy allowed community cohesion to persist. Students at the day schools in other areas of the reservation adopted similar strategies. For many years, the quality of education in the day schools was very

poor. Low attendance and lack of teacher training led certain facilities to have little effect on community structure or linguistic behavior. Schools were underfunded, poorly managed, and received lax oversight. Attendance at the day school in Bird Town, only two miles from the boarding school, "… was irregular and dropped to about 50 percent during the winter" (Finger 1991:61). At the Snowbird Gap day school, the lone teacher distorted attendance records by waiting until 4:00 P.M. to take attendance. Inspector Peyton Carter estimated that the Snowbird Gap school had no more than 4 or 5 students, despite the teacher's reports of an average attendance of 8 (Finger 1991:62). The Big Cove school was "… even more primitive than Bird Town's and certainly more isolated – twelve miles from the boarding school by logging train, assuming the sometimes uncooperative lumber company was willing to allow use by agency personnel" (Finger 1991:61). At the Little Snowbird school, the teacher spoke Cherokee, and knew "… absolutely nothing about good methods of teaching" (Finger 1991:62). Only one of the students could spell correctly, but had no idea what any of the words meant. None of the pupils could do simple arithmetic (Finger 1991:62). During this time, the educational system was more of a depot for goods and a way to increase chiefly power than a connection to the larger society. It was not until the advent of increased funding and well-maintained roads that Cherokee children were able to attend school regularly. At that time, English education began to take hold. Off-reservation public schools later presented the first time students were reliably forced to learn and use English, and the first major exposure to people from outside their communities.

In 1925 the Snowbird schools closed and the boarding school at Yellow Hill received increased funding. These changes, as well as new government policies, opened the door to

a reassertion of traditional community organization strategies in the realm of education. Some aspects of that reassertion originated in the policies of the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of June 18, 1934. The act "affirmed the validity of Indian cultures, formally abandoned the already discredited allotment policy, and promoted Indian progress within a modern tribal context" (Finger 1991:79). Some Cherokees, however, saw the act as fostering tribalism at the expense of individualism and conceived of it as a "return to the blanket" rather than a step forward (Finger 1991:84). While many opposed it on those grounds, others gave tacit support to the act in the 1935 reelection of its supporter, Jarrett Blythe, as Principal Chief (Finger 1991:91).

By the mid 1930s, many community members joined soon-to-be vice chief Fred Blythe Bauer in opposing educational reforms on the reservation (Finger 1991:90-91). Under the IRA, Indian Agent R.L. Spalsbury called for a reorganization of the educational system that would increase the role of day schools in order to strengthen the connection between schools and homes (Finger 1991:86). This proposal would convert the boarding school at Cherokee into a consolidated day facility and provide transportation for students who lived in communities further away from Yellow Hill (Finger 1991:86). Spalsbury's program did not require higher mathematics or foreign languages and would have begun teaching written and spoken Cherokee (Finger 1991:86). With this policy Spalsbury had taken the first step in reorienting tribal schools toward local interests.

Spalsbury's successor, Harold Foght, emphasized vocational and agricultural training in order to prepare Cherokee children for "the realities of reservation life" (Finger 1991:87). In response, Bauer and his supporters formed an organization called the Cherokee Indian Rights Association. Parents in the association protested the educational

program and the IRA by withdrawing their children from classes (Finger 1991:88). In a congressional hearing a few years after the protests, Bauer argued that Cherokee children "should attend public schools with white children to be better prepared for the 'real world'" (Finger 1991:88). Bauer's supporters apparently wielded substantial political power. Though a new constitution was proposed under the IRA in August of 1935, it was defeated 438 to 382 (Finger 1991:90). Still, although parents may have echoed Bauer's support of sending Cherokee children to school with white children, Swain and Jackson County schools did not admit students who were phenotypically Cherokee (Finger 1991:88). Thus, some tribal members' desire for connections with the external society were thwarted by racism.

A few days after its rejection of the 1935 constitution, the tribe reelected Jarrett Blythe, a strong IRA supporter, as Principal Chief (Finger 1991:91). True to their tradition of playing both sides of an issue, tribal members elected Fred Bauer as Vice Chief (Finger 1991:94). After Blythe's election, the school system geared its curriculum toward preparing students for life on the reservation, including more classes in traditional crafts, farming techniques, and vocational training. Schools maintained a focus on the local community rather than imitating the curricula of local white school districts (Finger 1991:96). Although the tribal government's inward-focusing school policies suggest a commitment to local values, IRA opponents' worries about the 'real world' belie internal conflict. Opponents of the IRA desired an emphasis on assimilation, which suggests a changing orientation in values, and a perception of their community as inevitably linked with others. After the 1954 supreme court decision of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, which

declared segregated public schools unconstitutional, Cherokee enrollment in non-tribal public schools began to rise (Finger 1991:131). **Table 1** below shows this trend.

Table 1: Cherokee attendance at BIA & public schools over time

	1954-1955 School Year	1964-1965 School Year	Percent Increase
Number of Cherokee students at BIA schools	798	1,005	26%
Number of Cherokee students at public schools	96	498	419%

Data from Finger (1991:131, 152)

Meanwhile, the tribal government continued its inward-focused educational policy. Continuing its process of internal verticalization, the tribe consolidated the four elementary schools on Qualla Boundary into one building near the BIA agency in 1962 (Finger 1991:152). By the 1970s, the tribe had built a new BIA high school on land the council had purchased for $80,000 (Finger 1991:153). The developing tension between internal cohesion and external connection sharply contrasts with the degree of internal focus North Carolina Cherokees possessed in the late 1700s. Cherokees at that time refused to even participate in other Cherokee councils in favor of their own regional ones (McLoughlin 1986:60). Increasing Cherokee attendance at public schools and sentiments such as Fred Bauer's about the importance of preparing students for the "real world" suggest that some Cherokees were beginning to feel that leaving the reservation was a foregone conclusion. At the same time, the tribal government was attempting to consolidate its resources in conjunction with the BIA. This re-assertion of local began largely with the IRA.

Jarrett Blythe's IRA-compliant school policies went into effect at roughly the same time as the opening of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park and the development of the Blue Ridge Parkway. The National Park and the Parkway served to physically connect Cherokee with the larger society and introduce tourism as a driving force in the community (Finger 1991:91, 94). Such physical and geographic connections to the larger society led to institutional connections as well. As tourism increased, many community members saw economic opportunity, opening hotels and restaurants. According to interview data, connection with the larger society also forced local businesses such as mom and pop grocery stores/gas stations and hotels out of business. A combination of competition with new non-local businesses and regulation by the federal government exerted pressure on local businesses. Locally-run gas stations were obligated to install regulation-size tanks, which proved too expensive for many individual proprietors. More physical access to Cherokee also brought industries such as Vassar's hair products factory, and more demand for manual labor by large corporations. Darnell Farms was one company that recruited Cherokees to pick fruit in Florida. Over time, tourist attractions such as Ghost Town, Frontier Land, and Santa's Land also provided jobs and more connections with extracommunity organizations. These connections led to increased interaction with outsiders, and formed new domains for English use. A certain degree of enrollment in the Second World War also led to more varied interactions outside of the community (Finger 1991:106), and increased use of English.

All these new interactions may have fueled some parents' attitudes about 'the real world' and worries over the Cherokee place within it. After the BIA reduced the status of the boarding school to a day school in 1954, officials attempted to persuade state and local

authorities to take over responsibility for Cherokee education (Finger 1991:130). These efforts were met with resistance due to old frictions, anger over the Eastern Band's state tax immunity, and resentment over desegregation (Finger 1991:130-131). Both the closing of the boarding school and desegregation likely contributed to rising Cherokee enrollment in public schools. Another factor was likely the compensation public schools received from the BIA for each Cherokee student (Finger 1991:168). Tension between horizontal and vertical connections continued. The tribal government responded to that tension in a typically Cherokee fashion. Duggan (1997) cites Kupferer (1966) saying, "[a] primary adaptive strategy for the Cherokees historically has been the use of intermediaries to deal with situations of potential crisis or conflict that threaten traditional values or lifeways" (Duggan 1997:45). While the tribal government attempted to exercise its function as an intermediary, consolidating local units into one organization under the BIA, local parents looked off-reservation for other options. When the BIA all-Indian day school in Snowbird closed in 1965, many Snowbird students enrolled in Graham County's Robbinsville High School (Anderson 1999:344, following Neely 1991:31). Often for the first time, students connected with other youths from outside their own community. This altered their social networks and forced them to use English in social interactions. In Yellow Hill, the location of the consolidated tribal schools, parents were employing another aspect of traditional community organizing strategies. When local parents began serving on a community-elected school advisory board in 1969 (Finger 1991:153), they formed a group to serve as an intermediary between the community and the school. This consolidation of horizontal relationships into a cooperative decision-making unit constitutes another example of internal verticalization. The institution of education had led to contacts with organizations

outside the community and increased use of English, but Cherokees responded by subsuming the institution and preserve horizontal social structures. The tribe's employment of internal verticalization constituted a response to the tension caused by verticalization.

Despite the presence of a new BIA high school facility in the mid-1970's, many families were still too poor to provide their children full access to the non-Cherokee community. Books, magazines, televisions, and radios often lay out of their reach (Finger 1991:153). Factors such as poverty and racism sometimes limited the process of verticalization. For those too poor to afford access to books, magazines, radios, televisions, these media provided no connection to the larger society. Even though some parents wanted to send their children to public schools, many schools refused to admit students who were phenotypically Cherokee (Finger 1991:88). Incidents such as these may have strengthened people's commitment to traditional strategies. Although the institution of American-style education originated outside the community, Cherokees were dedicated to making it their own. Accordingly, Cherokee Central Schools became a tribally-operated institution in 1990 (cherokeecentral.sharpschool.com). The election of a tribal council in 1868 represents an earlier example of the tribe's employment of internal verticalization. This group was empowered to make decisions on behalf of the community and serve as an intermediary with outsiders. It formed a vertical relationship with the United States federal government and acquired funding for education. The council then moved to adopt the institution of education and distribute it for the benefit of the community. The most recent step in enacting these traditional strategies has been the creation of the New Kituwah Academy - ᎠᏤ ᎩᏚᏩ ᏧᎾᏕᎶᏆᏍᏗ (atse giduwa tsunadeloquasdi). This Cherokee language

immersion school opened under the auspices of the tribe's cultural resources department; the program that would later be known as the Kituwah Preservation and Education Program (KPEP). The facility opened with 7 infants on April 19, 2004 (Walker 2009:2). It employs fluent Cherokee speakers as teachers in order to begin socializing and educating children in the language and culture. The tribe has approached the institution of education as it has approached many other institutions – it established a connection with an extra-community organization, formed a local body capable of interfacing with that organization, and ultimately subsumed the organization for the benefit of the people of the local community. As one of the latest instantiations of this strategy, New Kituwah Academy represents an attempt to use it to address language shift.

Many Cherokees acquired various forms of non-indigenous education over time, but were historically able to return home, where Cherokee remained the dominant language of everyday use. The establishment of the National Park, the Blue Ridge Parkway, and the advancement of tourism paved the way for more connections with industries, a nationalized, mobile manual labor force, and chain businesses like hotels and grocery stores. The community began orienting itself in multiple ways toward extra-community organizations. This reorientation led to increased interaction with outsiders, which required the use of English in each domain. Many began to acquire specialized labor positions such as craftspeople, or factory workers. Chain hotels began overtaking locally-owned ones. The development of more specialized labor connected people with a larger, multiply articulated society. Specialized labor and more connection with amphibious institutions such as chain hotels or gas stations led to the formation of categorical rather than personal relationships, as people began to affiliate with others based on common

interest rather than locality. These processes parallel many of the steps Warren outlines in describing the Great Change (1978:77) To this extent, the Great Change affected several Cherokee social institutions and opened the door to language shift. As locals associated more and more with people from outside the local community, demand rose for English proficiency, and social domains for use of Cherokee declined. Cherokees, however, responded to this in the way they knew best. In the case of the external institution of schooling, the New Kituwah Academy illustrates the tribe's willingness to take an institution intended to socialize children into the norms of an extra-communal society and use it to socialize them into norms that are Cherokee-centric – including the Cherokee language.

3.4. Qualitative Evidence of Shift

As the structure of community institutions changed over time, Cherokees interacted more with others from outside their own community. The social history above has sketched some examples of how institutions interacted. This section focuses on the correlation of institutional interaction with language shift. Qualitative interview data from seven contemporary members of the Cherokee community is used to show the general trend of shift toward English within the context of these residents' memories.

3.4.1. Interviews

Interview data from seven residents of the Cherokee communities collected during the summer of 2012 and the winter of 2013 corroborates the notion that verticalization correlated with language shift. Interviews were conducted in August 2012 and January 2013 in the community of Yellow Hill. Interviewees were recruited at community meetings

such as speakers' breakfasts and language classes. Four consultants were female and three were male. Three interviewees, Tsisdu, Waya, and Yona[1] were from the rather conservative community of Snowbird, located about 40 miles southwest of Yellow Hill, while two, Utsesdi and Wesa, were from the township of Wolf Town, slightly east of Yellow Hill. One consultant, Selu, was born in Yellow Hill but later moved to Paint Town, and another, Taline, was born outside the community in Belmont, NC and moved to Bird Town when she was nine. Interviewees ranged in age from 45-66 at the time of interview. Five interviewees were bilingual first-language speakers of Cherokee who learned English during childhood, while two were monolingual English speakers. Interviewees were selected based on long-term residence in one of the Cherokee townships and year of birth. Based on a 2009 estimate (Walker 2009:2) that the average age of first language speakers was 53, I chose consultants born before 1956 and up to 10 years afterward. One first language Cherokee speaker, Wesa, born in 1966, represents an outlier. **Table 2** below illustrates the consultants' demographics.

Table 2: Demographics for Cherokee interviewees

Residence	Pseudonym	Sex	Age at time of interview	First language
Snowbird	Tsisdu	M	61	Cherokee
	Waya	M	60	Cherokee
	Yona	F	64	Cherokee
Wolf Town	Utsesdi	F	51	Cherokee
	Wesa	M	45	Cherokee
Paint Town	Selu	F	55	English
Bird Town	Taline	F	66	English

Data collected in Cherokee, NC from August-December 2012

[1] Interviewees have been assigned pseudonyms.

Interviews ranged from forty-five minutes to two hours and fourteen minutes. Consultants were asked their year of birth, the township they grew up in, and questions about their family structure, social networks, and experiences with work and school over the course of their lives. They were asked about which institutions they remembered being present in their communities over time and how those institutions changed. They were also asked about how much Cherokee and/or English they heard being used at these institutions and, if they were Cherokee speakers, how much Cherokee they remembered using themselves in each institution and time period.[2] Interviewees' impressions of the community's changes over time often overlapped, especially with regard to the names of institutions they mentioned as being locally owned centers in which they frequently heard Cherokee being used. The combination of recollections therefore helped to triangulate a picture of the community structure for much of the region and how it changed over time. One theme that arose frequently was the tight-knit nature of the community during the interviewees' childhoods, especially with regard to the higher degree of autonomy and responsibility of local governing organizations. The narratives of the interviews generally retrace the pattern of the Great Change, and the accompanying alteration of social networks. Most Cherokee-speaking consultants remember speaking Cherokee often during their childhoods, especially with members of their own community. Later in life, interviewees used the language less as they interacted with people from outside their communities.

Interviewees recalled speaking Cherokee in several contexts in their communities over time. When asked what, if any, community organizations they were part of during their youth, interviewees from both Wolf Town and Snowbird identified community center

[2] See Appendix A for the survey instrument used.

buildings as a place they had heard and spoken Cherokee. They reported that their neighbors participated to a higher degree in local decision-making during their childhoods. Neighbors would gather at the community center and make decisions about what would happen in their communities. These decisions extended even to political questions such as who would sign up to represent them in tribal council in downtown Yellow Hill. Interviewees recalled people speaking Cherokee during these community center meetings as well as at home. Four out of seven people noted the continued activity of the ᏍᏚᏯ (gadugi) during their youth. They mentioned this largely in answer to questions about community involvement in local politics and how often they saw their neighbors, as well as in the context of farming activities with which members of the ᏍᏚᏯ would help. Utsesdi of Wolf Town recalls people from the free labor organization coming to ask her father if he needed help splitting wood for the fire. He would pay the members of the organization with some of the yield from his garden and a meal after the work was done.

Family members were among those most frequently cited as conversation partners. Wesa, also from Wolf Town, remembers fishing trips he took with several cousins, during which all participants would speak Cherokee. Utsesdi, having grown up in a farming family, recalls Cherokee being spoken in the context of many tasks on the farm and at the meal following a day of work. Church, she recalls, provided a center around which people socialized. After the morning service, people would follow her family on foot back to her grandmother's house where they would eat and talk until the evening when it was time to return to church. Interviewees mentioned the Qualla grocery store in downtown Yellow Hill, as well as several other grocery stores such as the Village Grocery, Doyle Gunter's, Elwood's Grocery, and Revice's. Consultants recalled that many of these locally-owned

grocery stores also sold gas, hand-cut ring bologna, and a variety of other items such as notebooks, pencils, erasers, shoes, and T-shirts. They noted that people often used the stores as gathering places, with old men sitting by pot-bellied stoves or on benches outside speaking Cherokee. When these grocery stores closed, they recalled, that domain for Cherokee language use was lost.

Generally, consultants' behavior during their youth seems to have been tied to their locality, although some ties existed between communities. Snowbird, for example, was a particularly tight-knit community. Neighbors knew each other and knew who could speak Cherokee. People expected to speak Cherokee with those they knew could do so. Utsesdi recalls visiting friends from other communities such as Big Cove and Snowbird and speaking Cherokee with them during those visits. Often these visits involved taking food to the elderly or singing at church services before socializing. As time progressed, interviewees began forming relationships with others from outside the community, and reported using Cherokee less. Interaction with outsiders in the contexts of school and work meant that the relationships Cherokees formed with outsiders were generally characterized by weak, uniplex ties. Friends from school and factory coworkers did not necessarily live in the local community.

Major examples of contact with outsiders included work through Darnell Farms, a farming organization based in Bryson City, NC, and similar organizations. Two consultants reported that members of these organizations took them to Florida to pick fruit. Cherokee residents also found work at local factories, in positions within the tourist industry, and as teachers. Two interviewees reported traveling to Florida with other Cherokees to pick fruit and either remaining there to work or having family members that remained and/or

returned there. Utsesdi moved to Florida for several years, moving from picking fruit to washing dishes at a Holiday Inn Express, and finally to attending culinary school to become a prep cook at the hotel. She maintained a close connection with her mother and brother, but used English with everyone but them while in Florida. Taline of Bird Town recalls that her brother moved to Florida after going there to pick oranges because on the mountain where they lived he "stayed cold and hungry." Other family members moved other places to find work, such as New York or Milwaukee to work in the mines there. In Cherokee, farm life gave way to work at factories and tourist attractions. Utsesdi reports that her mother learned English for the first time in the 1970s while working at Vassar's factory making hair curlers. Another Cherokee speaker who also knew English helped her to learn, translating what the boss told them to do. Selu of Paint Town was able to describe the growth of the tourist industry from an insider's perspective. Her mother and father had established a motel shortly after the opening of the Great Smoky Mountains National Park, whose business increased in the mid- to late 1970s when tourists began coming to Cherokee in the fall as well as the summer to see the leaves change color.

For Utsesdi, school was a source of some conflict. Finally beginning to understand and speak English in fifth grade from a teacher who was also a Cherokee speaker, she received a shock in eighth grade when Cherokee language appeared as a course on her schedule. This instruction in Cherokee reflects the change in school policy that occurred when the tribe gained control of the school system (History of Cherokee Central Schools 2004:http://tinyurl.com/bncsohs). Before the tribe gained control of the educational system, English was the only accepted language of use. Two consultants reported that their mothers had gone to boarding school in Yellow Hill while it was still in operation, and had

been punished for speaking Cherokee. These women had to peel potatoes all night, had their hair cut off, their mouths washed out with soap, and were beaten for speaking their language. Despite this, Utsesdi was still brought up monolingual in Cherokee. Her mother simply warned her that when she went to school, she would have a hard time. Still, the family insisted the children use Cherokee at home.

Three participants from Snowbird reported that when they were young, other children at school would speak Cherokee outside of class. This occurred during the time they were attending the federal Indian school, which later closed. Later, in high school, many Cherokee students attended public schools in Robbinsville, NC, along with members of the local non-Cherokee communities. Students who lived closer to other public schools such as Whittier attended those. Nearly all the consultants who were Cherokee speakers recalled that they learned English beginning in first grade, and that they realized it was necessary to do so. No interviewee recounted their personal experience as traumatic, though they did note that it had been difficult. Students who attended Whittier and Swain County did not report hearing Cherokee used in the context of school. During high school, Waya recalls bonding with students from other communities on the football team. Wesa remembers working for the athletic program after school. Beginning around 7th grade, several consultants recall speaking less Cherokee. None reported that they were coerced to do so, only that they stopped speaking it so much. Some noted that they were spending more time with non-Cherokee-speaking friends, and it simply would not have been possible to use Cherokee with them. As Milroy (1987) suggests, membership in a new social network affected patterns of language use.

At the time of the interviews, consultants often reported still using Cherokee themselves in certain limited circumstances. They discussed the weekly speakers' breakfasts held both in Snowbird and Yellow Hill, in downtown Cherokee. Wesa from Wolf Town, although he works in a position where one might expect he would use the language often, reports that he uses Cherokee largely only with his 84-year-old uncle. Among the youngest of speakers in his generation, he reports having used Cherokee mostly with his paternal grandparents, who primarily raised him. His close ties with members of his grandparents' generation likely accounts for his facility with the language. Rather than mainly speaking English with people his own age, this consultant's social networks consisted largely of his elders. Yona, from Snowbird, now serves as a teacher in the New Kituwah Academy. She reports using Cherokee daily with the children, and still using it with anyone she knows to be a speaker. Utsesdi, another teacher from Wolf Town, reports still using the language with anyone she knows to be a speaker in public, as well as continuing to use the language on the phone with friends from Snowbird and even on Facebook.

Interviewees generally agreed that the use of the language has dwindled over time. Most recounted stories of growing up in families who primarily spoke Cherokee, in communities where it was common practice to address others in the language. Today, however, they report hearing the language less frequently. Many expressed concern over this, and questioned what additional steps the community might take in order to bring the language back into common usage. One consultant explained that although she had raised her children in Cherokee and English, they abandoned the language after her mother passed away in 1999. Unlike their mother, they likely saw home as the only domain where

they could use Cherokee. Because grandma was no longer there, they did not wish to continue using the language. This represents another example of the importance of dense social network ties to language use.

Recollections from interviewees generally provided a picture of a community in transition. Very tight, multiplex social networks in the Cherokee townships and locally-centered organizations began giving way over time to looser networks and institutions with origins outside the community. Stories such as Utsesdi's progression from a childhood on her parents' farm to becoming a migrant laborer in Florida under the auspices of a national company illustrate increased connections with the larger society. Utsesdi's mother's factory work and subsequent learning of English from another L1 Cherokee speaker illustrates transition from life-mode 1 to life-mode 2 and its potential correlation with linguistic behavioral change. Decision-making community organizations in Snowbird waned in power over the years as network structures weakened. Multiplexity of social ties among youths in Snowbird also diminished after the closing of the local Indian school forced children to attend public schools outside their community. As students associated more with children from outside, they began speaking more English. Stories by Cherokee residents such as Taline and Selu suggested that they were largely isolated from the community; Taline largely by geographical distance and Selu by her family's institutional connections to the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Because of their general lack of exposure to Cherokee in their immediate social networks, neither of these women is a Cherokee speaker.

Information about institutions revealed a pattern typical of verticalization. As local businesses like grocery stores/gas stations closed down, they were replaced by branches of

larger organizations from outside the community such as the Independent Grocers Alliance (IGA) and eventually Food Lion, as well as chain gas stations. Because locations like these had previously served as community meeting places where people spoke Cherokee, their closing meant a breakup of former social networks that had supported the language. Despite changes in institutions over time, however, interview data also suggest points at which internal vertical structures such as community clubs and the tribal government helped to preserve traditional social network structures. Utsesdi's confusion at the reversal of school policy on the use of Cherokee gives evidence of the tribe's focus on acquiring and adapting the institution of education. This effort provided the precedent for the founding of the language immersion school, New Kituwah Academy. The meeting of tribal elders at Tsali Manor seniors' center discussed by Taline represents another instance of a tribal initiative preserving network structures. Perhaps most telling is the statement by Yona and Utsesdi that they still use Cherokee in public places with community members they know to be Cherokee speakers. This suggests that although social networks have changed and language use has diminished overall, the process of shift is not complete. The following section explores quantitative data on speaker numbers over time. Data from census records and secondary sources serves to augment speakers' perceptions regarding the state of the language.

