



8

Orthographies

8

Ideologies

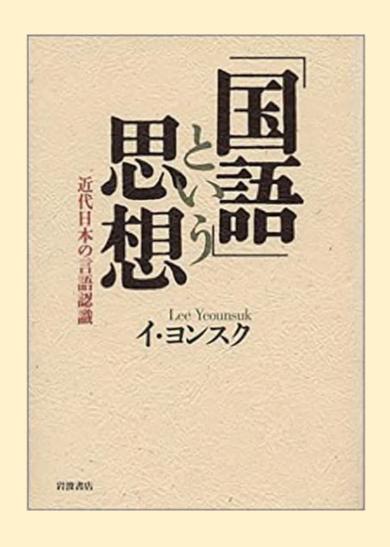


ADAM MICKIEWICZ UNIVERSITY POZNAŃ

Tomasz Wicherkiewicz



Lee Yeounsuk



From the viewpoint of modern linguistics, the substance of language consists of sound whereas script is the mere outer covering of language.

Just as cosmetics and clothing do not affect the human body itself, the choice of script is an external element irrelevant to the substance of language. Thus, the object of linguistics research has been sounds and the relationship among sounds at each level of phonology, morphology, and syntax.



 When it comes to script, people become so emotional that they form irrational but intense likes and dislikes.

- Why do people become so passionate about the choice of script?
- This is not because ordinary people are ignorant of linguistics.

• In people's consciousness about the language that they speak, not solely in the professional field of linguistics, we find the genius of language. It was once a general premise held by linguists that the essential property of language lay in its "structure" or its "system."

Non-Linguistic Factors in Orthographies

Cahill, Michael 2014

- The acceptability (and therefore actual use) of orthographies (...) depends on non-linguistic factors as much as on linguistic ones.
- An orthography that facilitates transfer to a major language is often a goal but can conflict with choices of symbols or even entire scripts that emphasize group identity.

Watts, Richard 1999. «The ideology of dialect in Switzerland». In: J.Blommaert (ed.) *Language Ideological Debates*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 68

Language Ideology

a set of beliefs about the structure of language and/or the functional uses to which a language is put which are shared by the members of a community.

The beliefs have formed part of that community's overall set of beliefs and the life-styles that have evolved on the basis of those beliefs for so long that their origins seem to have been obscured or forgotten

Dołowy-Rybińska, N.& M. Hornsby 2021. "Attitudes and Ideologies in Language Revitalization", in: J. Olko & J. Sallabank (eds.) Revitalizing Endangered Languages A Practical Guide. Cambridge University Press, 104 – 106.

Language ideologies =

- those beliefs, feelings, and assumptions about language that are socially shared, and which attempt to make sense of different forms of the language (dialects in relation to a standard language, minority languages in relation to majority languages, youth speak in relation to older generations' way of talking, etc.) and their place in society.
- ideologies of language represent assumptions about particular linguistic forms and what they say about the people who use them. (...) ideologies operate at a subconscious level and that people may not be aware of their existence.
- ideologies can become apparent through people's attitudes towards a given language or language variety.
- Language attitudes are the explicit evaluations of particular languages and language varieties, expressed by people as opinions and beliefs and, more negatively, as prejudices. They influence people's thought processes and their specific language choices.'

Sociolinguistic approaches to writing systems research

Mark Sebba

Department of Linguistics, Lancaster University

- The perception of a need for prescription thus seems to be a product of relatively recent, but fairly widespread, language ideologies.
- (...) there is a whole continuum of norms; these are not randomly distributed, but reflect an ideological stance on the part of the user
- (...) standardization remains contentious in the face of competing ideologies of language.

Acta Slavica Iaponica, Tomus 42, pp. 37–54

Letters of Freedom and Captivity: Scriptal Planning and Language Ideologies in Baltic Central-Eastern Europe

Tomasz Wicherkiewicz