3.5 Quantitative Data on Speaker Numbers over Time

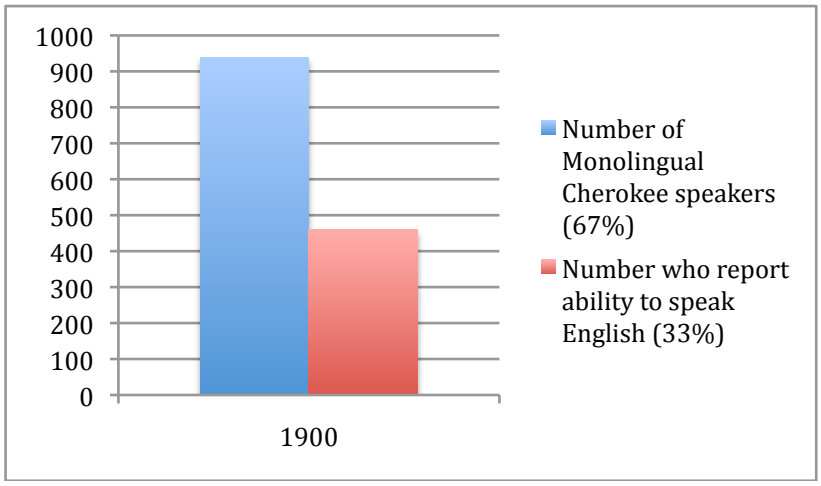
Quantitative data from the United States federal census provides insight into the history of language shift. The 1910 census in particular asks a question (column 17) about participants' language abilities. Answers to the question, "Whether able to speak English; or, if not, give language spoken" provide much information about people's linguistic practices

over time. This information, of course, requires a caveat. Because of the US government's historical policy of 'civilization' in regard to Native Americans (Perdue & Green 1995:10), some Cherokees might have feared reporting an inability to speak English. This anxiety over census takers' expectations, like the desire for children to enter the real world, suggests an awareness of the community's connection to the larger society, and a fear of being compared to it. Based on this I assume that those who do report monolingualism have no other choice. Some that report an ability to speak English, however, may have over-reported. Factors such as fear of identifying as a non-English speaker, or a simple over-estimation of one's abilities could have driven this. Because the question about language use was posed as an either/or question, anyone who was able to speak a few words of English could have answered yes. Information about monolingual Cherokee speakers is therefore often more informative than data about those who reported being able to speak English. Bearing this in mind, some respondents' proficiencies are easier to ascertain than others. If a person lived in a family or area of monolingual Cherokee speakers and reports an ability in English, for instance, I follow Wilkerson & Salmons 2012 in assigning that person to the category of presumed bilingual. We can correlate information about language use with people's occupations to gain a picture of the community's structure. Federal census information also provides greater historical depth than contemporary interviews.

Secondary sources such as Finger (1991) provide additional information on speaker numbers in historical periods other than 1910. According to Finger (following Indian Agent Henry Spray), the 1900 US census lists more than 460 Cherokees who are able to speak English. Spray estimated that of those 460 who reported being able to speak it, 350 could

carry on an ordinary conversation. This estimate goes beyond the census data and provides valuable information. Even though 460 Cherokees may have been able to speak some amount of English – possibly even just a few words – Spray gives a clearer picture of the linguistic situation. He claims that the 350 Cherokees who can carry on a conversation in English constitute one-fourth of the tribe. If this is accurate, it would put the total membership of the tribe at roughly 1,400 members (Finger 1991:13). Based on Spray's estimate, the number who reported being able to speak any English whatsoever was 33% of the tribe, leaving 940 people, or 67%, as monolingual Cherokee speakers. **Table 3** below shows the tribe's total population according to Spray's estimate, with the number of monolingual Cherokee speakers and the number reporting any ability in English.

Table 3: Monolingual Cherokee speakers in 1900 (whole community - estimate)



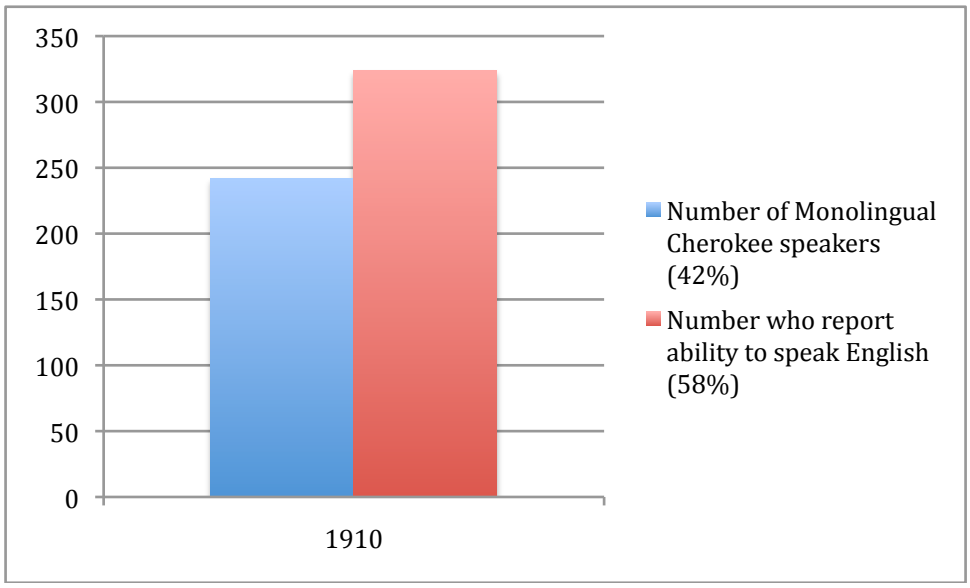
Data from Finger (1991:13)

Of those 33% who could speak any English, it is unknown how many of these had English as a first language or how many were monolingual in English. Given that the majority of the population still spoke only Cherokee though, it is likely there were few English

monolinguals. At most, we can reliably say that the community was taking its first steps to becoming bilingual in English. The degree to which intergenerational transmission of Cherokee had ceased in favor of English, though, is difficult to determine. At this point, Cherokee was still the dominant language used in multiple institutions, and many traditional social structures remained intact.

While the 1900 census presents a picture of a majority Cherokee-monolingual community, a community-wide picture gives no evidence of where English speakers and monolingual Cherokee speakers were situated within the community. Given the discussion in section 2.2.3 of the correlation between geographical location and network structure, it is possible that high concentrations of monolingual speakers will reside in similar areas. To investigate this, I look at the speaker populations within two districts, then compare them individually. The 1910 federal census surveyed 456 people in Swain County, NC's District 152, the Oconalufty Township, and 331 people in District 153, for a total of 787 people. 566 people provided a response to the inquiry about language. Of these, 241 (42%) were monolingual in Cherokee, while 325 (58%) reported some ability to speak English. This data is shown in **Table 4** below.

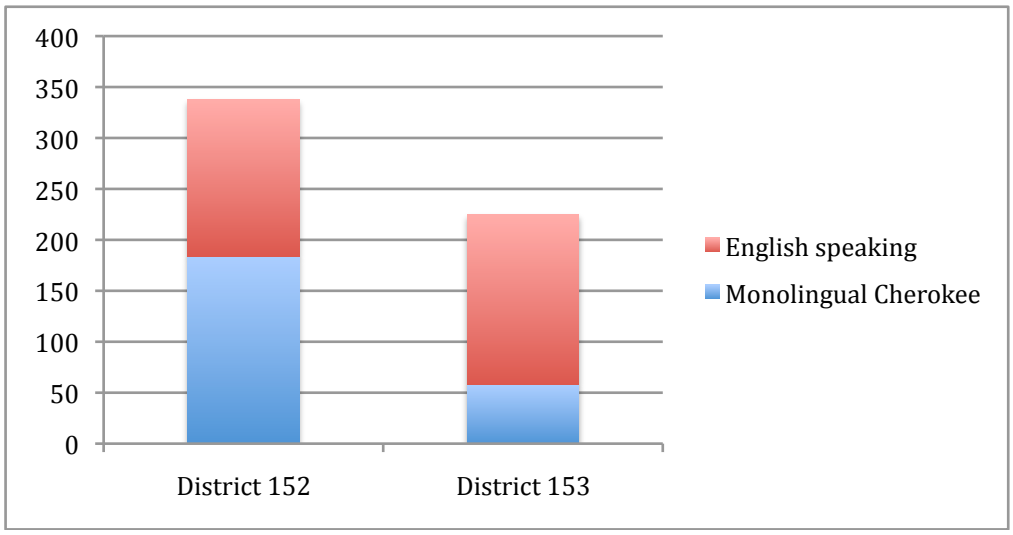
Table 4: Monolingual Cherokee speakers in 1910 (districts 152 & 153)



Data from the 1910 US federal census, accessed via Ancestry.com.

A more fine-grained approach displays the differences in individual districts. For district 152, 184 people (54% of the 338 who responded) reported being monolingual in Cherokee, as compared to 58 out of 225 who responded (26%) in district 153. Clearly, Swain County's district 152 had a higher concentration of monolingual speakers. **Table 5** presents the division in speaker populations between districts.

Table 5: Monolingual Cherokee speakers in 1910 (divided by district)

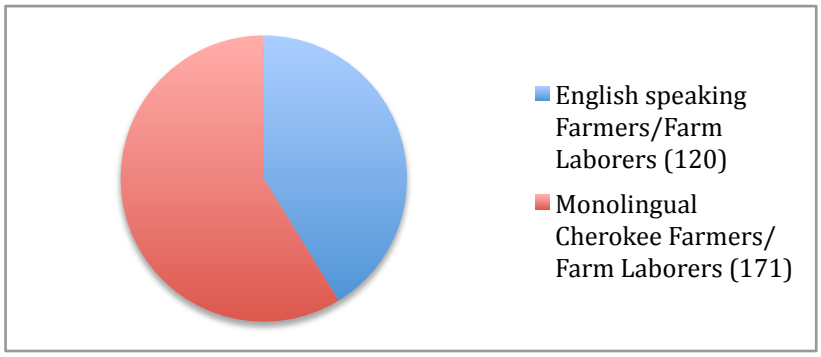


Data from the 1910 US federal census, accessed via Ancestry.com

The demographics of the people surveyed reveals structural details about the community, such as the degree of division of labor. Some English speakers were working in specialized labor practices such as blacksmithing and carpentry, or working as store clerks or dress-makers. Some monolingual Cherokee speakers reported more specialized jobs as well, such as log flume laborers or public works. The presence of monolinguals in these positions indicates that there must have been enough bilingual English/Cherokee speakers in these jobs with whom they interacted. This presents a picture of a work force in the midst of language shift, but a language that is still robustly used. The age of monolingual speakers can provide insight into the health of intergenerational transmission. Among monolinguals in district 152, 115 (62%) were under the age of fifty, which indicates a fairly healthy population of younger speakers. Regarding literacy, 71 monolingual Cherokee speakers (39%) reported being able to read and write. It is likely that their literacy was in the Sequoyah syllabary.

Occupational data from the census provides a sense of what life-mode monolingual Cherokees and English speakers were living in, and thus the likely density and multiplexity of their social networks. The overwhelming majority of monolingual Cherokee speakers in both districts were working as farmers or farm laborers. Extrapolating from interview data from 2013, at least some of these farmers were likely raising crops such as corn and beans and tending livestock such as chickens and pigs. Among those 290 people who reported farmer or farm laborer as their occupation[3], 171 (59%) were monolingual in Cherokee. Among those who reported their occupation as laborer, 9 out of 21 (42.86%) reported being monolingual. **Table 6** displays the distribution of monolingual Cherokee speakers and English speakers in farm or labor positions in both districts in 1910.

Table 6: Language spoken by farmers/farm laborers in 1910 (districts 152 & 153)



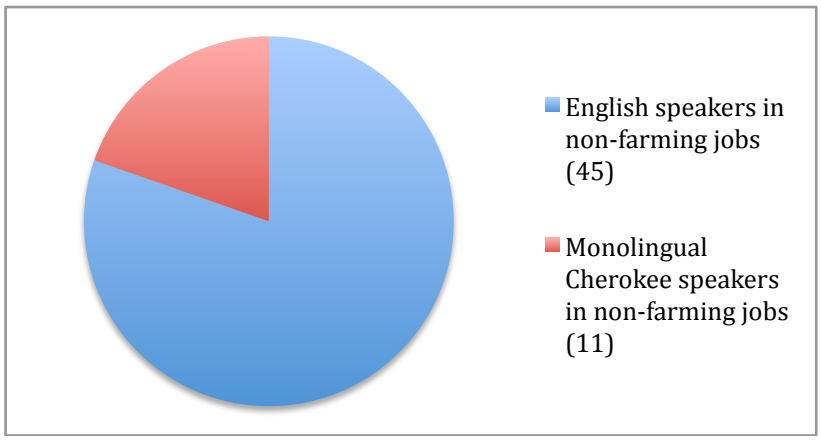
Data from the 1910 US federal census, accessed via Ancestry.com

Because farm labor traditionally emphasizes group cooperation, large families, and tight social networks, it stands to reason that farming fosters monolingualism. To highlight this

[3] One person reported being both a 'farmer' and a 'laborer.'

comparison, **Table 7** shows the number of monolingual Cherokee speakers as opposed to English speakers in 1910 for districts 152 and 153.

Table 7: Language spoken by farming vs. non-farming occupations in 1910 (districts 152 & 153)



Data from the 1910 US federal census, accessed via Ancestry.com

Of the monolingual Cherokee speakers in non-farming occupations in the previous graph, only two actually held a job at all, while nine were unemployed or no longer working. The following table provides the occupations people listed under occupation on the 1910 census in districts 152 and 153 and the languages those people spoke:

Table 8: Non-farming occupations in 1910 by language (districts 152 & 153)

		English	Cherokee
Administrative	Agent, Inspector, Police	4	0
Professional	Contractor, Engineer, Preacher, Ranger, Teacher,	10	0

	Merchant		
Skilled Labor	Blacksmith, Baker, Carpenter, Clerk, Cook, Dressmaker, Pottery, Furniture	13	0
Unskilled Labor	Farming and Trading Family, Gardener, Housekeeper, Living off rents on farm, Night watch, Servant, Washer woman	7	2

Data from the 1910 US federal census, accessed via Ancestry.com

People surveyed who had no job were more frequently English speakers than monolingual Cherokee speakers. Among these, many were between the ages of 6 and 50, and some were non-Cherokees and/or came from places outside the community. The presence of these people likely indicates both the effects of education in teaching Cherokee children to speak English and the degree to which the community was beginning to interface with the larger society. As young people became educated, they learned English. People who moved in from other places may have learned Cherokee, but this knowledge would not be reported in the census, given the focus on non-English monolingualism in the question in Column 17. Therefore, although more people in general were reporting an ability to speak English, this did not mean people were no longer speaking Cherokee.

Social networks continued to change over the course of the 20th century. Finger, summarizing Thomas (1958), notes that:

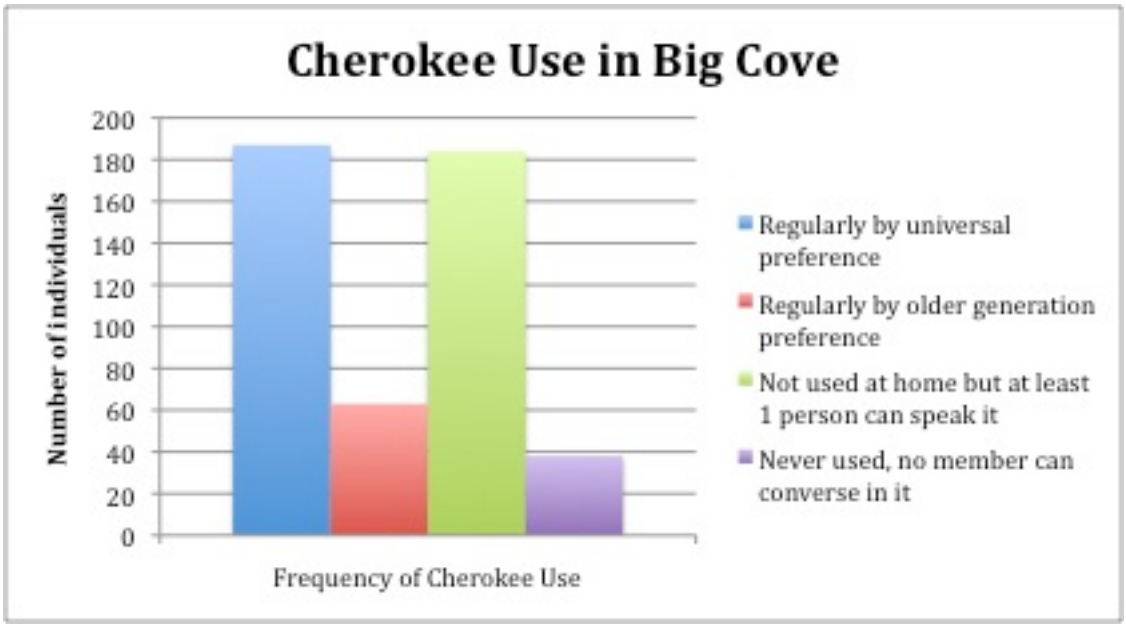
> "[b]y the 1920s … Cherokee families increasingly fell into one of three groups. There were the conservatives, who usually had a high quantum of Indian blood and, more important, defined themselves culturally as Cherokees and continued to place a heavy emphasis on using their native language. The second group, the 'generalized' Indians, still thought of themselves as Cherokees but had internalized certain aspects of white American culture, especially the notion of 'progress.' Most of them had attended school at least briefly, and they were less likely to speak Cherokee because it seemed 'to serve no purpose in the modern world.' Occasionally they betrayed anxiety about being part of two different worlds. The third group Thomas characterizes as 'rural white Indians,' who were from families where whites (especially males) had intermarried within the preceding two generations and who had developed a pronounced white orientation. Their grandchildren were growing up shortly after the war and could seldom speak Cherokee – because of both their home environment and their experiences at the boarding school, where English was emphasized. They in turn often married whites, and the conservative and generalized Indians increasingly excluded them from tribal life." (Finger 1991:67)

Again, comments about 'the modern world' serve to demonstrate a growing connection with the outside world and a change in values from the local to the non-local. This anxiety also provides a glimpse into people's experience of the transition between local and non-local institutions and values. The United States government's 'civilization' policy likely imposed feelings of insecurity among Cherokees in comparison to the larger society. Therefore, home environment is an important factor to consider among those whose values had shifted. Reorientation of values in the home and corresponding changes in linguistic behavior combined with schooling to begin the process of shift.

Gulick's 1958 study of Big Cove also finds a tipping point from bilingualism to English monolingualism. No one in Big Cove, he states, is unable to speak English at all (1958:68). Gulick divides households into four groups of speakers. The first two groups include those who use Cherokee regularly in the home, though group 2 provides the caveat that the young people prefer to use English among themselves. Group 3 includes

households in which "Cherokee is not regularly used at home, in some cases rarely if ever. However, at least one member (usually an adult) of each family can speak it. Competence in Cherokee among the children is often mediocre or minimal" (Gulick 1958:69). Group 4 includes households in which no one can speak Cherokee but family members may know words or phrases. In total, the groups that used Cherokee at home regularly encompassed 250 of the 472 individuals surveyed – 53% of the population of Big Cove in 1958 (Gulick 1958:68-69). **Table 9** displays Gulick's results. Reasons for using Cherokee in the home among this group were both universal preference and preference by the older generation alone. Even in the most conservative communities, such as Big Cove, the mid 20th century represented a time of transition.

Table 9: Frequency of Cherokee use by individuals in Big Cove township in 1958



Data from Gulick (1958:68-69)

Culturally conservative communities became strongholds for Cherokee. Communities such as Big Cove and Snowbird experienced the least contact with outsiders over time, and often preserved traditional social institutions such as the ᏕᏍᏗ (gadugi). Researchers such as Gulick (1958) and Anderson (1999) discovered sizeable populations of Cherokee speakers in these areas, relative to the areas' total populations. Bridget L. Anderson's 1999 study of Snowbird revealed a population of 474 total community members. Those who spoke Cherokee in this small population, however, constituted 1/3 of the total population of Cherokee speakers in the east (Anderson 1999:343). Anderson states that most adults in Snowbird over age 40 are bilinguals, meaning they would have been born before 1959. More recent data from 2009, well after many parents began raising English monolingual children, indicated that there were approximately 300 first-language Cherokee speakers in the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians. This group, comprising 2.26% of the Band's approximately 13,300 enrolled members, had an average age of 53 (Walker 2009:2). For the Band in aggregate, the cutoff year beyond which individuals were generally brought up as English monolinguals, seems to be 1956. In very conservative communities such as Snowbird, the cutoff is a bit later, in 1959. In any case though, children born in the Eastern Band between 1956 and 1959 were most likely among the first children brought up monolingual in English. The chronology of this coincides with the notion of the Great Change being an influential factor in triggering language shift, but contradicts certain anecdotal explanations.

Because the boarding school had existed since 1881, the claim that it was the sole factor deterring people from raising children in Cherokee is untenable. The majority of children were not being raised to be monolingual in English until between 1956 and 1959,

so the effects of the boarding school could not have been the deciding factor. If it were, parents in the preceding 78 years would have begun raising their children monolingual in English as well. Shift from bilingualism to monolingualism owes more to increasing ties with extracommunity organizations and the corresponding breakdown of dense multiplex social networks locally. Connections with extracommunity organizations brought about the formation of new social networks, which often included either the adoptive or fictive kinship (Perdue 2005:11) or intermarriage (Perdue 2005:15). Network changes shifted control of many organizations outside the community and thus eroded some traditional institutions. However, the implementation of traditional community-building strategies seems to have at least partially mitigated this breakdown. Traditionally-structured institutions such as the Cherokee Boys Club, Qualla Arts & Crafts Mutual, Inc., and ultimately, the New Kituwah Academy illustrate this.

A 2012 statement by Gilliam Jackson, administrator of the New Kituwah Academy, reported that the total number of L1 Cherokee speakers in the EBCI was 317, with an additional 74 young speakers enrolled in the Academy (Jackson 2012 public post via Facebook). Although these speaker numbers qualify the Cherokee language as endangered, its endurance relative to many or most other minority communities in the United States suggests that traditional Cherokee community-building strategies may serve to preserve close horizontal social networks. These social networks, in turn, may allow tribes to leverage their closeness into internally-focused groups capable of revitalizing tribal languages. As traditional community-building strategies have been key to maintaining sovereignty and autonomy, they may also prove instructive in revitalizing the language.

3.6. Conclusion

Despite verticalization and increased contact with English speakers, Cherokee methods of community planning mitigated the effects of the Great Change. Although the number of English speakers in the community increased, internal verticalization and its preservation of local social networks stopped the process of language shift from being complete. These strategies served to preserve horizontal social structures that support heritage language use. A number of incidents in which Cherokees developed ties with organizations outside the local community contributed to the creation of new domains of English use. Concomitantly, the breaking up of many traditional social structures reduced the domains in which people spoke Cherokee. The institutions that preserved traditional horizontal and internal vertical structures, like the Qualla Arts & Crafts Mutual co-op, were often formed by socially conservative people who spoke Cherokee as a first language. While these organizations are not necessarily still populated by many L1 Cherokee speakers, their structures may still prove useful in the process of language revitalization. Because of their local focus and their ability to mitigate contact with extra-community organizations, institutions with traditional structures have no factors inhibiting them from becoming domains for Cherokee, other than people's abilities in the language. Organizations such as the New Kituwah Academy are already actively seeking to remedy that problem by encouraging children to acquire Cherokee at a very early age. This process is discussed further in **Chapter 5**.

The traditional town structure included a system of mutual cooperation in the form of the ᏍᏚᏃ (gadugi). The organization fulfilled a number of economic purposes, from crop

harvesting to raising buildings. In this system, even the least fortunate farmers could attain basic subsistence (Gregg 2009:15). Based on matrilineal clan kinship, the town structure bound individuals together through ties of blood, mutual obligation, and dependency (Perdue & Green 1995:2-3). An ethos of harmonious relations insured reciprocation of help from the ᏍᏚᏯ. This functioned as a social and cultural component to an economically sound practice (Duggan 1997:42). As Cherokees encountered external influences, tradition dictated that they incorporate them into local institutions. Historically, this maintained horizontal structures in which people spoke, worked, and played primarily with others in their neighborhoods. These people were generally Cherokee speakers. Even those people adopted from outside the community were socialized into Cherokee norms, which generally included language.

Cherokee culture historically valued dynamism and adaptability, and leaders became "… masters in the transformation of foreign institutional, economic and technological models to fit the needs of Cherokee society" (Duggan 1997:33). An emphasis on kinship, adaptation, and absorption of outside knowledge and power provided an effective model for negotiating the changes that took place in the United States in the early 20th century. In interacting with outsiders, Cherokees generally entrusted a few people with the task of making contact. These people learned English to gain wealth and/or information from outsiders and distributed that knowledge and/or wealth throughout the community. During the Great Change, however, the sheer number of different interactions in which people had to learn and use English to do this led to a new general pattern of language use. As people spoke English in more domains, these domains began to replace traditional ones in which they had spoken Cherokee.

The closing of local institutions like the Qualla grocery store and the arrival of new industries in the region both played roles in adults' use of Cherokee. Jobs in skilled labor positions under the employ of companies from outside the region required that they use at least some English at work. Traditional social domains for Cherokee use disappeared as locally run businesses closed down and industry and tourism replaced farming. As the community became more physically and ideologically connected with the rest of the US, less and less social space remained for the Cherokee language. When children came home from school speaking English, it was not long before it became the household language. As such, children born in the period between 1956 and 1959 grew up in homes that had already shifted. Although some domains for Cherokee use were still active in the intervening years, they began to dwindle as connection to the larger society increased. Still, organizations such as the Boys Club, Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual Inc., and Cherokee Central Schools serve as examples of institutions that preserve traditional community-building strategies, hearkening back to the structure of the old Cherokee town and the ᏍᏚᏃ (gadugi). In these organizations, Cherokees' adherence to egalitarianism, harmony, and kinship seem to have mitigated the effects of the Great Change. They provide a template for language revitalization in the form of speakers' consortia, breakfasts and meetings, and a Cherokee immersion school. Cherokee values and institutions can provide the keys to linguistic survival. With this template, hope still exists that the number of Cherokee speakers will continue to increase.

While similar trends of language shift affected the German immigrant communities of eastern Wisconsin, the effects of the Great Change and the ways German-Americans dealt

with them differed. Chapter Four examines these changes in the region of eastern Wisconsin between Lake Winnebago and Lake Michigan.

Chapter 4: Language Shift Among German Speakers in Eastern Wisconsin

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a study of two groups in selected Wisconsin German communities, specifically focusing on residents of the region now known as the Holyland, and a group whose ancestors immigrated from Rhine-Hessen. The Holyland is a region settled largely by German Catholics, which still retains a particular regional character. Figures 3 and 4 below illustrate the areas of Wisconsin studied and their residents' places of origin in Germany.

Figure 3: Study area in eastern Wisconsin

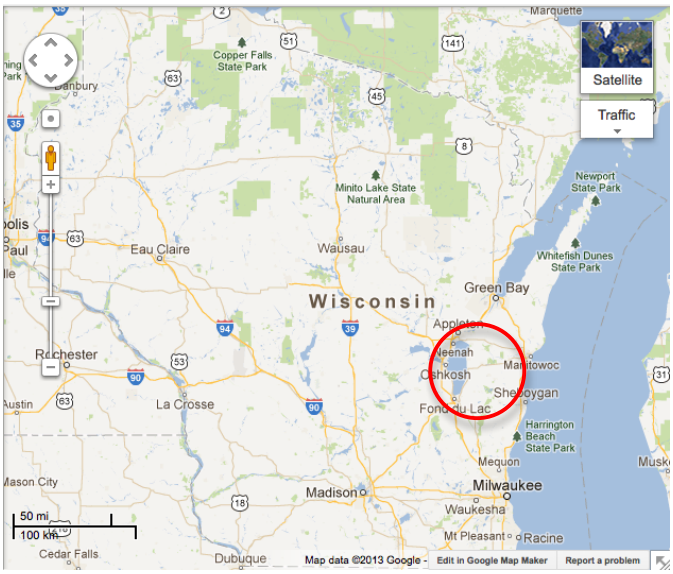


Image from https://maps.google.com

Figure 4: Rhine-Hessen and the Eifel region

Image from https://maps.google.com

Building on work already done on Wisconsin German by Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012), and Lucht et al. (2011), among others,[4] I consider multiple sociolinguistic domains that have been affected by the Great Change. My analysis confirms previous findings regarding the correlation between verticalization and language shift among German immigrant communities in Wisconsin and adds new data to a growing body of literature. During this period of socio-economic transition, people's lives changed in ways that altered their social networks. Often, these changes led away from domains in which they used German and toward more domains in which they used English. Because of this, community members became accustomed to speaking English in their everyday lives, and eventually even in the home. Because of this, many contemporary Wisconsin German speakers are elderly, with the later generations not having acquired German as a first language.

[4] For more information, see Salmons 2002, 2005a, 2005b, 2008, and Lucht 2007.

Section 4.2 outlines the geographical origins of the immigrant groups under study and highlights reasons for the groups' internal cohesion, as well as their differentiation from neighboring immigrant groups. **Section 4.3** surveys several traditional institutions in the communities, the changes they underwent during the Great Change, and the relationship of these changes with language use. **Section 4.4** provides qualitative evidence of language shift, drawing from interviews with contemporary German speakers. **Section 4.5** examines quantitative information on speaker numbers from the 1910 US census. **Section 4.6** concludes with a summary of the correlation between verticalization and language shift in the communities studied, and reflects on what this might mean for notions of identity.

4.2 Background

Although German has a long history of use in Wisconsin, the 2000 census lists only 48,300 German speakers in the state. Among the 5,021,730 people surveyed, German speakers constituted 0.96 % of the total population. Despite large numbers of German-speaking immigrants from the mid 1800s to the mid 20th century, the number of speakers today has declined. This section introduces the background of two groups of initial immigrants, and examines the ways they formed cohesive, self-sustaining communities, largely independent of other immigrants in the region. Factors such as a large population, shared geographical, linguistic, and cultural origins, and a perception of otherness in the eyes of immigrants from other parts of Europe solidified early bonds among German communities.

Beginning in the 1830s, a large concentration of German Catholics settled the western part of the region between Lake Winnebago and Lake Michigan in eastern Wisconsin (Schlemper 2003:33). Many settlers emigrated from Germany's Eifel region,

especially the area of Lippe-Detmold, to an area of Wisconsin now referred to as the Holyland. Even today, the communities in this area are linked to one another by a distinct regional identity based on commonalities of religion and place of origin (Schlemper 2003:13). Because of the way Catholicism has historically permeated the culture of the region, from church to school to local choirs and social gatherings, the region has developed a distinct character that sets it apart from other regions.

To the east of the Holyland, communities of Lutheran settlers arrived from Rhine-Hessen, in the area of Mainz, Worms, and Bingen (Schmahl 2008:39). Rhine-Hessian immigrants left those regions after a period of rapid population growth and a consequent dearth of available land in their region of Europe. They often chose the Americas as their destination due to the influence of letters from previous immigrants from the same region (Schmahl 2008:102). The earliest populations of German immigrants bound for Wisconsin entered the country through New York. Marriage and birth records indicate little variation in their patterns of migration, meaning immigrants already knew where they were headed. From the port in Hamburg to New York Harbor, Rhine-Hessians headed for familiar German populations, generally on the coast of Lake Michigan in Milwaukee. From there, many moved in groups to form small settlements in the territories surrounding Milwaukee, especially as noted already between Lake Winnebago and Lake Michigan. Immigrants from similar geographical areas in Germany, such as those from the Eifel, remained together because of shared history, linguistic variety, and culture. Their cultural practices simultaneously unified them and differentiated them from settlers from other regions (Schlemper 2003:172).

New churches established within the settlements were often products of community members' initiative, and frequently represented burgeoning centers of community life. In the Holyland, Catholicism became the dominant cultural center that unified German immigrants. Catholicism's role in verticalization is discussed below in section 4.3.2. Language was at once a unifying factor for German Catholics and differentiating factor between them and other Catholic immigrants. Although many Irish settlers were also Catholic, their inability to speak German often prevented them from talking with the German Catholic congregations before or after the Latin mass. Schmahl explains, "Although the Irish belonged to the Catholic church, they could communicate with the Germans only with great difficulty" [5] (2008:153, my translation). Thus although both immigrant groups were part of the same institution as far as being Catholic, little language contact resulted from this connection during the early stages of settlement. Both religion and language often separated immigrant groups from one another. "The population change in Addison offers evidence that the tendency toward segregation between various ethnic groups existed even after a decade after settlement … . Very little inclination existed among the generally Protestant Anglo-Americans to live among immigrants of a different faith, whose language they did not even understand"[6] (Schmahl 2008:153, my translation). The inability to understand the local population's language deterred many Anglo-Americans of both Protestant and Catholic faiths from living among immigrants. In this way, religious and

[5] Die Iren gehörten zwar der katholischen Kirche an, konnten sich jedoch auch mit den Deutschen nur schwer verständigen.

[6] Ein Beispiel dafür, dass die Neigung zur Segregation bei den unterschiedlichen ethnischen Gruppen auch noch ein Jahrzehnt nach der Niederlassung bestand, bietet die Bevölkerungsbewegung in Addison...Bei den im Regelfall protestantischen Angloamerikanern bestand nur geringe Neigung, unter andersgläubigen Einwanderern zu leben, deren Sprache sie überdies nicht verstanden.

linguistic distinctions helped sustain the German communities' social networks, keeping them separate from Anglo-Americans and Irish immigrants. Certain exceptions to this are discussed in the following section.

One source of cohesion among groups of early German immigrants was their members' common historical backgrounds. Many who came to Wisconsin from Rhine-Hessen and the Eifel region in Germany did so largely for economic reasons. A recent transition from French to German rule under Ludwig I had left many Rhine-Hessians disenfranchised. Many already knew people who had immigrated to Pennsylvania and other places like Brazil and Argentina. Letters sent back to the home country invited friends and relatives to immigrate to the new countries like America in a chain migration (on these patterns in eastern Wisconsin, see Schmahl 2008:109). Because immigrants already knew people in the new region, immigration did not represent as drastic a break from their established social networks at home as it might have without pre-established contacts. In fact, if the number of people they knew in the new country was smaller than in the old, social networks likely became tighter as new immigrants relied on those who had arrived earlier for support. The creation of strong social networks among new and pre-established German immigrants also meant that there was no immediate need to use English – when relying on people from their own region in Germany, immigrants were able to use their own dialects in their new social networks.

Linguistic and cultural factors often separated German immigrants in Wisconsin from other immigrant groups such as the Irish. The first few major German settlements after the American Civil War were in Milwaukee, along the shores of Lake Michigan (Schmahl 2008:117). Milwaukee then served as a hub for further German immigration

westward into neighboring territories and future counties. Immigrants from Rhine-Hessen were generally bound directly for Wisconsin (Schmahl 2008:85). This contrasts fairly sharply with the Irish, who tended to move from area to area before settling in one place (Schmahl 2008:139). These immigration patterns highlight the difference in social network formation between the two groups – the Germans arrived together, moving directly to areas of pre-established contacts and forming strong social ties. The Irish moved from place to place, encountering various people and remaining for varying lengths of time. This likely led to looser social ties, and certainly led to smaller numbers of Irish immigrants arriving at a time in communities that were heavily German-dominated. Because of the Germans' social cohesion within their various groups, there was little need for public or private activities to be conducted in any language other than German. The smaller numbers and looser social ties among the Irish, as well as their inability to speak German, served to exclude them and Anglo-Americans from much social interaction with Germans. They therefore often lived in separate areas. As Schmahl notes, "Anglo-Americans shaped the picture in 1850 particularly in the still thinly settled area northeast of Washington County (North Bend and Trenton) and in Hartford. The Irish concentrated especially on Erin in the southwest corner of the region as well as on the bordering townships" [7] (Schmahl 2008:152, my translation). Living in separate regions fostered little interaction between German and Irish or Anglo-American settlers, providing few opportunities for language shift in the

[7] Angloamerikaner prägten 1850 das Bild vor allem im noch dünn besiedelten Nordosten von Washington County (North Bend und Trenton) und in Hartford. Iren konzentrierten sich vor allem auf Erin in der Südwestecke des Bezirks sowie auf die angrenzenden Townships.

initial period of settlement.[8] Instead, as Germans came in overwhelming numbers, self-sustaining German communities supported the use of German. The language barrier actively served to discourage other Americans from attending Catholic services. Their lack of a common language with other parishioners stood in the way of integration. Schlemper (2003) quotes Father Kaspar Rehrl (1845) in noting, "In all probability many Americans would frequent the Catholic Church, if as they say, the church were more 'respectable looking' and sermons preached in English" (Schlemper 2003:6). The church represented one early domain in which German served as a barrier to population mixing. At the same time, the use of German continued to sustain cohesion among members who were able to speak it.

Settlements established by German immigrants initially remained mostly German-speaking because settlers generally took two approaches to newcomers. They either kept non-German-speakers separate from local networks or integrated them, to the extent that outsiders became German speakers. Intermarriage with non-Germans occurred infrequently, which meant a rising, relatively homogeneous German population. German communities therefore became largely self-sustaining. These strategies played out in both Catholic and Protestant areas. South of the Holyland, in Washington County, Schmahl observes that in 1850, "5100 people born in Germany were counted in Washington County. In addition there were 1422 children born in the USA to German parents. German-Americans therefore constituted more than half (58.3%) of the population" [9] (Schmahl

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[8] Additional information on families that did shift has been discussed by Bagwell & Olson (2006).

[9] 5100 in Deutschland geborene Personen wurden in Washington County gezählt. Hinzu kamen 1422 in den USA geborene Kinder von Deutschen. Deutschamerikaner machten somit mehr als die Hälfte (58,3%) der Bevölkerung aus.

2008:151, my translation). Ten years later, the number rises to 2/3 of the population of Washington County, while the early 20th century sees the number of US-born children of Germans rise to 8/10ths of the county's residents (Schmahl 2008:151). Intermarriage between German immigrants and people of other national and ethnic backgrounds was rare, owing at least partially to the language barrier. When it did occur, these outsiders generally became part of existing networks and often learned German. "Insofar as [intermarriage with outsiders] occurred," claims Schmahl, "it was often tantamount to the complete absorption of the spouse into the German-American community"[10] (Schmahl 2008:256, my translation). In Dodge County, to the southwest of the Holyland, Wilkerson & Salmons demonstrate the presence of English and Irish surnames and forenames in the congregation records of Bethany Evangelical Lutheran Church for the years 1899, 1901, 1911, 1913, and 1918. Based on excerpts from the church's historical record, published in 1983, they establish that the church's transition to English did not get underway until well after 1910. To have been confirmed at Bethany, therefore, people of Irish and English descent must have been able to speak some German (Wilkerson & Salmons 2012:13-15). Although the church later transitioned to English, the initial integration of outsiders with non-German backgrounds was largely on Germans' terms.

Culture and social values often prevented intermarriage between Germans and other groups. By the 1850s, most American-born citizens who married immigrants preferred to marry those from England, as they were among the wealthiest of the immigrants, and also shared a common cultural, religious, and historical background as the

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[10] Sofern diese stattfanden, war dies oft mit dem Aufgehen des Ehepartners in der deutschamerikanischen Gemeinschaft gleichbedeutend.

Yankee descendants of the Puritans (Schmahl 2008:260). Perhaps because of their Puritan background, one major cultural difference between Anglo-Americans and Germans was their stance on alcohol. Driven by the Puritan ethos of temperance, Anglo-Americans favored laws moderating, and ultimately prohibiting the sale and consumption of alcohol, while Germans held different values (Schmahl 2008:208,262). Such differences in political opinion were initially difficult for new German immigrants to express, given Anglo-Americans' superior command of English – the prominent language of political discourse, as well as their existing status as citizens. Political participation among German immigrants would later change, after many applied for citizenship and waited, minimally five years after their arrival, for it to be granted (Schmahl 2008:262).

Although German immigrants came from different cultural, geographic, and religious origins, one factor that drove cohesion among them was the perception among other ethnic groups that they were monolithic. German immigrants perceived themselves as different from one another, even to the point of having trouble understanding each other's dialects, but Anglo-Americans and other immigrant groups did not take those differences into consideration. Schmahl cites a letter by a settler in Mequon, Wisconsin, back to relatives in New England that gives evidence to Anglo-Americans' perception of German immigrants singularly as Dutchmen. The settler, originally from the area around Boston, writes: "[T]her [sic] is a great many German Dutch come to this Teritory [sic], they Seem friendly but not much for Society (Schmahl 2008:205, 208, following SHSW File 1843 June 8: E.R., Woodworth letter). References such as this represent a trend of othering by groups such as the Irish, English-descended people born in the United States (Anglo-Americans or Yankees), and newly-immigrated English immigrants that likely contributed

to German-Americans' self-identity, as it defined them in terms of what they were not. Othering, as Schlemper defines it, following Valentine (1999:57), is "… the way in which a group defines itself 'physically, socially, morally, politically and metaphorically in relation to others"(Schlemper 2003:18). This othering likely served as a contributing factor in tying many social activities and institutions, especially in the Holyland, together with a German identity. The continuity of that identity beyond the time of widespread intergenerational transmission of German to English from parents to children would later become important in the transition to a new German-American identity.

Common cultural norms in the Holyland like the concept of *Gemeinschaft* helped form tight social networks around Catholic churches. These social networks often held decision-making power over the happenings in the community. Schlemper explains:

> Collectively, members of the parishes in the region made major decisions about the course of their communities. In some ways, this is not at all unlike what they had experienced in the Eifel prior to immigration. Germans were, in many ways, accustomed to active lay participation in the formation and governing of their churches and communities. The church and community, intimately connected by the notion of *Gemeinschaft*, were managed cooperatively by the clergy and the laity. This phenomenon is traced by some to the German 'hometown tradition' (2003:128).

Schlemper provides Welschmeyer's (1988) definition of *Gemeinschaft*, "an intermingling of religious and temporal or church and community life" (2003:128). The German hometown tradition is defined as "… a distinctive autonomous form of local government that developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries … that formed the political and social experience of many immigrants. Independence, self-government, and a community closely bound together by consensus were trademarks of the German hometown … " (Schlemper 2003:129, following Dolan 1992:168). These cultural traditions ensured a degree of autonomy for German-American communities and united their citizens as they

engaged with community institutions. Organizations like churches and newspapers rose up from horizontal social structures, consolidating them into internal vertical structures[11].

German-language papers stood upon the border between enforcing existing linguistic norms in German communities and integrating those communities with the larger society. The *Wiskonsin Banner*, the first German language newspaper, began publication in 1844 (Schmahl 2008:263). German papers often provided information about politics and events overseas, but, according to Schmahl, "The German press had two conflicting effects" [12] (2008:276, my translation). One of these was that it hindered English learning among German immigrants. The other was that it generally served as an instrument of either the Democratic or Republican party. While the hindrance of English acquisition tended to isolate German-Americans from other Americans because it allowed them to continue using their native tongue, political content in German newspapers began to integrate them into the political processes of the larger society by swaying their votes.

Political participation and a growing population of German-Americans also began to inspire fear and hatred in some Anglo-Americans. Some became afraid of a foreign takeover (*Überfremdung*). This fear led many Anglo-Americans to join xenophobic organizations such as the Know-Nothings (Schmahl 2008:211). Tensions between such anti-immigrant groups and immigrants escalated on August 7, 1855 with the lynching of New-York-born 19-year-old George DeBar (Schmahl 2008:211). DeBar had been working as a farm hand for Johannes Muehr, a German immigrant, when Muehr struck him for wearing the sign of the Know-Nothings, a white hat (Schmahl 2008:211). DeBar developed a hatred for Muehr

[11] For a more thorough discussion of internal vertical structures and internal verticalization, see section 2.2.5.

[12] Die deutschsprachige Presse hatte zwei entgegengesetzte Wirkungen.

and one day, while attempting to collect his pay, stabbed everyone in Muehr's house with a knife, killing one (Schmahl 2008:211). DeBar was tried and found guilty, but the state militiamen that had been called in to protect him while he was transported to prison were German immigrants who sympathized with the mob protesting his trial (Schmahl 2008:211). They offered little resistance when the mob took DeBar from them and lynched him (Schmahl 2008:211). This situation illustrates how fear and hatred can serve as unifiers within groups, albeit occasionally with horrifying consequences.

A high population, commonalities among individual groups of German immigrants such as cultural, geographic, and linguistic origins, and an othering effect proliferated by other Wisconsin settlers all contributed to the cohesiveness of German social networks during the early immigration period. These social networks spawned institutions such as churches and newspapers that became strongholds for the use of the German language. Because people were bound by strong social ties and often spoke to the same people in multiple contexts, German became the common language of many Wisconsin communities. Limited contact with other immigrant groups maintained this status quo for some time, until the period of the Great Change.

4.3 Transition and Changes

Although the initial period of German immigration to Wisconsin provided ideal conditions for strong social networks that supported the habitual daily use of German in multiple contexts, the 20th century brought change. The increasing involvement of state and federal governments through regulations on farming and education policy, an increasing prevalence of technology, and the breakup of neighborhoods of German immigrants all contributed to structural change in the communities. As people began living in different

places, they began interacting with people from elsewhere who were not necessarily proficient in German. As settlers spent more time interacting with people from outside their communities, the structure of some traditional institutions began to change. As previous strongholds of German language use began to include more and more time wherein people spoke English, those domains were lost one by one as dependable places to hear and speak German. Changes in institutions such as farming, church, school, and industry all had lasting effects on the linguistic behavior of the community. Although the loss of German in any one of these domains would not have been enough to cause people to abandon the language in their homes, the shift within many separate domains formed a nearly inexorable push toward English.

Post-migration German communities were largely self-sustaining, with nodes around which communities formed. People socialized in various contexts, but often these social ties were multiplex rather than weak, or categorical in Warren's terms. Within the context of farming, people would socialize by getting together after farm work to eat, see each other in church and church-related activities, and play card games together such as *Schafkopf* and *Skat*. They socialized at dance halls and bars, and occasionally met their spouses-to-be there. Even those working in town often had close enough ties to their customers to know which language to address them in. In this state of knowing which language each customer spoke, a tight social relationship balanced the scales of language shift – one need not have assumed a default of English or German, because social knowledge allowed one to choose the language correctly. As social networks changed, English would become the default form of address. This section discusses the background

of the institutions of farming, church, school, and industry, and how the Great Change affected each in terms of language shift.

4.3.1 Farming

As a lifestyle, farming contributed to increased social cohesion. Inconvenient transportation, large farmsteads, and communal work all meant that German settlers relied on each other rather than those from outside their community for social and economic needs. This type of lifestyle is representative of life-mode 1. Because of farming families' firm reliance on one another, relationships among them grew to be dense. Multiplexity was also likely common due to a limited population. During the settlement period, Germans determined which plot of land they wanted based on three major factors: land conditions (soil quality, climate, vegetation, water), transport paths to markets, and vicinity to countrymen (Schmahl 2008:140). This suggests that planning a life on the farm involved considering how to get the best quality crops, how to best transport those crops, and who might be willing to help raise and harvest them. Living near countrymen meant being able to ask for help in raising crops and being able to provide help when it was requested. Social networks were therefore part of a subsistence strategy. Farmers in Sheboygan County, WI, on the western shore of Lake Michigan, generally inhabited large farmsteads. Schmahl explains, "the farms in Sheboygan County were meaningfully larger (on an average of 131 acres). This is likely traceable back to the relatively high number of Anglo-Americans, who often bought more land than European immigrants"[13] (Schmahl 2008:232, my translation).

[13] In Sheboygan County waren die Farmen bedeutend größer (durchschnittlich 131 acres). Dies dürfte auf den relativ hohen Anteil von Angloamerikanern zurückzuführen sein, die oft mehr Land kauften als europäische Einwanderer.

Assuming people were not building houses on each others' farmsteads, large farms meant fewer people living in the area than in communities where farms were smaller. This meant a lower population density, making it more probable that people living in a certain area had multiplex social ties. The quality of roads initially made it somewhat inconvenient to stay in contact with people in nearby towns and cities. According to Schmahl, "transportation of agricultural products into the cities was often arduous. Only a few toll roads, whose surfaces were made out of wooden planks (plank roads) were accessible during the entire year. The journey with oxen was time-consuming and costly"[14] (Schmahl 2008:240, my translation). Certainly, farmers made it into town to sell their goods, but the difficulty of travel on plank roads with oxen meant that they likely did not make the trip frequently. In this way their connections with people outside the community was somewhat limited. Limited interaction meant that farmers largely saw members of their own family and fellow German immigrants who also were farmers. Because of this, farming constituted a strong domain of German use. Given such a limited pool of individuals to interact with, and a lack of labor specialization[15], social relationships were multiplex. Communal work provided opportunities for people to talk to each other as families, friends, and neighbors, as well as fellow workers – all various social roles, filled by the same individuals. Oral interviews conducted in 2013, discussed more in depth in section 4.4, provide evidence that farming families assisted each other with tasks such as sawing, butchering and

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[14] Der Transport der landwirtschaftlichen Produkte in die Städte war oft mühselig. Nur wenige gebührenpflichtige Straßen (Plank Roads), deren Fahrbahnen aus Holzplanken bestanden, waren während des ganzen Jahres befahrbar, die Reise mit Zugochsen war zeitraubend und kostspielig.

[15] See Table 4 in Section 4.5 for data on occupations among monolingual German speakers in two Wisconsin townships.

threshing. Assistance was unpaid, but workdays were concluded with a shared meal. Interactions during work and socializing provided ample opportunity to speak and hear German. Interviews suggest that while technology was still somewhat scarce, individual items such as threshing machines could help bring communities together. If one person had a threshing machine, that person would move from farm to farm to assist everyone with their threshing. This solidified social bonds and propagated a strong network. Consultants reported that aside from farm work, they participated in social activities with their families and neighbors such as birthday celebrations, card games, dances, and spending time at local bars. These activities provided multiple contexts for seeing people outside of work. Given a relatively low population density, these were often the same people they saw during work. Relationships among them were therefore personal rather than categorical.

During the period of the Great Change, increasing regulations from the state and federal government began altering the structure of institutions such as dairy farms and public schools. One interviewee who had himself run a dairy farm for many years reported that regulations placed on the temperature of milk, as well as the requirement that it be pasteurized, caused many farmers to close down their operations because of their inability to pay the cost of bringing them up to code. While dairy farming in local German communities had once been a fairly horizontal structure, with local farmers coordinating with other locals on the purchasing of milk and the transport of milk to cheese factories, government regulation added a new dimension. Vertical ties to the government began to alter the way local farmers had to do business. Those farmers who were able to bring their farms up to code were able to buy up increasingly larger pieces of their neighbors' former land. Even for these larger farm-holders, however, life began to change. As technology

became more widely available, there was less call to depend on the one neighbor who owned a threshing machine. As more families acquired threshing machines, the process became more individualized and removed the domain for German use. Neighbors no longer had to wait for other German-speaking neighbors who owned threshing machines – they simply used their own. As neighborhoods diminished, cooperation between neighbors did so as well, often being replaced by the employment of day-laborers on the new larger farms. One consultant who remembers hiring day-laborers recalled that they were not always from the local region, and were therefore unreliable conversation partners for German. Thus, even on the remaining farms, the domain for German use declined.

Farming was expanding in Wisconsin as early as 1860. The 1850 census recorded 40,865 farmers and 20,177 farms for the state while the 1860 census enumerated 31,472 farm laborers, 93,9859 farmers, and 69,270 farms (Current 1976:90, following the Ninth Census of the United States, 1870: Volume 3:340). As farms grew larger, wider community structures changed, and farmers who had closed were forced out of the neighborhood. They moved into new areas such as the nearby cities and/or other regions, and found new work. Those who would have inherited farms had to look for new work as well. The changing sizes of farms meant that former neighborhoods of farmers no longer persisted, and the structure of neighbors coming together to accomplish farm work was broken. Because of this, people no longer gathered to work and speak German as they once had. With the community structure's change, farming became a less prominent German-speaking domain. Lacking the same social networks and cohesion with their now-departed neighbors, people stopped using German as frequently, as former neighbors and conversation partners were absent.

Young people whose parents' farms had closed were forced to look for work elsewhere. Moving brought its own set of difficulties, as town and city jobs generally entailed weak social ties, or categorical relationships in Warren's terms, rather than multiplex ones. Owning and running a bakery, as one consultant's father did, was different than farming. One's primary relationship with others at work was storekeeper/customer rather than neighbor/co-worker/friend, or even father/son. Although social relationships on the farm had often been filled by the same people in multiple roles, social roles in the city became more isolated. This community structure difference added a degree of ambiguity, as people became less certain what language to use while addressing others at work. In the absence of close social ties, people in new areas had to resort to a default language, which frequently proved to be English.

The role of neighborhood farming units continued to diminish, as industrialization proceeded and more people acquired farming equipment which made it easier to manage without the aid of neighbors. At the same time, regulations set by external organizations such as those mandating pasteurization and homogenization of milk, standardization of canning, requirement of cooling tanks, and payment licensing fees made it difficult for individual dairy farmers to remain in business, thus reducing the number of farmers overall. An interviewee from Kiel, WI reported that those who could afford to obey the regulations continued farming, often buying up their neighbors' parcels of land. This reduction in the size of the community subsequently affected the community's social cohesion. With no need to depend on each other's physical labor, neighborhoods lost cohesion, then, as regulations from outside stiffened, the neighborhoods reconfigured to larger parcels of land owned by fewer individuals. Verticalization had changed the

structure of the local German community. This change reduced the potential for interaction among farmers and therefore also the potential for use of German. Those individuals forced out of their farming operations had to transition to other occupations such as factory work, shipbuilding, carpentry, and work in the local stores. This transition effectively dissolved the earlier multiplex relationships between farmer/neighbors and replaced them with categorical relationships between laborers and customers. A change in work circumstances generally meant a change in life-mode as well, from 1 to 2. Rather than working for its own sake to produce basic commodities, Germans began working jobs with on and off hours. A change in life-mode, verticalization, more specialized labor, and changing network structures led to language shift, as opportunities to speak German with close friends and neighbors dwindled. As German conversations between adults dwindled, so too did children's opportunities to acquire the language. Whereas in earlier periods, children had aided with farm work, hearing and speaking German with families and neighbors, government regulations began requiring them to attend school. Verticalization, in the form of non-local decision-making, had led to a missed opportunity for children to learn German on the farm (Schlemper 2003:162).

4.3.2. Church

For many German settlers, the church was a central community institution. For Lutherans and Catholics, the church constituted an important social domain. Both churches, however, ultimately faced challenges in maintaining the German language. According to Schmahl, "Church communities arose as a rule on the initiative of the settlers. They were distinguished by a high degree of autonomy, which differed markedly from the church

structures of Germany"[16] (Schmahl 2008:297, my translation). The fact that churches arose by the will of the settlers themselves reveals strong local social ties among the settlers. These ties allowed them to establish the horizontal institution of local churches. The autonomy of these individual churches, without the oversight of a higher church authority typical in Germany, points to a lack of verticalization in the early period of church establishment. For language use, not being under the purview of a higher organization meant that each autonomous local church unit was free to determine the language in which it conducted sermons and social activities. Because of the large German population that established them, churches were strong domains for use of German.

Especially among Catholic settlers in the Holyland, the church served as a main center of community life. Schlemper describes local church parish allegiances as a sort of anchor institution, from which community members extended their identities from the local to the global: "Their identities were linked primarily to the parishes they created and maintained. Once established, other forces broadened their connections to the regional, national, and global scales. Social and cultural factors served to promote cross-parish connections within the region and ultimately contributed to the construction of the Holyland's regional-scale and identity" (Schlemper 2003:129). These local, inter-parish connections also indicate horizontal ties between institutions, while people's primary allegiance to their local parish identifies a center of each community – a place where people gathered to socialize, and around which many of their activities were based. "Social institutions," Schlemper claims, "most connected to Catholicism, reinforced religious

[16] Kirchengemeinden entstanden in der Regel auf Initiative der Siedler. Sie zeichneten sich durch ein hohes Maß an Autonomie aus, das sich deutlich von den kirchlichen Strukturen Deutschlands unterschied.

traditions within individual parishes and promoted internal solidarity. They also transcended parish boundaries and created bonds among parishes in the Holyland" (Schlemper 2003:129).

The combination of parochial education, church services, Sunday schools, and church-related social activities created an atmosphere of community in which people formed strong social networks. These networks were characterized by multiplex relationships, as individual church related events drew many people who knew each other from church. Linguistically, this meant speaking German with the same people in multiple circumstances, providing many domains for German use. Speaking with close friends, family members, and members of the same organizations also strengthened people's identification of the language as part of the community. In establishing autonomous local churches, many congregations took an active role in the governing of the church. Even during the founding period of many churches, the German language was seen as central to the community and church's identity. Schmahl explains:

> At its founding every parish established a constitution, consisting largely of two parts. The first part contained specifications regarding theological orientation, authoritative confessional writings and sacraments. Organizational questions such as synod affiliation, appointment and assignments of preachers and parish council, as well as rights and obligations of members were regulated in the second section. … Stipulations regarding language are to be found in some ordinances. The St. Johannes congregation in Germantown determined in 1865: '*Because this congregation is a German one and wishes to remain so, teaching and preaching, as well as negotiations should take place primarily in the German language; indeed, as long as three members of this congregation wish to maintain the German language*.' English services, however, could take place by request, and had to be approved by the parish assembly (Schmahl 2008:297-298, quoting Art. 3 of the ordinance of 1/14/1865; *Minutes of St. Johannes/Germantown*, *Volume. 2, S. 1,* my translation).[17]

[17] Bei der Gründung gab sich jede Gemeinde eine Konstitution, die gewöhnlich aus zwei Teilen bestand. Der erste Teil enthielt Angaben über theologische Ausrichtung, verbindliche Glaubensschriften und Sakramente. Im zweiten Abschnitt wurden organisatorische Fragen geregelt wie synodale Zugehörigkeit, Ernennung und Aufgaben

Ordinances like these exemplify the autonomy and power the congregation had in determining the structure and operation of the institution of the church. Indeed, the degree of participation it took to arrange such ordinances and serve in church parish assemblies displays the extent to which the church was a focal point in community life for many German settlers. The provision regarding language displays an awareness of community members' linguistic distinction from other settler populations, as well as their strong identification with the German language as integral to the church community's identity. The inclusion of provisions regarding approval of English services serves as a mechanism for regulating the degree to which English is allowed into the church. In this way the constitution empowers the parish assembly to act as a gatekeeper, allowing or refusing to allow English services to predominate in life of the church.

Initially, German settlers in Wisconsin took the initiative in building their own churches, generally unattached to any larger denominational governing body. These churches were self-governing, and traditional notions such as that of the *Gemeinschaft* and the German hometown drove people to participate in their government and operation. Settlers' responsibility for and ownership of the church inspired them to identify strongly with it as a community institution, and a center of community life. People participated not only in parish assembly meetings, but also attended church services, Sunday schools, parochial schools, and church-related social activities. The church, therefore, was not an

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von Prediger und Gemeindevorstand sowie Rechte und Pflichten der Mitglieder. …In manchen Gemeindeordnungen finden sich auch Bestimmungen zur Sprache. Die St. Johannesgemeinde in Germantown bestimmte 1865: ‚*Weil diese Gemeinde eine deutsche ist und sein u. bleiben will, so soll Lehren und Predigen sowie die Verhandlungen hauptsächlich in der deutschen Sprache geschehen, und zwar so lange noch drei Glieder dieser Gemeinde die deutsche Sprache beibehalten wollen*.' Englische Gottesdienste konnten jedoch auf Wunsch stattfinden und mussten von der Gemeindeversammlung genehmigt werden.

isolated institution, but itself the center of a web of horizontal institutions, generated by and for the community in which they were situated. In the early period, these horizontal networks were largely independent, unattached to organizations outside the community at the state or national level. Although Schlemper cites connections between local parishes, these were still horizontal connections between people of various communities of equal social standing. For language use, these strong horizontal ties and non-attachment to external organizations meant that German was able to freely predominate in church and social activities as the default language of interaction. Indeed, because of settlers' strong identification with German as the language of their community, some church by-laws mandated its use.

Autonomy among Catholic churches in Wisconsin was a phenomenon that differed from the typical organization of churches in Germany (Schmahl 2008:297). Part of this lay in Catholicism's traditional hierarchical nature. Schlemper cites an example of a priest having so great a difference of opinion with his parishioners over the amount of funding needed to build a new church that he resigned (2003:125). The parish went without a priest for over a year, until a new church could be constructed for a price more reasonable to the parishioners (Schlemper 2003:125-126). Although German settlers understood the institution of Catholic hierarchy, many Wisconsin churches adhered to it to greater and lesser degrees, often preferring autonomy.

One monastery in particular provides an example of verticalization. The Capuchin monastery in Mt. Calvary, Wisconsin was founded by two Swiss secular priests. Schlemper explains, "[b]riefly, a secular priest is a parish or diocesan priest. He is placed in a given parish based on the needs of his archdiocese and/or diocese" (2003:93). The church

received financial support from several other Catholic churches in Europe. From the local level in Wisconsin, this financial support connected the monastery to the larger structure of the Catholic church. Its status as a waypoint within the wider institution of Catholicism also led to an inclusion in the Indulgence of Portiuncula.

> Historically, the Franciscans were called upon to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land (not the Holyland in Wisconsin). Because St. Francis felt that this expectation was a great burden for some, he appealed to the Pope to allow pilgrims to visit the church of the Portiuncula, or Our Lady of the Angels in Assisi, instead. This church was the birthplace of the Franciscan Order and as such was a sacred site for the Franciscans. The Pope granted this privilege, or indulgence, to the Order, but limited the pilgrimage to one day each year, August 2, and only in the church of Portiuncula. Eventually, however, the Indulgence of Portiuncula was extended to all Franciscan churches in the world. Thus, when Mt. Calvary became an outpost for the Capuchins in North America, the monastery was granted the same privilege. Mt. Calvary became a pilgrimage site for many Franciscans, particularly Capuchins, from all across North America. People could travel to Holy Cross Church as a substitute for going to the Holy Land (Schlemper 2003:133).

The Indulgence drew people from multiple other communities, thereby connecting Mt. Calvary with individuals from other regions (Schlemper 2003:133). This is one example of a domain in which it became necessary for residents of Mt. Calvary to use English. Because of the various points of origin of Catholics arriving for their pilgrimage from all over North America, local German Catholics interacting with pilgrims would have had to use English as a lingua franca.

Among Protestants, church membership in the regional and national governing bodies known as synods was rare in the early settlement period. Although synods existed from early on, the amount of control they exerted over individual churches changed over time. For territories outside major cities such as Milwaukee, it was often difficult to find a minister (Schmahl 2008:295). In separate ways, these two factors formed the basis on

which churches in much of eastern Wisconsin switched from German to English. According to Lucht,

> [b]oth the Missouri and Ohio synods were known as German synods … . From the respective governing synods to the local churches, standard German was used for record keeping and meeting documentation, regular services and special ceremonies, worship and prayer publications, and religious instruction. During the early twentieth century, however, changes in synod policy and pressures within the community itself spurred a gradual change from standard German to English as the dominant language in church life (2007:34, 36).

Verticalization within the church happened in two steps in German communities. The use of standard German in documentation and in worship services brought about diglossia. Speakers of various German dialects were united through a common variety associated with an overarching institution. Later, the overarching language became English. Although parishioners at individual churches historically tended to be of a single nationality, mergers between churches eroded those national characters. Lutheran synods, which linked individual churches via vertical ties, had begun discussing the question of whether to use English or German since shortly after their formation (Salmons 2005b:139). After Lutheran policy shifted in the 1880s, individual affiliated churches began to transition to English. Wisconsin churches in the conservative Missouri synod observed that transition by 1901 (Salmons 2005b:139). The combination of increasingly heterogeneous populations of parishioners and over-arching synod policies that did not support the maintenance of individual immigrant languages increased the difficulty of maintaining German in the Lutheran church. Although German continued to be heard in many churches well into the 1900s, membership in a governing body centered outside the local community meant less freedom for individual churches in determining what language was used. This removal of decision-making power from inside the community to an external organization is typical of

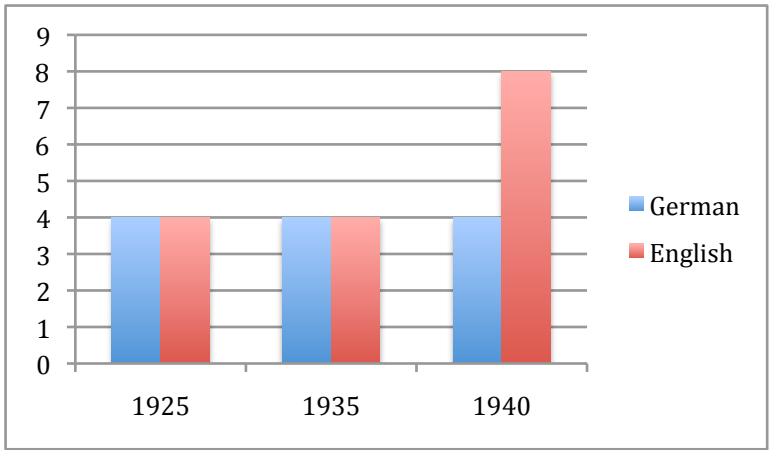
verticalization. Because the responsibility of a synod was to govern the affairs of several churches in several areas, synods ultimately necessitated the use of a language common to all of their constituents, rather than the language of the majority of some of them. English was chosen in such situations eventually because of its wider utility.

In the absence of priests or pastors capable of preaching in German, many churches began to approve more English services, as was legal in some church by-laws (Schmahl 2008:298). As German pastors or priests either passed away or retired, it became more difficult for congregations to find new pastors to deliver German services. One traditional strategy employed by both Protestants and Catholics to compensate for this was to employ roaming pastors, who delivered sermons at multiple churches. According to Schmahl, "[i]t was often not easy for rural congregations in Wisconsin to find a pastor. The periphery around Milwaukee was partially overlooked by ministers from the city. Elsewhere, Protestants had to do without spiritual guidance, especially settlers in the bush … There were traveling pastors among Catholic and various Protestant churches. Rhine-Hessian settlers in Richfield, who had been ministered to for years by a wandering pastor of the Evangelical community, founded a congregation of this denomination that was unknown in their home" (2008:296-297). A shortage of pastors ultimately led to a reduction in the number of German services that were available overall, and many churches began reducing the number to one or two services per month. Because of this, both Protestant and Catholic churches began to weaken as domains of German usage.

Lutheran churches in Wisconsin were often influenced by the policies of their governing synods (Lucht 2007:39-40). Churches in areas to the south and southwest of the Holyland, in areas such as Watertown, Lebanon, and Milwaukee, generally showed a

decrease in German use over time (Lucht et al. 2011:362-365). Even in large cities like Milwaukee that had historically supported the institutional use of German, Missouri synod churches decreased German use by half between 1921 and 1925 (Lucht et al. 2011:363). A shift of focus from German services in favor of English ones is apparent in eastern Wisconsin as well. According to the Statistical Yearbook of the Evangelical Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States, the town of Sheboygan Falls reported an even number of German and English services in 1925 and 1935, but the number of English services doubled in 1940 (See **Table 10** below).

Table 10: Number of German and English services per month in Lutheran churches of Sheboygan Falls, WI[18]



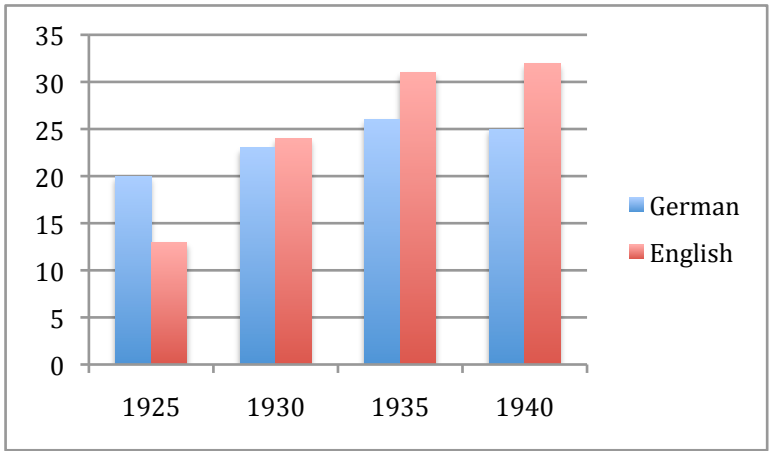
Data from the Statistical Yearbook of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States.[19]

While one church in Sheboygan Falls reported four English services per month and four German ones in 1925 and 1935, the other reported zero services in either English or

[18] No data were reported for 1930.
[19] Data overlaps with the time period of the Second World War, a time which necessitated an increase in industrialization. I argue that this industrialization was accompanied by verticalization, and therefore language shift.

German until 1940, when it reported four services in English and none in German. Although the number of German services did not decrease in Sheboygan Falls, there seems to have been more demand for English services by 1940. In the city of Sheboygan, 1925 saw more German services than English services in a month, a near equal number in 1930, and a predominance of English services in 1935 (See **Table 11**). German services, which were apparently on the rise until 1935, began to decline in 1940.

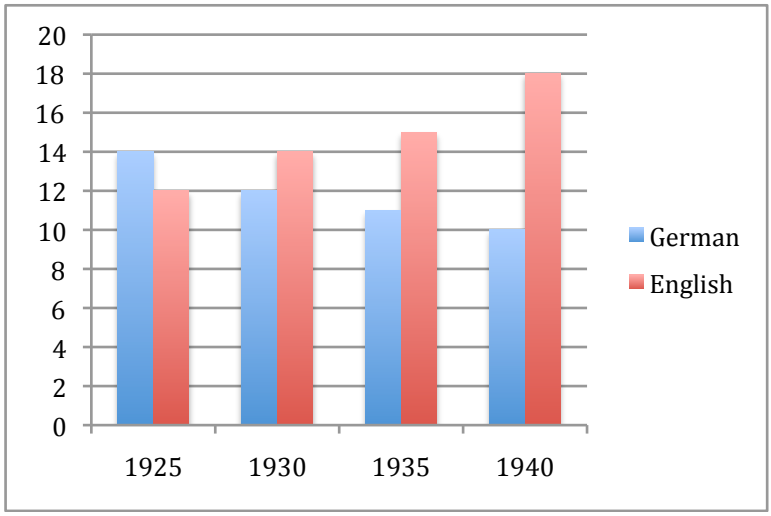
Table 11: Number of German and English services per month in Lutheran churches of Sheboygan, WI



Data from the Statistical Yearbook of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States.

The decline in the number of German services per month in comparison to the rise of English ones is even sharper in the town of Plymouth. In fact, the number reverses between 1925 and 1930 – from 14 German services per month and 12 English in 1925 to 12 German services and 14 English in 1930. This divide continues to grow well into 1940 (See **Table 12**). Plymouth presents the clearest picture of steady decline in German services and steady increase in English ones.

Table 12: Number of German and English services per month in Lutheran churches of Plymouth, WI



Data from the Statistical Yearbook of the Evangelical Lutheran Synod of Missouri, Ohio, and Other States.

Overall, Lutheran churches in eastern Wisconsin show a trend toward increase in English services with either maintenance of the same number of German services, or a decline by 1940. Work by Lucht (2007) on German to English shift in Lebanon, WI also parallels this trend, suggesting it is a regional pattern. Churches often began introducing English on a trial basis. St. Paul's Evangelical Lutheran, for example, introduced English services on a once-every-other-month basis in 1923 (Lehmann 2001:20). Immanuel Lutheran authorized Pastor Theodore Laetsch in 1914 to conduct some English services, and in 1921 the congregation resolved to have German and English services every Sunday (Lehmann 2001:29).

The Catholic church's over-arching power structure initially presents a counter-example to the correlation between verticalization and language shift. The Catholic

church's policy was to found churches that operated in the languages of the parishioners of all of their various backgrounds. For this reason social interactions in Irish churches were in English while social interactions in German churches were in German. In the Holyland, this separation likely contributed to the extended period of viability of German among Catholics, especially given the high degree of social cohesion the church provided within local communities. As discussed in section 4.2, German social structures generally employed one of two strategies in dealing with outsiders – they made them part of the local network or remained separate from them. Data from Wilkerson & Salmons (2012:15), for example, suggests that numerous people of Anglo and Irish descent learned at least some German after moving into German communities, indicating that such people were either kept out or integrated enough to at least begin learning the language. The correlation of verticalization and language shift is not a foregone conclusion – simply being a member of a larger organization does not immediately trigger shift, but does open the door to it. In some cases though, Catholic churches in Wisconsin did find themselves participants in the Catholic church's vertical structure. Membership in a larger organization with the ability to set policies for many local institutions meant that the decision about what language to use in church could be made at a level higher than the local community. While the church's policy at large supported the use of local languages, the social cohesion generated by local churches allowed people to continue using them. Part of the reason for this was that religion provided a social center. According to Schlemper, "[c]hildren were influenced by religion in school as well as in their homes and churches." Religion represented a common thread in the community's values, and homes, churches, and schools helped in "… teaching children the basics and for socializing them to become good Catholics" (2003:162). When

Catholic policies regarding language maintenance changed, local churches stopped being domains of German use (Salmons 2005b:139). Although these enclaves of heritage language use within the Catholic church were sanctioned by church policy and were fairly common, the vertical structure of the Catholic church facilitated its ability to change its policies. This, in turn, affected constituent churches. Salmons notes (2005b:139):

> By the 1890s a struggle had begun within the Church that resulted in downplaying ethnic identity. The first meeting of German-American Catholics in 1887 was focused largely on preserving their ethnic heritage and language. … Over time German-American Catholics eventually opted for a united church rather than a united ethnic group. In other words, Germanness was shuffled to the bottom of the identity deck for German-American Catholics by church policy and ultimately by individual decision. … In the mid-nineteenth century and even later, the church had assisted in language maintenance by helping found and run schools and bringing out religious publications, among many other activities. During the late 1880s and beyond, however, the Catholic church worked against language maintenance rather than promoting it, furthering the shift to English but again in the context of increasing verticalization. Until this push for Americanization the German-speaking Catholics had had extracommunity ties to a national and even international German-speaking community through the church. Such ties were threatened in the 1880s and by the 1910s were dead or dying.

A decision to switch to English in the upper echelons of the Catholic Church allowed it to apply the shift to an overarching area of individual churches at the same time. By this mechanism, simply being part of the larger organization made a church more susceptible to shift. After a widespread shift to English, Schlemper reports that in the years after World War II, priests often still heard confessions in German, though there is evidence that parishioners did not understand German well enough to comprehend their penance (2003:152). Lutheran Community churches often had independent constitutions that provided for language use as basic tenets of the church's operational procedure (Schmahl 2008:297). Linguistically, this meant that greater autonomy led to greater granularity in policy changes – changing the character of a region of churches was much easier when all

were part of the vertical structure than in one where churches operated on an individual, church-by-church basis.

4.3.3. School

One of the major gateways for English usage into most German-American communities is thought to be public schooling. During the mid-19th century, though, German public district schools were frequently taught in German (Current 1976:164-165). This practice likely reflected the wishes of the district's voters, who met yearly to elect a school board and decide on administrative matters such as construction of buildings and purchasing of materials (Current 1976:162). Although the state school superintendent oversaw state schools, he had "little power except that of persuasion" (Current 1976:162). Districts with large populations of German voters, therefore, were able to control the policies of their district schools. Despite a state act in 1854 that required that schools teach subjects in English in order to receive public funding, most German communities continued teaching in German (Current 1976:165).

In 1889, a statute known as the Bennett Law sought to close a loophole in an earlier compulsory school attendance statute (Nesbit 1985:515). An extension of an 1879 statute, the Bennett Law required not only compulsory attendance, but also defined what organizations could be considered schools. One qualification was that certain subjects had to be taught in English. The law required that all children between the ages of seven and fourteen attend a minimum of twelve weeks of school per year, whether this took place in public, private, or parochial schools in the district where they resided (Nesbit 1985:605). The law sparked such controversy among Protestants and Catholics and triggered so many political divisions that it was repealed in 1891 and replaced with what amounted to a

restatement of the 1879 compulsory school attendance law (Nesbit 1985:614). During the time the law was in effect, Germans either continued to conduct their local public schooling in German or moved toward parochial schools. Many religious leaders in predominantly Lutheran or Catholic districts chose the latter option, as religious schools would remain under their control (Current 1976:166). Religious control meant that German education could continue. Funding for parochial schools eventually became an issue, however, as they were not allowed to access public funding. Meanwhile, members of the schools' districts were being taxed for public schools (Current 1976:167).

German control over public schools gradually began to wane as student backgrounds became less homogenous. Even in areas where Germans were the majority, such as the eighth ward in Milwaukee, German public school teachers were becoming scarce by 1867 (Current 1976:502). The German newspaper the *Herold* attributed this to local Germans' decision to leave school administration to the Anglo-Americans (Current 1976:502). As decision-making became increasingly the purview of non-Germans, the German presence and language declined in schools. For many teachers, this meant that even though German was their first language and they had little proficiency in English, they were required to speak English rather than German to their students (Schmahl 2008:286). One teacher at St. John Lutheran school in Sherman Center, A. Ehmann, asked to be released as a teacher because he was unable to instruct pupils in English (Lehmann 2001:74). Some schools were more reluctant to relinquish German in favor of English. Immanuel Lutheran School in Sheboygan maintained German as part of its curriculum into the 1920s. Its last confirmation class was confirmed in German in 1925, and in 1926 the congregation resolved to conduct all religious training in English (Lehmann 2001:30).

Some Catholic schools in Sheboygan County, such as St. Nazianz Sisters, had already been teaching English since 1861 (Rammer 1997:52). Perhaps to supplement their education, German-Americans introduced German as a second language for public school students in 1866. By 1901 schools such as St. Peter Claver Catholic school in Sheboygan were teaching German and requiring that every child of German heritage learn the language (Rammer 1997:131). St. Paul Lutheran school in Sheboygan Falls divided students' time between English and German, using the latter in the morning and the former in the afternoon. Morning lessons were dedicated to German grammar, religious instruction, and practice reading German while the afternoon was dedicated to math, reading, and geography in English. It was possible to divide the curriculum in this way because the instructor, John Never, learned both languages at home during childhood (Lehmann 2001:71).

The transfer of administrative power from local German school board members to Anglo-Americans is a classic example of Warren's notion of socialization within a vertical structure. While the local school boards were run predominantly by Germans and the population consisted largely of Germans, the German language was used as a primary medium of instruction. As local boards became increasingly responsible to higher level state agencies, this chain of responsibility connected individual schools with the state. Because local schools depended on state funding, they acted as what Warren describes as amphibious institutions; waypoints of the establishment of state schooling policy rather than individual autonomous units. The connection between the state and local schools required that the state be the one to transfer "… prevailing knowledge, social values and behavior patterns to its individual members" (Warren 1978:10). Instead of gaining a

formal education in German, therefore, students who attended public school received one in English. Of course, this fact alone did not trigger language shift. Children during the early settlement period, especially those from farming families, had several other domains in which a knowledge of German was required for participation. Many school children encountered English for the first time at school. Because they used it for so long during the day, many began using it with their parents and younger siblings. Some parents by that time had used English to some extent at work, and were able to respond in English. After families began using it at home, younger siblings began learning English from older siblings and sometimes parents before they attended school. On its own, use at school would not have been enough to trigger a community-wide shift to English. There were more domains in which people had to begin using English for various reasons before it entered the home, such as work & church. In fact, it was often parents and members of church congregations who resolved to begin the shift to English. The congregations of Immanuel Lutheran, as mentioned above, and St. Paul, resolved to switch instruction to English in the 1920s. St. John Lutheran School abandoned German in 1936 (Lehmann 2001:81).

One requirement of receiving public funding with which German Catholic settlers took issue was that religious education was not allowed in public schools (Schmahl 2008:286). Catholic settlers, as well as some devout Protestants, therefore, decided to found their own schools (2008:287). For residents of the Holyland, the consequent lack of public schooling may have contributed to that area's lasting cohesion and sense of otherness in relation to other communities (Schlemper 2003:17). Maintenance of private schooling would continue to socialize children into the norms of the predominantly Catholic local community rather than into the norms of the greater society. Children would

receive religious education, grounding them as members of their Catholic communities. For some, parochial schools and Sunday schools also meant education in German. By the 1960s, however, the number of individual Catholic schools began to decline. Schlemper quotes Rev. B.J. Blied, explaining, "overcrowding, test scores of students in the parish falling, many parents had come to the conclusion that the public school system had more to offer in the fields of science and physical education" (Schlemper 2003:178 following Blied 1980:84). Despite the efforts of the Catholic church to maintain a school system separate from the public one, many parents opted to send their children to public schools instead. For language use, this meant that the domain of school for many children would be an English-speaking one. However, the amount of time parochial schools held out against the tide of verticalization may indeed have influenced the community's sense of cohesion. Retaining that cohesion may have resulted in the area's developing what Schlemper refers to as a "unique identity" (2003:32).

As institutions that were tied to state funding, schools existed within a vertical structure – based at a local level but governed at a non-local one. Even members of the community whose first language was German acted as agents of verticalization, socializing German-American children into the norms of the larger American society, including in the use of English. By founding parochial schools in order to preserve its religious values, the Holyland resisted this trend a bit longer than other areas. Because of declining test scores and changing attitudes among parents, however, even the parochial schools did not entirely remain a bastion against the influx of English. Because parents saw public schooling as a better option for their children's futures, they allowed them to become part of the vertical structure of state schools.

4.3.4. Industry

A common background as skilled craftspeople and artisans drew many Rhine-Hessians together in towns and cities. In places like Milwaukee, it was generally not difficult to find work plying a trade immigrants had learned in Germany. This meant that a great deal of the labor they performed was specialized. Still, German enclaves often persisted in towns and cities because of the particular nature of German immigrants' work. Unlike Anglo-Americans, their limited citizenship rights within their first five years after immigration limited access to political positions, and because of the language barrier they had little access to positions in law (Schmahl 2008:214). Likewise, German craftspeople and artisans remained separated from the Irish, who typically hired out their services as unskilled laborers in various regions before settling in one place (Schmahl 2008:192, 215-216). Despite a common religion between German and Irish Catholics, language and profession were enough to keep the groups relatively separated. German immigrants, although many spoke different dialects of German, were treated largely the same by Anglo-American settlers, who perceived them as Dutchmen and, therefore, as foreigners. This perception of shared otherness, combined with shared geographical and religious origins, served to draw German immigrants together into cohesive communities. In turn, these cohesive, highly populated communities reinforced a separation between German and English speakers during the early settlement period.

A lack of efficient transportation contributed to the lack of contact between German immigrants and other groups in the early history of German immigration to Wisconsin. Difficult travel conditions and a dearth of good roads limited the number of non-market-

related trips people took into town (cf. 4.3.1). Lack of easy accessibility between settlements restricted contact and the formation of social ties with those from other communities. A lack of easy access to other populations hindered verticalization. This supported the maintenance of closed social networks within German communities, which in turn supported the maintenance of German language use. Without many social ties to members of non-local communities, few domains were ceded to the use of English. In order to transport goods more effectively, farmers in Wisconsin invested capital in the construction of a railroad connecting Milwaukee with Germantown, Richfield, Polk, and Hartford (Schmahl 2008:240). By 1855 the first railroad line was changing the way farmers were able to transport their goods, connecting them with other local townships. This network was not to last, however, as the first few local rail companies went bankrupt within a few years, putting several farmers out of business and plunging others into debt (Schmahl 2008:240-241). By 1872, however, local train networks became way stations for a nationwide train network, integrating them into the vertical structure (Schmahl 2008:241). This growing interconnectedness, along with increased industrialization, resulted in changing social networks.

For farmers and city-dwellers alike, the growing presence of factories changed the cultural landscape. By the 1860s, factories were engaged in some manufacturing of farm implements, and Chester Hazen founded the first of fifty-four cheese factories in Ladoga, in Fond du Lac County in 1864. By 1870 more than half of Wisconsin's cheese was factory-made (Current 1976:85, 462). Manufacturing grew in Sheboygan County generally in the form of wood-related industries triggered by the earlier growth of the lumber industry. "In the summer of 1882, the Milwaukee *Sentinel* reported a meeting of the Western chair

Manufacturers' Association, and stated that Sheboygan produced about one-quarter of all the chairs manufactured in the West. … Its population of only 5,310 in 1870 had tripled by 1890 and Sheboygan had become Wisconsin's sixth city. Along with this growth went a generalized industrial development to supplement the several large chair-manufacturing firms as well as the Kohler Company, which had started with the manufacture of agricultural implements, general foundry work, and enamelware" (Nesbit 1985:184-185).

One factor that may have prohibited the use of German in the context of factory work was an unconscious deference to the company's origin as an external institution. German speakers may have assumed that because the company originated outside their community, working there meant that they were obliged to use the language most widely spoken in that company rather than their local variety of German. Factory owners and managers generally did not overtly prohibit workers from speaking German. In the context of factory work, it was simply common practice not to do so. Regardless, as Sheboygan's lumber-related industries grew, and more German-Americans took jobs in factories, people had more and more occasions to use English. Work became another domain in which a once divided German populace came into contact with those from outside their community and integrated into a vertical structure. The location of the factory in a German-American town represented another amphibious institution – a way point with ties both to the local community and to a wider organization (the company) whose center was located outside the community. Because of their increased contact with this vertical structure, the domain of work for factory employees ceased to be a German one. For children who had been exposed to English for the first time at school, this meant a rather seamless transition from school life to work life. Even if they had been accustomed to using German on the

playground or in the coatroom with friends in secret, moving to work at a factory meant continued use of English during most of the day.

Even in the Holyland, mostly rural areas ultimately became more strongly connected to areas outside the region. Schlemper (2003:176) claims that,

> Despite its rural nature, there is no denying the fact that the region is centrally located with respect to several large Wisconsin towns and cities. And its connections to these surrounding communities have greatly increased in recent years. It is not only easier for people to live in the Holyland and to work outside of the region, but likewise it is also possible for entrepreneurs, both local and from outside the community, to construct a viable business in any of the region's small villages. If the business is specialized or unique in some way, then consumers from surrounding places are more willing to make the drive to the Holyland.

Because of the greater physical accessibility of the region via paved roads, residents of the Holyland came into increasing contact with those from outside the region. The trend of living in the Holyland while working outside it also represents a move away from traditional lifestyles. Working outside one's local community typically meant working in the language that most predominated the area in which one worked. For residents of the Holyland, this was often English. The beginning of this trend meant that even though people may have been able to return home and continue using German, their daily routine at work included using English. Working outside one's community also meant that some of workers' affiliations moved from being location-based to being interest-based. Warren identifies this as a factor within the Great Change (Warren 1978:58-59). Such a move represents a social move from personal relationships to categorical ones. Like farmers displaced to cities, residents of the Holyland working outside their community engaged in relationships with people they did not know well, but with whom they shared an interest in some segment of the larger society. This link to the larger society included the use of English rather than German.

Although several factors kept German settlers largely separate from other immigrant groups during the early settlement period, they eventually became part of increasingly more vertical structures. State regulations on farming, an increasing availability of technology, better transportation, and the rising presence of factories led people to alter their lifestyles, and thereby their social networks. As they became more integrated into the larger American society, German Americans encountered more domains that required them to learn and use English. No one organization switching to English caused a whole community to switch, but the persistent trend of many organizations pulling toward the external society led to a more wide-scale transition. As people used English in more and more domains, to the exclusion of German, their day-to-day practices began to default toward English. After some time, the number of domains for English use outnumbered the domains in which people used German. Although some individuals still used German in the home, much of their society had switched to English. As time progressed, people stopped using German in the home as well. Because of this decline in intergenerational transmission, most speakers interviewed for this dissertation were around 70 to 99 years old[20]. Many were the last generation to acquire German as a first language in the home.

4.4 Qualitative Evidence of Shift

In addition to secondary sources and the historical record of Wisconsin communities they provide, qualitative interview data from contemporary residents can provide a picture of language shift in eastern Wisconsin during the mid 20th century. Much of the history that has been written about German immigrants to the state focuses on the early period of

[20] One notable exception, Leo, was born in 1954.

immigration and the immigrants themselves. Qualitative interview data, however, sheds light on the historical situation of these immigrants' descendants, many of whom grew up bilingual in English and German, for generations after immigration.

4.4.1 Interviews

During the spring of 2013, two other researchers and I conducted a series of recorded interviews with 51 members of Wisconsin communities, almost all of whom had grown up speaking some variety of German.[21] Interviewees came largely from Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, Calumet, and Manitowoc Counties. Some resided in areas of the Holyland and were members of Catholic communities while others descended from Rhine-Hessian Lutherans (See Table 13 below for a sample of some consultants' biographies[22]).

Table 13: Sample demographics for German-American interviewees

Residence	Pseudonym	Sex	Age at time of interview	First language
Howard's Grove, WI	Stefan	M	90	German
	Monika	F	99	German
Manitowoc, WI	Leo	M	58	German
Marytown, WI	Richard	M	80	German
Marytown, WI	Sara	F	81	German
Kiel, WI	Wilhelm	M	74	German

Data collected during the spring of 2013

Consultants completed some translation, picture-description and other tasks, as well as providing linguistic and sociohistorical information from semi-structured sociolinguistic interviews. These helped to get a sense of what it was like growing up in their communities

[21] See Appendix B for the survey instrument used.
[22] Consultants have been assigned pseudonyms

during the period of the Great Change. Information from interviewees reveals that German-Americans experienced at least three distinct phases of language shift over the course of their lives – early childhood, during which many interviewees were living on farms or tight-knit towns; adolescence, during which many recall moving away from their communities for various reasons and being exposed to non-German speakers from outside their communities; and adulthood, during which many interviewees worked in institutions located outside the local community. Despite the declining amount of German they used in their daily lives over time, many interviewees found and/or actively sought out new domains in which to use the language during adulthood. Connections via mail with relatives in Germany, choirs, church groups, clubs, and regular usage in the home all provided adult bilingual speakers with limited domains in which to use their German. Most, however, did not raise their children with a knowledge of German. This recent break in intergenerational transfer is language shift. Most of the currently elder speakers we interviewed had little to no trouble conversing in German, but often had limited domains in which they still used the language regularly. Their children, however, had no knowledge of German, and very few potential domains for use.

One of the earliest domains of use many interviewees reported on was life on the farm. Consultants Stefan and Monika, from Howard's Grove in Sheboygan County, were born in 1922 and 1913 respectively. Leo, from Manitowoc, was born in 1954. All reported having worked on the farm with neighbors because they needed the extra help. Most of the neighbors, according to Leo, were German speakers. Monika reported that her family had little reason to go into town – perhaps once a month – because they butchered at home and had supplies from their harvest. Leo recalls canning fruits and meats with neighbors.

Because most consultants' parents and neighbors were German speakers, farm work was comprised of many opportunities to speak and hear German. Stefan reports using German with friends outside of school, and Leo claims German was used almost 90% of the time up until the 1950s. He mentions that both public school and the government operated in English. Before this, the community fabric of horizontal, multiplex social networks meant that the language's use was reinforced among the same people in multiple domains. Threshing especially seems to have been the most general horizontal community activity. Farming activities such as sawing, butchering, and threshing seem to have provided some of the most memorable domains for use of German. As speakers came together to perform these functions, their use of German made it a given that those were German activities.

During their youth, several interviewees recounted stories of other social venues in which they saw their family members, friends, and neighbors from the community besides in the context of farming. After farm work, many neighborhoods would gather together for large meals. Leo from Manitowoc remembered celebrating large birthday parties with other families from the neighborhood. All of these were early domains in which people could use German. Many consultants recalled either playing or being present while adults played card games. Popular largely among men was *Skat*, with *Schafkopf* played largely by women. During card games, consultants reported that adults would chat and make jokes in German, while children played in and around the room where the adults were. Interviewees who remember being children at the time recounted that they spoke English as well as German with one another, but often more English than German. Many consultants mentioned dance halls as a place people socialized when they were younger. Depending on the age of the interviewee, they were either a place consultants remembered

going to speak German and drink beer, or where they went as children to speak English & socialize. The use of English at dance halls was reported to be predominant among younger interviewees. During the period in which many families were still farming, employees in several other professions conducted business with interviewees' families in German. The men who drove the milk trucks, for example, and the youths who threw cans into the trucks, were generally able to speak German, and more commonly did so with the families whose milk they were collecting.

Taverns were other local establishments owned by German-speakers or by other immigrant groups. Although they did not contribute to verticalization, taverns owned by people from outside German communities, such as Irish immigrants, did contribute to social network change. One interviewee noted that there were three taverns in his community – two Irish-owned taverns where one had to speak English, and one German-owned tavern. According to the consultant, the Irish did not speak German. This provided a motivation for the clientele to adhere to the custom of the house and speak English. In the social context of taverns, this is an example of a time when the domain was in flux. Both languages could be used, depending on who owned the tavern. Such a period of flux seems indicative of the Great Change. It represents a tension between institutional control and language use. Contact with English-speaking owners and other patrons meant contact with non-locals; individuals from outside the community. While individual taverns might not have been amphibious institutions like a branch of the US Post Office, they did link community members with people from outside the community. This coincides with part of the Great Change, as people began to affiliate based on a shared interest rather than on locality. For Germans, taverns were places to socialize after work. This separated them

from Yankees, for instance, who went to drink. One interviewee mentioned interactions in town with Polish speakers, saying that Germans refused to learn a Slavic language, and Irish speakers refused to learn German. Polish speakers apparently learned English, which served as a leveling factor and lingua franca. This supports the correlation between the Great Change and the transfer of linguistic domains, as affiliation based on shared interest in some aspect of the larger society by people from different localities resulted in people of different language backgrounds using the language of the larger society in order to communicate. Although taverns existed within the local community, interactions within them led to verticalization, in that they connected local German-speakers to people from outside the local community.

Interviewees often reported that school had been their first exposure to English. Because local schools were required to conduct instruction in English under the Bennett Law to receive state funding – or even to be considered a school at all – school represented another verticalized structure within the community. As one-room schoolhouses offering grades 1-8 came under the purview of supra-local school boards, schools became way stations for the educational policies of the larger society. The Bennett Law's restriction on the state's legitimizing schools unless instruction was in English affected parochial schools as well. Richard and Sara, from Marytown, recall going to Catholic school and speaking German until fourth grade, when the nuns – most of whom were also German speakers – told them they were Americans and needed to speak English. Sara reported that as soon as they got onto the playground, they returned immediately to speaking German. This surreptitious use of German shows that even though interviewees were really more comfortable using German – reverting to it in non-formal domains – school policy, enforced

by the school's position within a vertical structure, required they speak English. Teachers, as local agents of this policy, had to enforce it. Despite being members of the local group, they became enmeshed in the institution of education. This mirrors Warren's statements about the school's position as an amphibious institution, as well as its importance in socializing children into the norms of a given society (Warren 1978:10). A few consultants reported that their parents, upon finding out that instruction was to be in English only, decided to raise younger siblings in English so that they would be at an advantage during their school years. Only one report indicated that the teacher was a monolingual English speaker.

Some consultants reported being the oldest child of a family and starting school knowing no English at all. Eventually, they managed to learn the language out of necessity. Many subsequently brought their knowledge of English home. Some parents then decided to begin using English with younger siblings in order to make their transition to school easier. Once this process began, some younger children began being brought up exclusively in English. This continuum seems similar to that of the multi-generation model of language shift, but occurring at a much faster rate – within one generation. The oldest child entered school monolingual in the heritage language, the middle child possessed at least some proficiency in the heritage language but perhaps being English dominant, and the youngest children were raised expressly in English. This description is not uniform, of course, as some consultants remember being mostly English dominant throughout their lives, but recovered considerable proficiency in German through strengthening social ties with German speakers in various domains later in life. Use, nonetheless, seems to correlate with proficiency.

Even if the policy of English only in the classroom was not strictly enforced, students recognized school as an English-speaking domain. Consultants report that even if they were technically not *forbidden* from speaking German, they still used English in the classroom – some younger consultants report that they actively desired to use English. Many of these were already acquiring some English knowledge before they started school. Church schools or parochial schools in eastern Wisconsin, sometimes provided formal education in German, which culminated in religious confirmations. Consultants reported that other church-associated schools expressly forbade the use of German, even though the teachers/nuns were themselves German speakers. The fact that many teachers and students were L1 German speakers, yet all predominantly used English in school, points to an institutional norm from outside the local community. This provides another example of verticalization contributing to language shift, as the domain of education became an English speaking one.

Not all consultants interviewed were equally proficient in German. In general, an approximately 10 year age difference divided people who remembered some German, but did not produce it quickly or easily in conversation, and those who were able to produce it fairly easily. Among the 55 consultants interviewed in Fond du Lac, Sheboygan, Calumet, and Manitowoc Counties, those born from around 1909-1928 were generally fairly proficient, whereas those born in 1938 and later were less so. Many interviewees reported having younger siblings who were 10-14 years younger than they who were unable to speak German at all. One trend we noticed among our consultants was that the oldest child typically did not learn English at all in the home and encountered it for the first time in first grade. One recurring theme among younger interviewees was the use of German as a secret

language. As is often told about families undergoing language shift, when parents did not want their children to know what they were saying, many would switch to German. Even some interviewees who were able to produce German themselves reported this behavior in their parents. This led naturally to the question of how these children learned to speak German, if parents were actively trying to avoid their learning it. In some cases, enough German domains still existed in the community that they had learned it from other children. Because households did not all transition to English at the same time, there was a period of time in which some households were monolingual and some were bilingual. Children whose parents were attempting to raise them monolingual in English learned German outside their own homes. They learned it from other children and from adults who had not transitioned. Some interviewees also remember having close interactions with older family members such as uncles or grandfathers. One anecdote involved a grandfather who only spoke Low German and refused to even listen to any other language. The grandfather barely tolerated even High German. The interviewee did not speak Low German, but his younger brother only spoke English. Because of this, the grandfather would attempt to strike the younger brother with his walking stick while the boy hid under the table – speaking the only language he knew, despite how it repulsed the grandfather. Apparently, when the grandfather thought no one was looking, he would turn on the radio very softly and listen to it in an attempt to learn English.

Interviewees who grew up on dairy farms or whose families had run cheese factories recalled struggles with increasing regulations. Consultant Wilhelm from Kiel, WI, described the average number of cattle per farm as twenty to twenty-five during his youth. After several neighboring farms were bought up, however, some farmers increased their

number of cattle to 2,300-2,400 or more with a permit. Farmers needed more land for more cattle in order to have enough room for the cows' waste. The need for increased land decreased the number of farmers. This meant that farmers no longer stopped at local bars while peddling their milk in town to speak German over beer and brandy. As cooling and pasteurization regulations became stricter, especially in the 1940s and 50s, many of his neighbors were unable to remain in business because of the cost of meeting regulations. New machines were needed to pasteurize and cool milk. Some farmers attempted to offset the costs by purchasing more cattle, but more than around thirty cattle was too many to milk by hand in a day. This meant that one needed to buy a milking machine, which represented a further prohibitive cost. As farms closed, their lands became available. Other farmers bought the closing farmsteads and used them to expand their own production, buying milking machines and other necessary equipment. Farmers who had to close down often moved into nearby towns and cities. Moving meant a change of social network, and connections with people from outside the community.

Interview data suggest that increased connections with the external society made technology more accessible to local communities over time. Increasing availability affected community structure change, and thereby also language use. Technology such as threshing machines had a significant effect on social networks and on language use. In communities that still earned their income primarily by farming, people's use of technology began to isolate them from one another. Whereas a neighbor who owned the only threshing machine in the area used to come and share it with everyone in the community, the increased preponderance of the machines meant that sharing was no longer necessary. Remaining farmers came to depend more on day laborers or hourly workers than on their

neighbors, most of whom had moved out of the area. These day laborers were not necessarily always from the local community, and did not necessarily speak German. Therefore, even though farming had once represented a stronghold of German language use, the combined effect of broken-up neighborhoods, diminished contact with neighbors, and increased availability of technology yielded looser social networks and markedly less usage of German.

More interconnection through technology, such as the telephone and radio, also represented a change for communication. People were not always able to speak German with the telephone operator, and as the number of areas connected by telephone grew, the reliability of the operator to speak German only diminished. As local neighborhoods became increasingly connected to the web that telephone service was becoming, the center of that web moved from local to distant. As it did, there was less and less likelihood of being able to speak German with a telephone operator. As radio and television became more ubiquitous, people stopped visiting their neighbors in the evening in favor of listening to the radio or watching TV – two media that also represented opportunities for people to hear English at the expense of German.

As horizontally-oriented social structures broke up, domains for German use declined. An increase in technology and a decrease in the number of farmers meant fewer residents stopping by the local bars, and therefore fewer domains for German. The process of verticalization fed a situation that changed local social networks, effectively triggering internal verticalization. Those farmers who were able to meet regulations inadvertently became gatekeepers for the community's dealings with the state. As dairy farming became a more verticalized institution, those who had once occupied it as a horizontal one were

forced to relocate. Many interviewees reported that their use of German declined when they moved away from the family farm. As community members relocated, the social structures that supported German use relocated as well. Many interviewees would not find them again until adulthood.

Data from interviewees reveal some general trends in the lives of German speakers in eastern Wisconsin. During many interviewees' childhoods, German seems to be the language most widely spoken. Activities described frequently included threshing, butchering, and sawing, and involved close-knit communities of farmers assisting each other in labor. This suggests dense, multiplex social networks while the labor described points to life-mode 1. Some interviewees from eastern Wisconsin who remembered farming during their childhoods also mentioned the presence of canning factories. Consultants stated that representatives from the factories would enroll farmers to grow certain crops that they then planned on canning at the factory. Consultants stated that farmers had to sign up on a waiting list to do business with such representatives, and the factories determined what the farmers would grow. Later in consultants' lives, many left the farms and gained employment at factories. Some discussed having worked for a lawnmower factory. Most consultants interviewed reported that they were able to speak German during the time they were employed at such factories, but do not recall having spoken German with others at the factory while employed there. Some stated that they did realize that many of their fellow employees came from the local community, but they did not know whether those employees could speak German.

Not knowing whether co-workers could speak German or not suggests that English was the clear default language at work. A move from farm work to factory life also reflects a

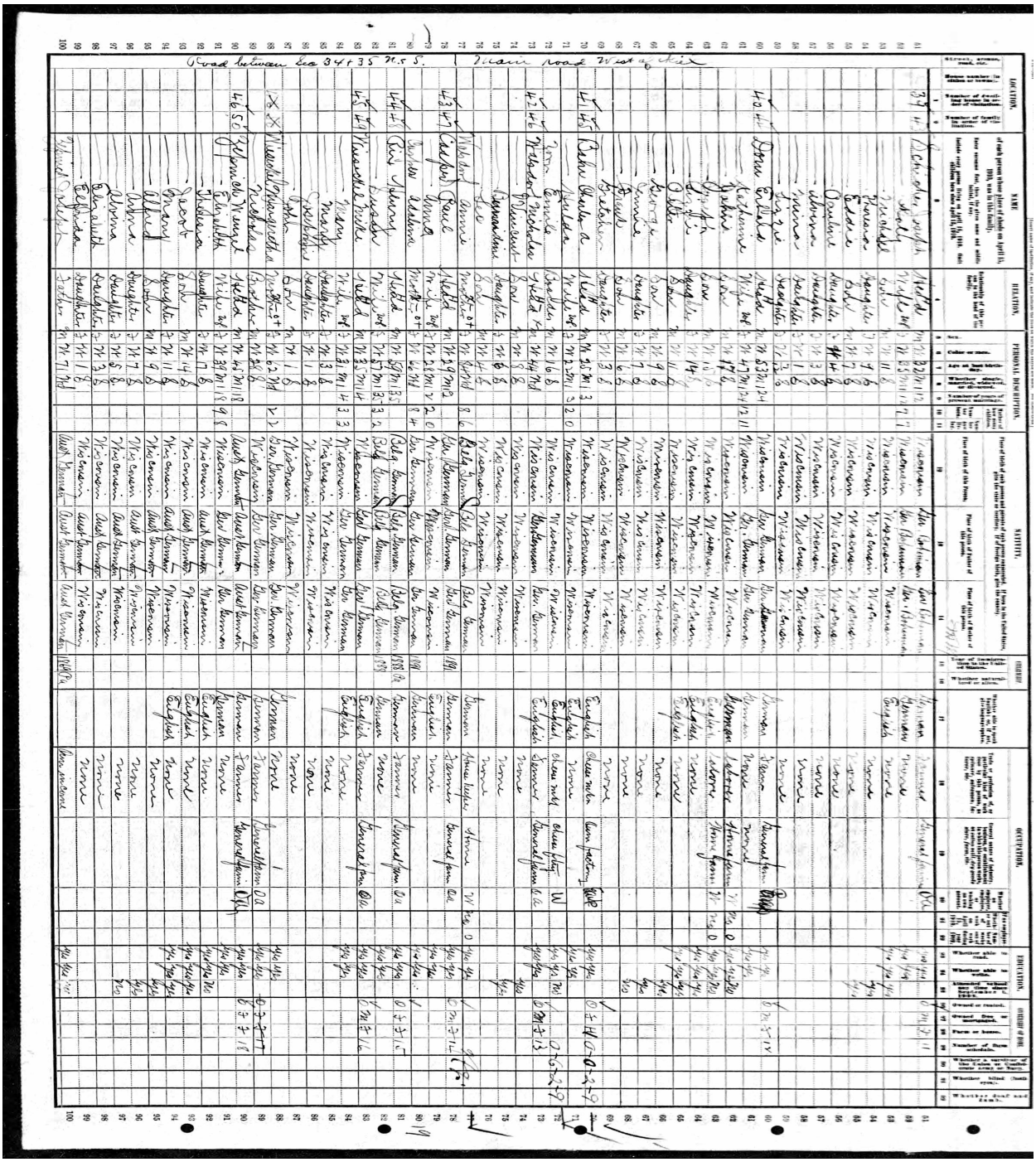
move from life-mode 1 to life-mode 2. Because they were beginning to divide time into shifts, factory employees had less opportunity for close social interaction. In Warren's terms, they shared a common interest in their contribution at the factory, but did not necessarily share a common locality. This meant that coworkers could be merely coworkers, rather than also friends and neighbors. These changes were connected to the growing interconnectedness of the Great Change, in that they originated in the proliferation of the lumber industry and its consequent sub-industries such as chair-manufacturing. Such factory jobs spurred the shift among farmers from life-mode 1 to life-mode 2. Because of the increasing cost of meeting regulations, many former dairy farmers had to obtain new jobs in towns. This broke former multiplex ties with other farmers, at least in part because of geographical separation. This situation played out similarly to the consequences of the urban development program discussed by Milroy in Belfast, breaking up the community (1987:81). As community institutions verticalized, social ties became less dense and multiplex, and people began using the language of the larger external society – English.

4.5. Quantitative Data on Speaker Numbers over Time

Following Wilkerson & Salmons' 2008 study of several German-speaking communities in eastern Wisconsin, I collected data from the 1910 United States census to augment the interview data just presented. The data below pertain to the populations of Kiel, in Manitowoc County, and New Holstein, in Sheboygan County. Groups of both Rhine-Hessians and German-Catholic immigrant communities are represented in these two communities. It should be noted that children under the age of ten were excluded from the study, as information about language use was considered pertinent only to people above that age on the 1910 census. I first isolated those who listed German under column 17,

"Whether able to speak English, if not give language spoken." Establishing the number of reported monolingual German speakers living in each of the two communities provides a baseline to determine how many community members remain unaffected by any transition to English.

Figure 5: Image from the 1910 US federal census, New Holstein, WI



The population of New Holstein in 1910 was still robustly populated by monolingual German speakers. According to the above census sheet, the community was still able to support multiple generations of monolingual German speakers. While many monolinguals

here are second generation, John Dorn, 17 at the time of the survey, was the third generation of his family to be raised monolingual in German in Wisconsin. Although most of Joseph and Sally Schieder's children's ages are not listed, many of them are likely to have grown up at least bilingual in German and English, given that both their parents speak only German. Their son Michael, therefore, must have acquired some English outside the home. English proficiency as represented on this sheet falls into fairly predictable patterns based on life-mode. Seven monolingual German speakers reported either farming or farm labor as their occupation, while one is a housekeeper. Depending on whether the housekeeper provided live-in help or had particular hours, most of these place the monolinguals recorded here in life-mode 1. No monolingual German speaker on this sheet is employed at the cheese factory, an occupation typical of life-mode 2.

Although there was likely a tendency to over-report competency in English, given the increasingly virulent anti-immigrant sentiment in the United States at the time (cf. Wilkerson & Salmons 2008:269), it is unlikely that people would have over-reported monolingualism in German. Because the question about people's language use is phrased as a yes/no question, it is impossible to determine the proficiency of those who listed some competency in English given this information alone. Respondents may have been completely fluent monolingual English speakers or L1 German speakers who knew only a few words of English. Therefore, I interpret a report of German in column 17 to mean that the respondent knows no English at all. Given this knowledge, I assume that those people who report English competency and live in houses with people who are monolingual in German are able to converse with the people they live with. Especially in situations such as children of two monolingual parents who report English competency, I assume those living

in houses with monolinguals are bilingual in English and German. Although the census does not record bilingualism, I count individuals living with monolinguals to be presumed bilinguals based on this assumption. **Table 14**, below, lists the frequency counts of reported languages among adults, broken down by percentages and by township.

Table 14: Self-reported language of adults in a survey of townships in Wisconsin in 1910

Township/County/District	English	German	Total
Kiel, Manitowoc (020)	787 = 83%	164 = 17%	951
New Holstein, Calumet (0008)	717 = 72%	272 = 28%	989

Assessing the number of monolingual or bilingual German speakers alone does not provide information about the structure of the communities where speakers lived. Monolingual German speakers could have simply been the product of a massive period of immigration. Monolinguals born in Wisconsin, however, would show that the social structure of the community was able to support multiple generations of monolingualism. To determine this, I tallied the places of birth of monolinguals for each township. **Table 15** shows the number of monolingual German speakers in the two townships divided by country of origin:

Table 15: Birthplace of reported monolingual German speakers in a survey of townships in Wisconsin in 1910

Township/County/District	German-born	American-born	Other	Total
Kiel, Manitowoc (020)	133 = 81%	30 = 18%	1 = 1% (French-born)	164
New Holstein, Calumet (0008)	97 = 36%	134 = 49%	41 = 15%	272

In New Holstein, 49% of monolingual German speakers were American-born. This suggests a robust community structure that could support the use of German – neither immigrants nor their children were forced to learn English in order to get by in the community. In fact, 8 monolingual German speakers were American born *and* had at least one American-born parent. This illustrates multi-generational transfer of German in Wisconsin as the sole language in the family and beyond. In Kiel, the large majority of monolinguals were born in Europe, though many are mothers, fathers, and spouses of those reporting competency in English. Out of the 787 people who reported speaking English, 200 lived in houses also inhabited by at least one monolingual German speaker. This means that at the very minimum, over 25% of English speakers are likely bilingual in German. It should be noted, however, that this figure discounts the number of children raised speaking German by bilingual parents. Interview data (cf. 4.4.1) suggests that in households with bilingual parents raising bilingual children, factors such as the growing importance of English in public schools and industrial work discouraged a prolonged period of bilingualism. Growing connections with external organizations required the use of English in more and more domains, and children began acquiring in English in the home at the expense of German. Although the existence of German newspapers suggests a period of diglossia between local dialects and standard German, Lucht (2007) illustrates the decline of those papers over the course of the 20th century. This contributed to the decline of standard German diglossia. English was ultimately adopted as a more effective standard means of communication (Wilkerson & Salmons 2008:262). Of the presumed bilinguals in the 1910 census data, it is easiest to assume that those born in German-speaking parts of Europe

might have German as a first language. In New Holstein, 22 of the 717 people (3%) who reported English competency were born in Germany. In Kiel, 80 out of 787 (10%) English speakers were German-born.

However, even many of those American-born respondents who reported English competency can be presumed bilingual, given the number of monolinguals in their communities. These people likely grew up with German as their first language and learned English in other domains, or they grew up speaking English and knew at least some German. **Table 16** below represents those American-born English speakers living in households with at least one monolingual German speaker.

Table 16: Presumed American-born bilinguals as percentages of all English speakers

Township	Presumed bilingual	Total Reporting Ability to Speak English	Percentage
Kiel	165	787	21%
New Holstein	286	717	40%

To assess the social structures of the two communities, and the degree to which language shift correlates with verticalization, I surveyed the occupations of monolingual German speakers in both communities. Those most connected to the larger American society should be those most likely to have learned English. Those in positions of more skilled labor should be those who are more connected to the larger society. **Table 17** represents the occupations of monolingual German speakers in each of the two townships.

Table 17: Occupations of reported monolingual German speakers

Kiel	
None:	100/164 = 61%
Factory:	29/164 = 18%
Own income:	14/164 = 9%
Mason:	4/164 = 2%
Domestic Work:	3/164 = 2%
Odd jobs:	3/164 = 2%
Carpenter:	2/164
Wagon Driver:	2/164
Farmer:	1/164
Janitor:	1/164
Teacher:	1/164
Merchant:	1/164

New Holstein	
None:	134 = 49%
Farmer:	88 = 32%
Laborer:	21 = 8%
Own income:	15 = 6%
Housekeeper:	4 = 1%
Servant:	3
Mason:	2
Carpenter:	1
Engineer:	1
Boarding house keeper:	1
Machinist:	1
Wash woman:	1

In New Holstein, the greatest percentages of monolingual German speakers are either unemployed or are farmers. Of those 134 monolinguals who report no occupation, 42 (31%) are aged 60 and over. Eight of those are listed as having their own income and only one is listed as retired. A relatively high percentage of farmers among monolinguals, as we see in New Holstein, is consistent with the model of verticalization, as these people would likely be living in life-mode 1 and have multiplex rather than categorical relationships. Work, at this point in history, did not provide them with a domain in which English use was necessary. Because they report that they are monolingual, it is apparent that no other domain provided that necessity either. This is especially apparent considering the presence of a monolingual German-speaking engineer. Such a skilled profession suggests it was still possible to specialize in the community while knowing only German, and that it was possible to obtain a certain level of education while monolingual in German as well. In Kiel, 100 out of 164 monolinguals reported no occupation. Of these, 53 were aged 60 and over,

but none was listed as retired. Fourteen were listed as having their own income. Of these, 10 (71%) were aged 60 or over. The majority of monolinguals in Kiel, therefore, were likely retired or no longer working because of old age. These people were likely active in the work force earlier in their lives, but the younger generation seems to be largely bilingual. The presence of a German monolingual school teacher suggests that the younger generation was largely bilingual rather than monolingual in English, given that a school teacher who could only speak German would necessarily also have to teach in German. A closer examination of factory demographics in Kiel reveals the extent of continued German use in factories and in town. Although factories generally connect the local population with the larger society and its linguistic norms, Kiel's demographics suggest that locals had not yet completely transitioned to English in the workplace. The population of monolingual German speakers working in factories was 29 out of 164 (18%). This percentage is fairly close to the number of employed monolingual German speakers outside the factory – 36 out of 164 (22%). This suggests that some factories were actually German-speaking. In other circumstances, the number of monolinguals was likely high enough that they would have been assisted by bilinguals. This provides a picture of a town in flux, with an aging monolingual immigrant population handing the reins to an increasingly bilingual work force in institutions still largely supportive of German.

Not much historical depth separates the arrival of German immigrants in New Holstein and Kiel. According to the Wisconsin Historical Society's *Dictionary of Wisconsin History*,

> [i]n 1852, Charley Lindemann acquired land in the area and his wife chose to name it Kiel in tribute to her German birth city. At that time, many Menominee and Potawatomi Indians lived in the area and frequently traded with the incoming settlers … . In 1854, Col. Henry F. Belitz, known as the Father of Kiel, bought up the

> surrounding land, built a mill and two years later a hotel known as the Fremont House. Already amassing a large population, Germans became the predominant European settlers in Kiel (Wisconsin Historical Society Library-Archives staff 2009: http://tinyurl.com/cbdgep4).

The New Holstein Historical Society's website explains that New Holstein was founded when "[s]eventy emigrants left Hamburg in April 1848, arriving in New York harbor in May 1848. They traveled west in two groups, the first reaching Calumetville on May 25, 1848, the second arriving on June 10, 1848" (http://newholsteinhistory.info/new-holstein-history). Because the first immigrants arrived within six years of one another, their time of arrival would not seem to be a major factor in explaining the percentage difference in monolinguals between the two communities in 1910.

The two towns present slightly different pictures of life in the United States. Kiel is characterized by a factory-based economy and a larger first-generation monolingual population, whereas New Holstein is more rural and populated by more second-generation monolinguals. Kiel's monolingual German-speaking population is overwhelmingly German-born and many were over the age of 60. Only 30 of 164 monolinguals in Kiel (18%) were American-born. Of these, no fathers and 3 mothers were born in the United States. The German-born monolingual population in New Holstein, however, constituted only 36% of monolinguals. New Holstein's 49% American-born monolingual population suggests a stable situation of intergenerational transmission of German only from first- to second-generation immigrants at the minimum. This minimum seems to be accurate, as only 9 out of 134 fathers (7%) of American-born monolingual German speakers were born in the US, while 22 out of 134 mothers (16%) were American-born. Many more parents of American-born monolingual German speakers were first generation immigrants. This suggests that monolingualism in individual families generally lasted two generations in New Holstein,

and one in Kiel. This is consistent with the model of verticalization, as many first-generation immigrants in Kiel likely learned English from work in a factory while their children learned it in school. Those factories that may have been German-speaking likely transitioned as first-generation immigrants retired and their jobs were taken over by second-generation bilinguals or English monolinguals. The vertical ties of factory work and school connected community members to the external society. In New Holstein, farming would likely have meant life-mode 1 mentalities and dense, multiplex social ties. These supported adherence to local linguistic norms rather than the norms of the larger society. Despite this, the number of English speakers in both communities vastly outweighs the number of German speakers, and it is apparent that members of both communities are rapidly acquiring English.

4.5 Conclusion

The histories of German immigrant communities played a role in shaping the way language shift unfolded. As Schlemper demonstrates, the Catholic communities within the Holyland retain a unique character, and remain disconnected from the larger society for longer than other communities. Evidence from the town of New Holstein from the 1910 census, as well as interviews with German-English bilinguals still living in parts of the Holyland about their childhoods corroborate this. The result of this disconnect was a longer period of monolingualism, increased community support of several generations of monolinguals, and an increased preponderance of presumed bilinguals. One factor that likely aided this community cohesion initially was the formation and maintenance of parochial schools. Because of the Holyland's lack of public schools and the parochial schools' temporary policy of education in German, students were exposed to English only later. When parochial

schools closed or parents decided that public schools in other communities offered better opportunities, students began being exposed to English at an earlier age. Because many communities in the Holyland were largely rural and dedicated to their religion, multiple social domains continued to support the use of German. People formed tight social networks within multiple contexts and knew who was a German speaker.

For descendants of Rhine-Hessians in areas such as Kiel, community development unfolded differently. Although the German-speaking population was bolstered by large populations of immigrants, the presence of external organizations with origins outside the community connected residents with the larger society. This connection led to an increase in the usage of English and did not provide as robust a support system in the community for maintenance of German. Monolingualism persisted especially among European-born residents, but also robustly among American-born residents of New Holstein. In Kiel especially, American-born community members were likely exposed to English early via public schools. Still, the character of Kiel as a German-speaking community cannot be denied, given the percentage of residents likely to be bilingual in German. The influence of public schools and the presence of several factories, however, connected the community with the larger American society and provided multiple domains in which English competence was a necessary fact of life. Although residents could maintain German in some domains, the aggregate trend created a pull toward widespread use of English.

In both populations, no individual change in the structure of the community was responsible for German yielding social space to English. Instead, several individual instances of verticalization combined to change the relationships people held with each other and the ways they behaved linguistically. Once neighborhood structures had changed

and people began interacting more frequently with those from outside the local community, they found more situations in which they needed to use English. At the same time, local organizations came under the purview of organizations from elsewhere and their decision-making powers were consolidated elsewhere. The units into which they were consolidated were more closely associated with the broader society than with the local power structure. These outside organizations typically used English. Today the Holyland maintains connections with the larger society and is mostly English-speaking. Intergenerational transfer of German has largely stopped, though the community's cohesion is still strong. According to Schlemper, part of this cohesion is due to community leadership and its influence over public memory and the construction of identity (2003:147). Despite its shift to English and connection with the larger society, the Holyland's image is still largely centered around its German past. Several individual citizens still have connections to Germany, speak a Rhenish-Prussian dialect, and maintain traditional food ways and cultural traditions (Schlemper 2003:149-151). Still, much of the community identifies with an image of and a connection to a German-speaking past more than it maintains an active use of German. This iconic identification helps the region to form a negotiated, constructed identity as a way to maintain groundedness in a rapidly changing, global society (Schlemper 2003:180). Although the region is connected to the larger society, it still maintains a German identity through connection with its German past.

Chapter 5: A Comparative View of Language Shift

The previous chapters have argued that verticalization can provide a framework for a theoretical model of language shift and examined its historical role in two case studies. Though language shift proceeded in a similar fashion in the two communities up to a point, a divergence in the course of shift emerged around the mid-20th century and continues into the present day. Today the number of Wisconsin-born German speakers continues to decline while Cherokee is experiencing a small but promising resurgence in North Carolina. This resurgence and the ongoing decline of German in Wisconsin have ramifications for the communities' futures. This chapter examines this divergence in the course of language shift, argue for verticalization as its primary motivating factor, and discuss its potential ramifications.

Section 5.1 employs recent census data on language use to establish the discrepancy between the two communities. **Section 5.2** argues that verticalization, rather than factors such as high population density, geographical isolation, or period of contact, accounts for the historical and present discrepancy in shift. I assert that this discrepancy has arisen largely due to Cherokees' employment of traditional community regulatory strategies and compare the difference between their strategies and the Germans'. **Section 5.3** considers what the divergence in speaker numbers might mean for the present situation of shift. **Section 5.4** concludes, exploring some possible strategies for utilizing knowledge about community structure in service of language revitalization.

5.1 Locating the Discrepancy

Although the early stages of verticalization and language shift appear to have unfolded in a similar fashion in the two communities studied in this dissertation, a discrepancy emerges in the rate of shift around the beginning of the 20th century and continues into the present day. A comparison of monolingual German and Cherokee speakers in 1910 demonstrates this discrepancy even early on. The percentage of monolingual Cherokee speakers in district 153 of Swain County, NC in 1910 was 26%. Of the two districts examined for that county, this percentage was the lower of the two by a margin of 28%. Even so, that 26% percent of monolinguals is only 2% lower than the highest percentage of monolingual German speakers observed in two Wisconsin counties – 28%. Although monolingual German speakers in New Holstein, WI outnumbered monolingual German speakers in Kiel by 11%, Swain County, NC's district 152 exceeded New Holstein's percentage by 28%. For comparison, see **Table 14** (reprinted from Chapter 4) and **Table 18** (data from **section 3.5**).

Table 14: Self-reported language of adults in a survey of townships in Wisconsin in 1910

Township/County/District	English	German	Total
Kiel, Manitowoc (020)	787 = 83%	164 = 17%	951
New Holstein, Calumet (0008)	717 = 72%	272 = 28%	989

Table 18: Home language use of adults in two districts in Swain County, North Carolina in 1910

Township/County/District	English	Cherokee	Total
District 152	154 = 46%	184 = 54%	338
District 153	167 = 74%	58 = 26%	225

Despite factors that are explored in **Section 5.2**, such as ongoing immigration of European German speakers and time of contact with Anglo-Americans, the Cherokee-speaking population in Swain County, North Carolina is nearly three times more concentrated than the German-speaking one in any of the areas examined in this dissertation. One likely explanation for this is that Swain County contains the political center of the Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians as well as the old town site of Kituwah. For comparison between the German and Cherokee populations, **Table 19** below displays the 2000 census data on home language use for the four counties of North Carolina most highly populated by members of the EBCI. **Table 20** displays the same data for four counties in Wisconsin, including areas of the Holyland occupied by German Catholics and areas occupied by descendants of Rhine-Hessians. In addition to the descendants of the original German settlers of these areas, recent census data also include descendants of more recent immigrants and recent German immigrants themselves. Although these data do not represent information on monolinguals as the 1910 census data do, a picture of home language use still speaks to the degree to which linguistic practices have been maintained.

Table 19: 200 census data on home language use in 4 North Carolina counties

	Cherokee Speakers	Percentage of Total	Total Surveyed
Cherokee County	40	0.09%	45,585
Graham County	90	0.61%	14,860
Jackson County	930	1.5%	62,160
Swain County	695	2.87%	24,245
North Carolina	1,415	0.02%	7,512,505

Data from the Decennial US Federal Census:
http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/census/index.html

Table 20: 2000 census data on home language use in 4 Wisconsin counties

	German Speakers	Percentage of Total	Total Surveyed
Calumet County	835	1.12%	74,799
Fond du Lac County	1,110	0.61%	181,934
Manitowoc County	1,625	1.05%	154,739
Sheboygan County	3,570	1.71%	208,999
Wisconsin	48,300	0.96%	5,021,690

Data from the Decennial US Federal Census:
http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/language/data/census/index.html

While Swain County's 1,415 Cherokee speakers constitute a low percentage in terms of all individuals surveyed, this concentration represents a higher degree of maintenance on the Qualla Boundary than among any of the German communities studied. This discrepancy represents a continuation of the divergence in patterns of language shift between the two communities since the early to mid-20th century. It reflects one of the key questions of this dissertation – given that verticalization is the correlating factor of language shift, why would one group maintain their language to a greater degree than another?

5.2 Arguments for Verticalization

At first glance, the relatively high concentration of Cherokee speakers in Swain County might seem counterintuitive. Both communities have anecdotal histories that attribute the

decline of their language to one major factor. For Cherokees, boarding school has been cited as that factor (cf. **3.3.4**) while for German communities it has been claimed to be anti-German sentiment during World War I (cf. **5.2.1**). Of the two anecdotes, boarding school is likelier to have affected shift, simply because it removed children from a Cherokee-speaking environment and disrupted their input. Anti-German sentiment may have changed attitudes about public language use, but would not have been able to singlehandedly ensure children's exclusive exposure to English. Given this reasoning, one might expect Cherokee to have fared worse than German by the year 2000. German might also be expected to have had more speakers available due to immigration from Europe. Finally, even considering that verticalization might be the motivating factor for shift, it is possible that Cherokees were less affected by it than German speakers because of their longer period of geographical isolation. This section addresses these arguments, ultimately favoring community regulation and verticalization as the correlating factors behind Cherokees' success in maintenance.

5.2.1 Potential Alternative Explanations and Their Shortcomings

Although some might expect adversity and persecution to factor heavily in determining whether language maintenance is successful, it alone does not appear sufficient in accounting for maintenance or shift. One factor often appealed to in explaining the decline of German in Wisconsin is the German-Americans' endurance of anti-German sentiment during World War I. Scholars such as Wittke have described anti-German sentiment during World War I as "… a thunderclap from a cloudless sky" that "initiated … emotional crisis, conflicts of loyalties, misunderstandings, persecutions, tragedy which few of [German

Americans'] fellow citizens appreciated" (Wittke 1936:33-34). The role of World War I in contributing to German's decline in Wisconsin, though, has been debunked in recent literature. Studies such as Lucht (2007), Wilkerson & Salmons (2008, 2012), and Pfaff & Veenstra (2006) suggest that reports of these effects were not pronounced enough by themselves to account for shift. Although public sentiment during both World Wars may have colored people's attitudes about speaking German, it seems unreasonable to suggest that it had a stronger effect in eliminating a language than institutionalized attempts at its eradication. One major reason for this is that anti-German sentiment did not actually affect the L1 acquisition of German by children. Although parents may not have spoken German as much in public, and may have had to read different newspapers, nothing about anti-German sentiment directly prevented parents from speaking German to their children. Given factors such as the loss of life on the Trail of Tears, experiences at boarding school, and forced relocations of American Indian children away from their families, hardships endured by Cherokees outweigh those of Germans in Wisconsin and introduced circumstances in which children were denied access to their community language. If it were reasonable to argue that public sentiment and the resulting government policies alone could successfully erode a population of speakers, Cherokee would be a prime example. Yet this is not the case. The obstacles each group faced had a different potential to affect language shift. While anti-German sentiment in Wisconsin might change the linguistic behavior of parents in public and, for example, what sort of materials they may read at home, it would not have fundamentally altered the kind of input children received. Anti-German sentiment in Wisconsin was never so virulent as to cause the government to physically remove German children from their families as boarding schools and relocation

programs of the 1950s did to Cherokees. Such government programs were in a position with much higher potential of severing intergenerational transfer and affecting shift in the Cherokee community than anti-German sentiment was in Wisconsin.

One factor that may well be expected to have increased the exposure children had to German is continuing immigration. Schlemper's dissertation makes use of *Emigration Records from the German Eifel Region*, *1834-1911* to provide evidence of approximately 4000 immigrants from that region alone (2003:27). As new immigrants arrived in Wisconsin, one might reasonably expect their presence to have affected children's linguistic environments. However, even though it was bolstered by ongoing waves European immigrants, the population of German speakers in eastern Wisconsin was less concentrated by the year 2000 than the population of Cherokee speakers in western North Carolina. Already by the mid 20th century, in fact, Cherokee use in some areas was much more prevalent than German was in the areas of Wisconsin studied here (see especially **Table 9** for Cherokee usage statistics in Big Cove). The high population of German-born monolinguals in New Holstein in 1910, relative to other nearby communities such as Kiel and Hustisford, indicates a modest population of immigrants (cf. **Table 14**). For Cherokees, no immigration from an overseas fatherland was possible, given that the Eastern Band currently occupies an area very close to Kituwah – the mother town and point of origin of all Cherokees. Although approximately 50 people (Finger 1984:39) did return from Oklahoma after the forced removal in 1838, that number is not significant enough to equal the 3,700 immigrants who were arriving from various German-speaking regions between 1838 and 1846 (Lucht 2007:11, following Smith 1980:9, 16, 31, 35, 39, 44).

Data from areas like New Holstein suggest that ongoing immigration did indeed contribute to the maintenance of German in eastern Wisconsin. Still, statistics on home language use in Big Cove suggest high concentrations of Cherokee speakers even into the 1950s. Gulick (1958) reports a significant number of households that used Cherokee on a daily basis (cf. **3.5**). Around the same time, use of German in some Lutheran churches was beginning to wane. This declining institutional use suggests shift in the community at large. By the 1940s, Missouri Synod Lutheran churches in Sheboygan and Plymouth, WI were beginning to phase out German services (cf. **4.5**), and one interviewee, Stefan, cited the 1950s as the approximate time German began to decline in his community. Stefan estimated that people used German 90% of the time until then (cf. **4.4.1**). High frequency of home use in Big Cove around this time suggests dense, multiplex community ties, as family members spoke Cherokee with one another. Fading institutional use, as we have seen, generally correlated with a shift in the community's locus of decision-making from internal to external. Maintenance of strong horizontal relationships in Big Cove, therefore, likely motivated language maintenance.

Even though Cherokees had no source of replenishment for declining speaker numbers, they remained higher than those of Germans well into the 20th century. One potential explanation for this is the importance of the Qualla Boundary as a political center. An elected government represents an example of internal verticalization. Council members are elected so that they may make decisions on behalf of their constituents. Simultaneously, council members and the chief are able to serve as intermediaries with extracommunity organizations like the federal government. This way, strong social ties historically associated with Cherokee clan structures can be maintained. Aside from their position as

constituents of a tribal government, many Cherokees are concentrated on the Qualla Boundary because of the importance of the place itself to their history and heritage. That importance, and the importance of being near clan members, likely exceeded the importance Germans placed on being around other ethnic Germans. Even with additional immigrants from Europe, a high population of German speakers could not guarantee long-term language maintenance. Even though the initial waves of German settlers generally sought one another out, this clustering trend did not continue as it did among Cherokees. Instead, some other difference must account for the way the two communities dealt with shift.

One could argue that Germans and Cherokees encountered Anglo-Americans at different times, and that this explains the different rates of verticalization and language shift they experienced. This explanation alone, however, is insufficient. Instead, maintenance of horizontal networks is the key factor in explaining the difference in rate of verticalization and shift. Cherokees maintained such networks by regulating the contact they had with outsiders. In fact, limiting contact with outsiders and maintaining a traditional lifestyle were two factors that distinguished the inhabitants of the North Carolina Valley Towns from other Cherokees. After dealing with Anglos and other European-Americans had left many Cherokees "[f]aced with the pervasive breakdown of law, order, and authority in the years 1794 to 1810, the Cherokees had several options" (McLoughlin 1986:56). One of those options, McLoughlin indicates,

> … was to withdraw to the most remote regions of the Cherokee Nation, the high hills and hidden valleys of the Great Smoky Mountains of western North Carolina. … In the Great Smokies life was difficult, but here the old customs could be continued, English was seldom spoken, and the festivals of the changing agricultural seasons were honored (1986:57).

So extreme was their desire to withdraw from whites that "[t]here was a tendency among those who moved to these outlying areas of the nation to believe in the myth of racial separatism. The Great Spirit had not meant the red man to adopt the white man's ways and cease to be a Cherokee. In these areas, the Cherokees adopted from white culture only the minimum they needed to survive" (McLoughlin 1986:57). On the other hand, the majority culture in the United States was less than welcoming. Events such as the forced removal of many Cherokee Nation members to what is now Oklahoma in the 1830s taught North Carolina Cherokees to be especially wary. Thus, especially in the late 1800s, Cherokees were aware of the growing influence of Anglo-Americans and other European-Americans, but chose to avoid contact to the degree they felt able. Although the advent of the automobile on the Qualla Boundary around 1914 was one of the first signs of extensive contact with Anglo-Americans, Cherokees had already been intentionally limiting contact with outsiders by that point for about 120 years. In doing so, they maintained traditional dense, horizontal networks. As stated in **2.1.1** in regard to the list of maintenance factors proposed by Kloss, it is not isolation or time of contact with Anglo-Americans, but cultural values and social networks that are the salient factors.

Many German immigrants to Wisconsin first encountered Anglo-Americans upon arriving in the United States in the mid-1800s, but the social consequences of that encounter had a greater impact on language shift than did the time of their arrival. Many immigrants arrived in areas occupied or formerly occupied by Anglo-Americans and/or Irish immigrants (cf. **4.2**). A largely English-speaking society meant at least some exposure to English in social contact with these groups. Although several factors, generally enforced from the outside (cf. **4.3.4**), kept Germans somewhat socially isolated during their early

settlement period, most immigrants had little motivation to continue to isolate themselves. In fact, intermarriage with Anglo-Americans was sometimes looked upon as a sign of success. Nesbit (1985) cites Schafer (1927), saying "… unusual success in any field opened wide the door of social opportunity to the family of the successful immigrant. His children would be sure to attend the American high school or college; they could, if they chose to do so, intermarry with American families, fraternize on equal terms with Americans of the older lineage in church, in lodge, and in the home" (1985:322). The implication here seems to be that American families of the older lineage were on a higher footing, which German immigrants' children could aspire to reach. For Germans, the challenge was perhaps not in how to remain socially isolated, but in how to become successful enough that they did not to have to. This aspiration represents a markedly different perspective on dealing with Anglo-Americans than Cherokees had. Because of this, contact with Anglo-Americans led to changes in German social networks and to more exposure to English. Rather than arrival time, Germans' social response to Anglo-Americans determined their potential for language shift.

Explanations appealing to time of contact with Anglo-Americans and geographical isolation fall short because both fail to account for the underlying social mechanisms the communities employed to regulate community structure, and, in turn, verticalization. Different measures to regulate connections with external organizations led to different degrees of verticalization and different degrees of shift. The more access external organizations had to local community ties, the more apt these ties were to move from dense, multiplex ties to looser categorical ones. This resulted in people spending more time speaking English and children hearing it more often.

5.2.2 Comparison of Community Regulation

Both German and Cherokee communities initially had dense, multiplex local social structures and interacted little with outsiders. When interactions did occur, each community had a different way of negotiating them. Germans were often socially isolated from other groups because of a mutual language barrier and strong cohesion within their own group. Cherokees, however, had established social roles including chiefs and female clan members to regulate outsiders' access to the community from early on. Because of their initially dense, multiplex social networks, integration into Cherokee or German society meant finding a social space to fit in and learning the local language. During the Great Change, the degree of verticalization each community underwent affected language shift to varying degrees.

Cherokee motivations for interacting with outsiders were both economic and political (Perdue 2005:23-25). Economic benefits had to be weighed against the interactions' potential long-term effects on political sovereignty. This regulatory strategy represents an extension of the old Cherokee town structure, with roles for screening the entry of external influences. Historically, chiefs or headmen regulated the entry of wealth and knowledge, while the matrilineal clan system regulated population (cf. **3.2**). The presence of these institutionalized roles for integrating outside influences indicates a developed system of internal verticalization – certain community members who were empowered to make decisions for groups of other members about who and what was allowed to enter the community. People in such intermediary roles made decisions patterned on a traditional desire to increase their own power by attracting resources from

outside and distributing them for the good of the community. These traditional roles and strategies led Cherokees to act more conservatively in interactions with external organizations than Wisconsin Germans. When outsiders did enter Cherokee society, they did so on Cherokee terms. Adoption by clan mothers, fictive kinship, or distribution of wealth and knowledge by chiefs were all ways outside influences could enter. Otherwise, southern Indians generally treated human beings in general as either relations or enemies (Perdue 2005:9-10). Any new influences that were allowed in became a part of Cherokee society, which implied taking part in the horizontal, egalitarian social network. For people, this meant potential labor in the ᏀᏍᎩ (gadugi) for the good of others in the community, and the possibility of reaping the benefits of the organization for themselves. For wealth and knowledge, this meant equitable distribution among community members by the chief or headman who acquired them. This pattern set a precedent for behavior toward outsiders, which typically involves either keeping them completely out or bringing them completely in.

Germans' motivations for interacting with outside organizations tended to be economic. Consolidating local newspapers, for example, was cheaper for all involved, but ultimately took decision-making power out of local hands. The existence of a standard language and high literacy rates among German-Americans also made consolidation a viable option. After their initial period of immigration, Germans remained in some sense socially isolated from non-Germans and began developing a strong in-group cohesion. Much of this, however, was instantiated from the outside. As stated in Chapter 4, several factors contributed to a sense of German-American cohesion. Common geographical, cultural, and linguistic origins often kept immigrants from the same region living together

in the United States and contributed to uniting them in groups. A common perception among non-Germans that all German immigrants were fundamentally the same contributed as well. The view that they were all Dutchmen seems to have become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Concepts such as *Gemeinschaft* and sheer economic necessity encouraged German farmers to coordinate their labor, developing close social networks based in life-mode 1. Superficially, these common labor groups parallel the Cherokee's institution of ᏍᏚᎩ (gadugi), though with a shorter history and less institutionalization. Catholic and Lutheran churches provided additional community centers and spawned even more domains such as Bible studies, choirs, confirmation classes, and Sunday schools. While Wisconsin Germans did integrate outsiders, their mechanisms for doing so differed from those of Cherokees. Wilkerson & Salmons, among others, have presented evidence suggesting that people of English and Irish descent learned enough German to take part in German confirmation classes (2012:13-15), though entering a community this way differs vastly from being adopted as family into a matrilineal clan, or even from being ceremonially adopted by the tribe as Ray Kinsland, manager of the Cherokee Boys Club, was in 1968 (cf. **3.3.1**). Outsiders who wanted to enter German-American communities needed to reside there and participate in community institutions in order to link them to the local social network, but no clan system existed to formally adopt them.

As a result of their different initial strategies for access to the community, German immigrants and Cherokees employed different strategies in dealing with the Great Change. The institutions that served as community centers came into increasing contact with extra-community organizations. For German communities, this generally meant increasing economic prosperity and increasing efficiency as they became part of economies of scale in

the context of the United States. Heads of community organizations fell into the role of gate-keeper and generally decided to open the gates to contact with external organizations. Cherokees, by and large, had people and organizations in place such as the tribal government and the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual staff who served as a buffer between the community and the outside. Internal verticalization separated local social ties and extra-community organizations. In situations like the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual Co-op, the staff was able to serve as a mediator between the craftspeople and the non-Cherokee tourists who did not speak Cherokee (cf. **3.3.2**). As long as the staff was able to speak English, the members of the co-op did not have to. Although members may have learned English in other ways, the structure of the co-op did not necessarily contribute to their exposure. Conversely, Wisconsin Lutheran churches that held membership in synods found their churches consolidated under a non-local decision-maker. This connected them to the larger American society, where it was more practical and economical to adopt English for all member churches.

During the Great Change, community regulation meant that Cherokees often attempted to absorb outside influences rather than being absorbed into the fabric of the larger society. Although the role of physical gatekeepers no longer exists as such, modern examples of these roles' instantiations persist to the present day. As noted by Duggan, the organizational structure of the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual co-op, while not directly influenced by the ᏀᏍᎩ (gadugi), remarkably mirrors its structure and that of the old Cherokee town (1997:42-43). The general pattern of Cherokee society seems to involve acquiring sources of power and/or wealth from the outside, integrating them into Cherokee society, and closing off connections with the outside in order to maintain local

social structures. The doors of the New Kituwah Academy are adorned with signs proclaiming "English stops here," and the Bureau of Indian Affairs realty office is currently transitioning from federal to tribal control (Joyce E. Frey, BIA realty specialist, personal communication). Along with the integration of the Boys Club, the structure of Qualla Arts & Crafts Mutual Inc., and the tribe's assumption of control over federal schools (cf. **3.3**), these recent examples combine to form a general pattern. Even when verticalization has occurred, connections with external organizations are closed off once the tribe is able to integrate the power and/or wealth of the external structure into the local society. This strategy has resulted in maintenance of more dense, multiplex social networks, and preserved more domains for Cherokee use. Cherokees' tendency to regulate connections with external organizations and absorb valuable ones into the community has mitigated the effects of verticalization and language shift to a degree that Germans in Wisconsin have not. One reason for this is that Cherokees employed a traditional strategy based on social structures for which Germans had no real analogue. While people from outside the community occasionally integrated, there was no cultural template that paralleled the Cherokee family/enemy dichotomy. Germans had no great imperative to integrate others into their society, and generally seem over time to have had no great qualms about integrating into American society.

During the Great Change, several factors altered local social networks in both German and Cherokee communities. Because of their different regulatory strategies, these affected the communities in different ways. One major factor that changed local social networks for Wisconsin Germans was the rise of technology and government regulations. Farming in groups provided local cohesion and plenty of opportunity for children to

acquire and use German, but increased federal regulation and improvements in technology directed local community structures away from dense, multiplex systems and toward categorical, uniplex networks (cf. section 4.3). As multiplex social networks shifted, people encountered others from outside their local communities with whom they had to use English. While similar situations occurred in the Cherokee communities at the local level – a routing of Cherokee children into public schools, participation in the Southern Highland Craft Guild, work at factories, etc. – they were nearly always met with the same institutional response – attempts to adopt and integrate the institution (cf. section 3.3-3.4). Besides helping to maintain local social structures, this continued practice has political ramifications. Because Cherokees seek to maintain a sovereign national structure within the United States, absorption into the fabric of the US represents a constant threat. Similar to its earlier function in defending against threats from other tribes, the gatekeeper mentality serves to protect Cherokee independence from full-scale incorporation into the larger nation-state. Germans, however, had no nation-state within the United States to defend. Absorption into the American mainstream therefore likely presented little threat.

School introduced many German speakers and Cherokee speakers to English for the first time. As Warren claims, public schools were a primary source of socialization into the dominant society's values and norms (1978:177). Interviewees often reported that learning English in school was difficult, though not traumatic. It must be noted, of course, that no interviewee from this study attended boarding school him/herself. One child of a boarding school student I interviewed, however, did say that she grew up monolingual in Cherokee despite her mother's experiences. This difference in language use could be due to the distinction between the boarding school as a federal institution and the later routing of

Cherokee children into local, non-federal public schools. A few Cherokee interviewees reported that it was after the federal Indian school at Snowbird closed that they began using English with classmates at public school, simply because their classmates in Indian school were all Cherokees while at public school they were not. Consolidation of local schools and a subsequent transfer to public schools seems common between both communities. Parochial and local public schools initially helped to preserve German in Wisconsin, but many of the schools consolidated and eventually closed (see Lehmann 2001:30 on Emmanuel and Ebenezer Lutheran Schools' consolidation in Sheboygan, WI). Still, many parents favored English-speaking public schools. In Cherokee, events proceeded somewhat differently. The reservation school system originated in a vertical relationship between the tribe and the federal government, but was reclaimed when the tribe consolidated the school system and took it over as a tribal institution. Although many parents still send children to public school, this step paved the way for what would become the New Kituwah Academy. Catholic communities in the Holyland operated on a somewhat similar strategy, as local parochial schools operated within the community to the exclusion of public schools (Schlemper 2003:17). The parochial schools were part of a vertical structure – the Catholic Church – yet existed as German enclaves within the local communities. The Catholic Church, in a somewhat similar policy to the Indian New Deal, initially allowed the local institutions that constituted part of its network a great deal of autonomy. This allowed the continuation of social networks that fostered language maintenance.

Transportation also played a major role in connecting towns and cities with rural areas during the Great Change. Paved roads and trains allowed locals to leave the

community and allowed non-locals in. Accessibility increased the potential for interaction between people and the formation of new social networks, which opened the door to language shift. Although one could appeal again to the notion of isolation, changes that occur in social networks as a result of increasing interaction with outsiders are the salient factor. Verticalization encapsulates this connection in a way that isolation does not. One result of increased accessibility has been an interest in tourism. Communities in the Holyland as well as in western North Carolina have devoted some aspects of their regional identities to tourism. Transitory visitors like tourists all but guaranteed the formation of loose social ties with those working in the tourist industry. Because tourists do not necessarily speak the local language of the places they visit, tourist jobs created some necessity for adults working in the industry to learn English. Consequently, improvements in transportation and geographical access created new connections with outsiders and new domains for English. Improved geographical accessibility to the communities also meant that outside companies could enter the local economy. The combination of government regulations on dairy farming and the rise of factories disrupted the pattern of traditional farm life in Wisconsin and its dense social networks. As people relocated for jobs, they had more occasion to use English. For Cherokees as well, non-local companies provided much of the motivation for shifting to English among adults. Hotel employees and workers for the lumber company provide two major examples. For those getting local jobs, hotels, paper factories, and lumber mills created domains for English use.

Although corporations played a role in shift in both communities, their influence was apparently farther-reaching in Wisconsin than in western North Carolina. The lumber industry near Sheboygan, for instance, jumpstarted the success of the local chair factory,

which tripled the city's population between 1870 and 1890. In conjunction with the Kohler Company, which began by manufacturing farming implements, enamelware, and doing foundry work, the chair factory brought about a period of general industrial development (Nesbit 1985:185). By comparison, Cherokee's lumber industry began around 1904, and was one of the first industries to seriously test the community's regulatory strategies. Its presence undermined the traditional subsistence economy and social values (Finger 1991:18). The lumber industry in Cherokee and the railroad it utilized connected Eastern Band members with outsiders, but ended by 1929 due to factors such as dry seasons, forest fires, and the waste produced by the mills ruining tribal fisheries (Finger 1991:54). With the exception of a few isolated factories, the failed lumber industry led Cherokees to consider tourism as a source of income. Of course, the Cherokee strategy for tourism was internal verticalization. While German settlements in Wisconsin integrated into American society via industrialization, Cherokees cultivated a unique identity to present to tourists hoping to escape day-to-day life in their new automobiles. A greater corporate presence in German-American communities meant more verticalization, whereas the cultivation of a marketable community identity meant more internal verticalization for Cherokees. Bender comments on the Cherokee syllabary's use in tourism, saying "[t]he syllabary's complex relationship to the dominant culture is nowhere more evident than in the public space inhabited by tourists, where the syllabary serves different semiotic roles in marking spaces as part of the genuine community infrastructure. The process of setting boundaries between community insiders and outsiders, between Cherokees and tourists, is just that – a process, rather than a given" (2002:8). In a similar fashion to the co-op's negotiation of boundaries with tourists, the tribe's use of the syllabary helps to regulate the access they

may have to the local community infrastructure. In this way, internal verticalization helps Cherokees delineate for outsiders what is consumable, what is a commodity, and what is off limits. This employment of the gatekeeper mechanism helps isolate internal Cherokee social networks from integration with tourists. Direct tribal efforts at integrating the tourist industry into the local infrastructure included the acquisition of the Boundary Tree Tract, on which the tribe placed tourist lodging facilities, a filling station, and a restaurant in 1948 (Finger 1991:112-113). Rather than relying on unavailable private venture capitalism, the tribe committed to tourism using its own assets (Finger 1991:113). The Boundary Tree tourist complex closed in the latter half of the 20th century and is now the location of the New Kituwah Academy. This tribal incorporation of tourism is another example of the Cherokee strategy of internal verticalization and integration.

The Great Change brought increasing vertical ties to both communities in the form of factories. Cherokees ultimately shifted focus to tourism, though not before these companies had some effect on local structures. The transition in both communities from an agrarian economy to an industrial one presents an example of how language shift is tied to life mode. Many Germans began in life-mode 1 with farming and shifted to life-mode 2 in their work at factories. As people moved toward more categorical relationships, they also shifted their affiliations to those based on interest in some shared aspect of the larger culture rather than on locality. This meant more time spent speaking the language of the larger culture. In the Cherokee communities of western NC, an interview with Utsesdi revealed that such a situation was the case for her mother (cf. **3.4.1**). Utsesdi's family were initially farmers, but her mother later found work at Vanguard plastics factory. Even though she had been to the federal boarding school in her youth, Utsesdi's mother first

learned English from a bilingual Cherokee speaker working with her at the factory. Some interviewees in Wisconsin reported using English in factories even though they knew that other employees were from the local community (cf. **4.3.4**). Ultimately, the combination of children's use of English in public schools and adults' use at work combined to affect language use in the community in general. In that sense, language shift occurred in two directions at once – from above, via parents, and from below, via children. The more children were exposed to English at school and through their parents' increasing use at home, the more likely they became to acquire it at the expense of their community language.

Both communities experienced a shift in the domains of school and work toward English. The significant amount of time and social interactions children experience at school can have a profound effect on their linguistic practices. Speaking English with peers and teachers during the day would have normalized English use for them. Hearing English at home from parents contributed to this normalization. Because school for children and work for parents were more closely connected to the external society, both began to consist largely of categorical relationships. Consequently, social networks were no longer as dense and multiplex. At that point, whole families began using the language of the external society on a more regular basis because of their increased vertical ties to it. Evidence of this exists in both directions – the increasing heterogeneity of students at local public schools and the increasing sway Americans had over their administration ultimately led to shift. When funding became a problem for religious institutions, many consolidated and some later closed. In Cherokee children began attending public schools after the local reservation day schools closed and the Indian school closed in Snowbird. Children began

attending Whittier, Swain County, and Bryson City public schools and integrating with the local non-Cherokee children, and using their language. The growing importance of public school's influence on children's linguistic practices becomes apparent in comparing the experiences of Utsesdi's mother with those of GJ. Whereas Utsesdi's mother was forced to learn English at boarding school and still raised her children monolingual in Cherokee, GJ began using English at public school rather readily with friends on the football team.

The most significant difference between Cherokees' and Germans' responses to the influence of public schools was that Cherokees ultimately subsumed the domain of education under tribal government. Germans lacked an internal vertical structure capable of doing so. When the tribe assumed control over the local school system in the 1970s from the United States, they were able to reintegrate the domain of education into the local social structure, de-verticalizing it. Tribal schools now operate under the purview of the internal vertical structure of the tribal government. Other examples of this de-verticalization include the transition of the Cherokee Boys Farm Club from a federally-organized school program into part of the tribal infrastructure. The club later began performing free labor reminiscent of the ᏍᏚᎩ (gadugi). Qualla Arts & Crafts Mutual, Inc. also coalesced from a combination of the federal boarding school's craft program and the tribe's membership in the Southern Highland Handicraft Guild (see section 3.2.2). Through internal verticalization, tribal members transformed these organizations into a cooperative institution built on structure of the old Cherokee town.

Each of these examples represents an instance where Cherokees transitioned from a relationship with an outside organization that held desirable resources to absorbing the structure of that organization under local control. In this way, Cherokee gatekeepers

opened the door to extra-community vertical ties, absorbed the resources along the exchange network, and then closed the gate again, incorporating the organization into the internal social structure. This open-and-close strategy helped mitigate the social changes that occurred as a result of verticalization in other minority communities in the United States, and therefore also the correlating language shift. In comparison, Germans' lack of a strategy at the community level meant that little real negotiation was possible. Although parochial schools were one of the mainstays of German use for a long time in an educational setting, the assumption of state control of local schools went largely uncontested. Once local schools became solidly integrated into vertical networks, German use in schools essentially stopped. Although interviewees almost universally reported that farming was once a primary domain in which German was spoken in Wisconsin communities, local farming organizations became subject to increasing oversight by extra-community organizations. This altered the structure of the local community and the domain was lost. In Cherokee, farming could be overseen by a tribal organization – the product of internal verticalization within a sovereign state – rather than the federal government. Although both communities were affected by verticalization, Cherokees' employment of their traditional community regulation strategies stemmed the tide of verticalization. We now examine the present state of shift in the two communities and the ramifications for this difference in strategy.

5.3 Current States of Language Maintenance and Revitalization

Since the early 20th century, trends of shift in the two communities have continued to diverge. Rather than allowing local organizations to be absorbed by the larger society, the Cherokee cultural strategy of acquisition and integration has preserved many local social

structures and continues to do so. Still, the process of shift to English is not complete in either community. Both groups retain domains in which their traditional languages are spoken. In Wisconsin, the use of German is generally restricted to elders. According to interviewees, Wisconsin Germans have found opportunities to speak German in clubs, Bible studies, choirs, and trips to Europe for vacation or military service. Some have also had occasion to use it with Germans who immigrated recently to the United States. Many speakers reported that they acquired the language at home and have maintained it into the present, whereas a few reported that they acquired it from their peers when they were young. Speakers varied in their conversational proficiency during interviews, with some possessing only an auditory receptive knowledge. German communities maintain local organizations and identity but have largely shifted from German to English. Many members of the current generation of speakers reported that they did not transmit the language to their children. Even so, German may yet survive in Wisconsin communities through continued immigration or community efforts at revitalization. Cherokee is still spoken by many elders in western North Carolina. Elders congregate in the Tsali Manor Senior Center on the Qualla Boundary, attend monthly speakers' meetings organized by the Kituwah Preservation and Education Program (KPEP), and attend festivals such as the annual Kituwah Celebration to commemorate the re-acquisition of the Cherokee Mother Town. Although German speakers are generally not transmitting German to the next generation of community members, Cherokees are beginning to do so again. The desire for an immersion school was triggered by a sense of urgency regarding language endangerment and a desire by many monolingual English-speaking Cherokees to reclaim their ancestral language.

Religion seems to represent one commonality between the two communities in terms of maintenance. This is consistent with Salmons' statement that religious institutions have been found to retain German longer than other institutions (2002:191). Certain churches on the Qualla Boundary such as Wrights Creek Baptist still hold services in the Cherokee language (Wrights Creek Baptist congregant, personal communication), while special services are occasionally held in German in eastern Wisconsin. In some instances, however, language use in these contexts has narrowed to an indexical function, such as the singing of hymns or the reciting of prayers, rather than communicative one. In a sense, language use in some religious contexts is fossilized. Although congregants can still recite texts in the language, Schlemper suggests there is evidence that many German-Americans who can do so do not possess productive knowledge of the language as a whole (2003:152). Similarly, some Cherokees (myself included) are able to recite pieces of the Lord's Prayer or sing hymns such as Amazing Grace in Cherokee without fully comprehending the text. The reasons for such linguistic fossilization and their implications for the performance of identity will be explored in future work.

Religion is only one of many domains that has shifted in each community. Even so, not all churches necessarily undergo shift. Even those that do undergo shift do not necessarily do so at the same time. This is true for multiple domains, as evidenced by many German parochial and schools shifting later than others. Because so many potential domains exist for language use, the impression of shift can be somewhat subjective. To individuals who still largely inhabit domains that have not shifted, even if those domains are the last in the community, it may seem to an individual speaker that the community language is still robustly used, even though most of the population has not transmitted the

language to the next generation. If one attends the last church to shift to English, for example, and shops at the last local market, life may appear relatively ordinary for the language. This appears to have been the case with some interviewees, who reported that they still use the language on a daily basis in multiple domains. Consultants such as Yona and Utsesdi reported that they use Cherokee with anyone they know who speaks it, indicating strong local social ties among speakers of their generation. The Cherokee strategy of internal verticalization seems to be a factor that could provide such a scenario. A gatekeeper could serve as an intermediary with the outside while internal social structures go undisturbed. This would make it easier for language use inside the community to remain undisturbed.

German and Cherokee communities today hold different priorities regarding the future of their languages. The increased focus on language revitalization in the North Carolina Cherokee community, embodied especially in the establishment of the New Kituwah Academy, suggests that maintenance and revitalization of Cherokee is important to community members. In contrast, although many L1 German speakers interviewed in Wisconsin showed interest in using and speaking German, little attention seems to be paid to creating new L1 speakers. When asked directly whether it mattered to her that the German language was dying out in Wisconsin, one interviewee admitted that it did not really concern her or most people she knew. This attitude suggests that at least for that interviewee, the German language was not an important marker of identity. North Carolina Cherokees, however, alongside a few hundred speakers in Oklahoma, face the imminent threat of their language's demise in the world. Another difference between the two communities' responses to verticalization and shift seems to be their general attitudes

toward assimilation into the American mainstream. Among German-Americans, less resistance seems to exist to the notion of assimilation into the general American society. Cherokees, however, have sought to establish themselves politically as a sovereign nation within a nation. Such a stance precludes a high degree of institutional assimilation into the American mainstream because assimilation would undermine sovereignty.

5.4 Implications for Language Revitalization

One major point this dissertation has argued is the correlation between verticalization and language shift, and the possibility of mitigating that shift through community regulation. This section expands this argument to show how community regulation strategies can be applied toward shift in the opposite direction – in other words, revitalization. Because the Cherokee community has begun the process of language revitalization already, I focus on how it might benefit from the knowledge of community structure and verticalization presented in this dissertation. First, if more connections between local social networks and external organizations correlate with shift in one direction, shift in the other direction should correlate with fewer connections between local social networks and external organizations. The mitigation factor of traditional Cherokee community regulatory strategies suggests that this holds. Increasing the employment of that strategy, then, should aid in preserving, and possibly proliferating, strong local social networks. Through internal verticalization, Cherokees could further regulate interactions with extra-community organizations, allowing entry to outside influences only on Cherokee terms.

Another important observation about the process of shift is its concomitant effects on both adults and children. Adults begin acquiring a second language often out of economic necessity at work while children begin acquiring it at school. The two sides meet

in the home. Children, accustomed to using the new language at school, continue to use it with their parents. Parents, accustomed to using some amount of the language at work, can use it to some degree with their children. Younger siblings exposed to this situation may even grow up monolingual in the new language if parents and older siblings use it at the expense of the community language. To model a situation that favors the use of the community language, a community might approach language revitalization in a similar bidirectional fashion. Internal verticalization can be employed for revitalization from above, while increased focus on Cherokee education at school can be employed from below. Schools would need to prepare more rigorous Cherokee language curricula focusing on communicative competence. These efforts would need to be coupled with increased use of Cherokee in public domains by L1 speakers so that students have an immediate point of reference for the relevance of the language in their lives. In order to develop the public presence of the language, internal verticalization could be utilized to obtain the extended cooperation of new businesses coming in to Cherokee.

To continue the gatekeeper metaphor, many gates in the Cherokee community are already open. Branches of local businesses, television, movies, and branches of the federal government all represent vertical ties to the external society. While it would be extreme, even absurd, to suggest cutting all such ties entirely in the name of language revitalization, these ties can be negotiated. If one considers the Cherokee community as though it were a town, only the outermost gates need be regulated in order to preserve the internal structure. This is to say that organizations from the outside might still be allowed connections with the local community, but be convinced to connect with it on Cherokee terms. It would not be necessary to sever connections with external organizations so long

as those organizations agreed to participate with the community in language revitalization. In fact, the Cherokee Nation in Oklahoma has already set a major precedent for such cooperation by working with Apple, Google, and Microsoft to include the Cherokee language as part of their computer software. Local businesses in North Carolina could work with the Eastern Cherokee community in a similar fashion to translate menus, signage, and promotional materials into Cherokee. While a universal change in local businesses from English to Cherokee would be impractical given the current number of Cherokee speakers, a more gradual change might be feasible, especially given the new growing population of L1 speakers. Within a decade, the oldest current New Kituwah immersion school class will be eighteen. They and their younger schoolmates would provide a good rationale for new signage and business practices. A decade-long timeline would also allow an easier transition. Existing businesses that operate solely in English would be minimally disturbed and new businesses would be able to gradually phase in more use of Cherokee. Just as English-speaking outside organizations entered communities gradually, so could Cherokee-speaking organizations emerge from planning and regulation.

Regulating outside influences and bolstering Cherokee usage inside the community are necessary for revitalization. Retention of L1 Cherokee speakers in the community will help create more natural public domains for Cherokee use as the L1 speakers spoke to their friends and classmates from school. When New Kituwah students or others who acquired Cherokee as an L1 find local employment, they will be able to introduce more Cherokee use at work. Students who had participated in Cherokee language courses in non-immersion schools would have both an ability and a reason to converse at work with L1 speakers.

Some of these changes have begun already. Cherokees have become part of a growing nationwide trend toward indigenous language revitalization. The aforementioned Cherokee Nation cooperation with major software companies and the crowd-sourced translation of the Facebook interface into Cherokee represent important first steps in making the language accessible to future speakers. Local signage has been printed in the Cherokee syllabary for a number of years already, and one local business, the now defunct Tribal Grounds Coffee shop, used to display the syllabary proudly on its store menu, entrance, and exit signs. Because these precedents have been set already, future progress is a matter of extending what has been done. Like the pattern of employing gatekeepers and internal verticalization, success may lie in learning from the past and extending it into the future. Indeed, the recent remodeling of the downtown area and the traditional architectural design of the Cherokee Phoenix movie theater suggests that these areas have been adopted and integrated. One current complaint about the signage in town is that 'nobody can read it,' but this is slowly changing. Children at the New Kituwah Academy are being exposed to Cherokee from six months of age and taught the syllabary as their first orthography. With proper regulation of outside organizations and careful community planning, Cherokee signage can move from being novel to being vital for daily life, and the Cherokee language can be heard throughout the community.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This dissertation set out to test and refine an existing model of language shift. The model is based primarily on Warren's (1978) notion of verticalization. During verticalization, American community structures moved from being more horizontally, or locally-focused, to developing more vertical ties to organizations centered outside the local community. Although Warren did not address language use or shift himself, previous scholars (Salmons 2002, 2005a & b, Lucht 2007, Wilkerson & Salmons 2008, 2012, among others), have integrated other social and sociolinguistic theories to explain language shift in terms of the Great Change and verticalization. In addition to Warren's model, frameworks such as Højrup's life-modes model (2003) and Milroy & Milroy's social networks model of language change (1987, 1992, 2012) provide a basis for linking socioeconomic factors and linguistic behavior. While the Milroys focus on the correlation between social networks and language change, this dissertation and recent previous works have extended the application to language shift.

This model represents an improvement on previous approaches to language shift in that it is empirically testable. Records from community institution, census data, and recorded interviews with contemporary community members show trends in language use over time. Although other models have attempted to explain language shift in terms of factors such as language ideology or prestige, definitional issues make these factors difficult to track. The current model therefore argues that verticalization – the reorienting of community focus toward extracommunity organizations – alters local social networks. At a very basic level, altering social networks changes who individuals talk to on a daily basis.

More interactions with people from outside the local community lead to less use of the community language and more use of the socially dominant one. With the onset of urbanization and industrialization during the Great Change, verticalization became an increasingly common phenomenon in American communities. As people moved from a largely agrarian life-mode 1 to a more vertically-focused industrialized life-mode 2, they began talking more frequently with people from outside their communities who did not speak their local languages. This prompted bilinguals to use the majority language more often, changing the linguistic environment of the community. That change led to less input in the community language for children, and eventually a shift away from its use in the home. Once children stopped hearing the local language in the home, they stopped acquiring it as an L1 and began to acquire the language of the dominant society instead. This constitutes language shift.

Although previous work on this model of shift has focused largely on immigrant communities in the United States, and especially on German in Wisconsin, a good theory of shift must be applicable generally, across the fullest set of circumstances in which shift takes place. In order to test the model's broader applicability, this dissertation has tested it in two case studies: shift from German to English in eastern Wisconsin and Cherokee to English in western North Carolina. The rationale behind choosing these case studies was twofold. German in eastern Wisconsin was chosen as a parallel to existing applications of the verticalization model of shift. Because much of the work on this theory has been conducted in German-American communities, examining new data on Wisconsin German established a base of comparison both to earlier work, and then between the two case studies. I began by comparing situations that parallel earlier work in that they were

occurring in a region and time similar to those examined in previous studies. This added new data to a growing body of literature and supports previous findings. New data on New Holstein, WI, for instance, parallels previous findings by Wilkerson & Salmons in Hustisford, WI (2008, 2012), revealing a high percentage of monolingual German speakers. The percentage in New Holstein at the same time, as shown in **Chapter 4**, however, was even higher. This discovery helps build a fuller picture of the monolingual population of Wisconsin during the early stages of the Great Change, and provides a clue as to where many German speakers may reside today. This information can aid in future linguistic studies of German in Wisconsin and provide a deeper understanding of the region's history and linguistic background.

The second rationale behind this study was to expand and deepen the verticalization model by testing it in a different community and setting of language shift. The Cherokee community of western North Carolina provided an ideal case because of its vastly different historical origins, its indigenous rather than immigrant status in the area studied, and its relatively successful retention of its language despite persistent obstacles. Because previous studies have focused on language shift in immigrant communities, studying language shift in an indigenous one expands the model and shows that its application is not limited to immigrants. Additionally, although studies have focused on language shift in immigrant communities and indigenous communities before, none has considered the situations comparatively. Comparative study of these two communities has also revealed a disparity between the degree of language maintenance between Wisconsin Germans and Cherokees in western North Carolina. Despite facing greater historical adversity than Germans in Wisconsin in many ways, Cherokees had maintained a higher

percentage of speakers on the Qualla Boundary by the year 2000 than German speakers had in any of the historically German-speaking regions of Wisconsin surveyed here. This fact, along with interviewees born after World War II who spoke German as a first language, speaks against the notion that adversity due to anti-German sentiment during World War I killed German in Wisconsin. Study of language shift, therefore, can also refine sociological and historical observations and provide a clearer picture of community life.

Results indicate that each community underwent a different degree of verticalization. Factories played a role in the development of both communities, though Cherokees eventually turned to tourism as their primary form of income. Unlike factory work, the tourist industry required the community to employ its traditional strategy of internal verticalization – empowering intermediaries to interact with outsiders on community members' behalf. The staff of the Qualla Arts and Crafts Mutual co-op, for example, sells crafts by local artists to tourists. This way, the artists do not need to integrate with any outside organization because they have appointed a group to do that for them. Individual factories, in contrast, were amphibious organizations with connections both to the local community and the larger society. They shifted community focus from the local to the extra-local, especially in places where they were more prevalent. The success of the lumber industry, chair factories, and the Kohler company in eastern Wisconsin meant that German speakers were frequently put in contact with English speakers. Although this pattern held in Cherokee while factories were more prevalent, a reorientation toward tourism meant Cherokees were less affected by verticalization than they might have been. Similarly, both communities experienced a re-focusing of control over local educational systems from intra-community to extra-community. Although Germans in Wisconsin

attempted to avoid this for a time through parochial schools, parents eventually began favoring public schools over religious institutions. As waypoints of state-funded education, public schools represented vertical ties. At a community level, being in public school put children in more contact with English speakers. Cherokees' educational institutions were structured somewhat differently those of Germans. Cherokee schools began as federally-controlled day facilities and a federal boarding school. These transitioned to tribal control during the late 1900s. Still, after federal schools closed, many parents chose to send children to public schools in communities in the nearby vicinity of Cherokee, NC. While German communities typically established lasting vertical ties with extra-community organizations that led them to use more English day-to-day, Cherokees formed those connections, but often closed them off in some way. This strategy helped mitigate language shift by preserving more dense, multiplex local social networks.

A more general theory of language shift reveals part of the story of how communities develop over time. Language contact, and sometime shift, are two of many possible natural consequences of human interaction. New understanding of language shift is valuable not only for the general study of linguistics broadly, but also for other fields such as sociology and history. Understanding how shift occurred can inform current community members' understanding of their history and heritage. A comparative study of shift in two communities supports the model of verticalization and suggests it can be applied to multiple other instances of shift. Though many previous studies have focused largely on individual instances of shift and attempted to analyze it within the confines of those situations, this dissertation represents a step beyond that approach. By comparing situations, we can begin to extrapolate the model's general applicability. Subsequent tests

can then further expand and sharpen the theory. This work has taken a step in that direction.

A comparative study of German and Cherokee communities' responses to verticalization has revealed different cultural patterns. Previous work has established that verticalization correlates with language shift. This work expands on that notion by examining the extent to which cultural strategies of community regulation can mitigate that. North Carolina Cherokees have historically limited outsiders' access to their communities mainly by employing intermediaries between the tribe and the external society and preserving the internal social structures. Because of this, many structures in the community have remained dense and multiplex. Due to many economic effects of the Great Change, particularly urbanization and industrialization, the Cherokee strategy faltered somewhat, creating a generation of monolingual English speakers around the mid- to late 1950s. Efforts in the following years to re-assert local control over institutions such as tourism and education have resulted in a sort of de-verticalization or re-horizontalization that continues into the present day. One result of this de-verticalization has been the formation of an immersion school and an increased awareness of the possibility of language death if new speakers are not created.

German speakers in Wisconsin have responded to verticalization in markedly different ways, even in areas that were most heavily monolingual in German in 1910. No German speaker interviewed in eastern Wisconsin for this dissertation expressed particular concern about language death, though many still use German relatively frequently in daily life. Although intergenerational transmission has ceased, much current focus in eastern Wisconsin seems to be on German heritage, culture, genealogy, and history

rather than on language revitalization. To this end, future work will investigate the extent to which language shift correlates with reinvention of cultural identity.

Despite the loss of German in many domains in eastern Wisconsin and the cessation of intergenerational transfer, the German used by first language speakers today still possesses an intact grammar and is used in a wide range of domains. The remaining elder generation of German speakers uses a variety with a long history of change in Wisconsin, including added grammatical complexity. As will be shown in future work by Bousquette, Frey, Sewell, Nützel, Putnam & Salmons (in preparation), the varieties of German spoken in eastern Wisconsin have undergone an increase in complexity from their input varieties, specifically regarding their ability to license null syntactic elements. Depending on the actions of the current generation of speakers, however, this novel variety of German may or may not survive.

Other opportunities for future research are varied. This model of shift can be applied to historical periods and places other than the Great Change in North America. Recent work by Frey & Salmons (2012) has applied the model to examine the historical shift from British Celtic to Anglo-Saxon in England and the secure intergenerational transmission of Gothic, despite language contact and possible koineization. More historical studies of this type could be conducted, using contemporary theories to explain historical instances of shift. More contemporary applications of the current model could compare the community regulation strategies of Cherokees to those of the Old Order Amish in regard to language maintenance. Both groups regulate the influence of external organizations in their community. While Cherokees engage with outside organizations and try to subsume them as illustrated in **Chapter 3**, Louden describes the Amish as engaging in a "…'selective

interaction' with the social mainstream" (1991:113). Cherokees have incorporated whole institutions from the outside and made them Cherokee, such as western education via the boarding school, and the current transition of the BIA realty office to tribal control. The Amish employ a stricter negotiation strategy, setting limits on the use of connections to the external society such as the telephone and automobile. This limitations are set "… to maintain what they see as the integrity of home and community life. Telephones are generally prohibited from being located inside homes, largely for the fact that they provide a major source of disruption of interaction within the family … . The very real utilitarian advantages of having a telephone are preserved, however, by still locating it within reasonable access, as for example at the end of the lane" (Louden 1991:118). By maintaining conscious distance from the outside world but utilizing connections to it when they need them, the Amish have struck a "bargain with modernity" (Kraybill 1990, cited in Louden 1991:117). That bargain has proven extremely efficacious in maintaining Pennsylvania Dutch, as well as a stable bilingualism in English (1991:126). Future studies could apply the model of shift to compare community structure and language maintenance between indigenous communities.

This dissertation contributes to the existing body of knowledge on language shift by examining two historical instances. Beyond expanding linguistic theory, I provide an analysis of the communities studied in a historical framework and examine their social network structures. This examination has opened the door to further historical, sociological, and linguistic research.

A major benefit of gaining insights about community structure and its effect on language shift is the ability to apply those insights toward language revitalization. In this

work I show that increased verticalization in immigrant and indigenous communities in the United States correlates with language shift, but that maintaining more horizontal ties can slow this shift. This knowledge could prove beneficial not only to Cherokees, but to all groups whose languages are threatened. By orienting community structures purposefully toward horizontal networks, populations whose languages are endangered may be able to stem the tide of shift. Building up local populations of speakers and regulating contact with external organizations could even empower groups to reverse the trend. Such a reversal would increase the likelihood of survival for threatened languages. Because languages tie people to their histories and traditional knowledge, each has a unique value in the world. Languages serve as an important marker of identity. Losing a language, therefore, can be conceived of as a loss of identity. It is the aim of this dissertation to contribute in the fight against that loss.

By investigating how the process of language shift occurs generally, I have set the stage for future discussion of how communities could apply this knowledge to language revitalization. It is hoped that through strategic community planning, this information can provide help to groups whose languages are threatened, placing the power to influence shift in their hands.

APPENDIX A: SURVEY INSTRUMENT FOR INTERVIEWS IN CHEROKEE, NC

Community Structure & Language Shift in North Carolina Cherokee: Interview Protocol

Do you speak Cherokee? If so, how well, how often?

- Do you understand it?
- Was it your first language?
- Where did you learn it? – home? School? Friends? Different family from your own? Grandparents?

Where did you live during childhood?

- Was where you were born different from where you grew up?

With whom did you primarily interact while growing up? Family? Friends? Neighbors?

- Who in your household primarily spoke Cherokee? In your community?
- How often did you do things with your neighbors?
- What kinds of activities did you do with them?

In what circumstances did people speak Cherokee? During what activities? Where could it be heard?

- During what activities did people speak Cherokee? Farming activities such as threshing & harvesting? Butchering? Hunting? Picking ramps/mushrooms? Church Services? At home? Telling stories? Singing songs? At work?
- What kind of cultural activities existed during your youth? Did people play games together? Go to dances?
- What community organizations were you part of when you were younger? A local church? A band? A craft co-op? A theater group? What organizations are you part of today?
- Did you ever hear Cherokee in religious contexts? Did that change over time? If so, how?
- Were there any written publications in Cherokee that you read? Are they still being published?
- Did you farm when you were younger? How did that change over time?
- Were you ever in the military? If so, how much did you use Cherokee while in the service?
- How large a role did tribal government play in your life while growing up? State government? Federal?
- When did community activities stop? Are they still going on? Have they re-started?

What local businesses existed – stores, banks, post offices, etc? How did those change over time?

- Would anyone at those places of business have spoken Cherokee?
- What new businesses moved into your area over time? How much Cherokee was used at those businesses?
- Where did you buy groceries when you were younger? Where do you get them now?
- What industries existed when you were younger? Do you remember factories being present? The lumber industry? How did these affect the community?
- How many paved roads existed when you were younger? How has that changed over time?

What is/was your occupation?

- How often have you used Cherokee during work?
- How has tourism changed the community? Do you find yourself interacting with more people from outside the community now than when you were younger? If so, in what contexts?

How much Cherokee did you hear while in school?

- Did children speak it with each other outside the classroom? On the playground? How did that change over time?
- What school did you attend when you were young? Did you ever change schools?
- If you went to college, where did you go? How much Cherokee did you use while there?

Do you still use Cherokee today?

- What opportunities did you have to speak it while growing up? What opportunities exist now?
- What changes have you seen in people's use of the language over time? Have people used more Cherokee? Less?

APPENDIX B: SURVEY INSTRUMENT FOR INTERVIEWS IN EASTERN WI

Free conversation
introductions
earlier recordings from the area
what we'll do with the data (i.e. listen, transcribe, preserve)
*Consent form

Bio
Age/year of birth
where born, lived, and currently live
occupation -- married? language of spouse?
*when did you first learn English?

Family
Where was your family from?
Where do they live now?
Siblings? Grandparents in house? or family nearby?
→ Who used German? Who was bilingual? Who used English in the home?

Farm life
What crops? When planted and harvested?
What activities were done in German? Who was using German while doing these activities? (i.e. harvesting, butchering, sawing?)

Community
How the town has changed over your life?
Who lived where? Yankees, Germans, Dutch — street by street
Church – what church do you belong to? German-language use?
Schools? German-language use in schools?
Clubs? Activities where you use(d) German?

Speakers then and now
Who did you use German with (as a kid, as a teenager, as an adult)?
When did you use it (at school, church, harvesting, with friends)?
Do you know other people who speak German?
Are there places where people still use more German?

Family stories?

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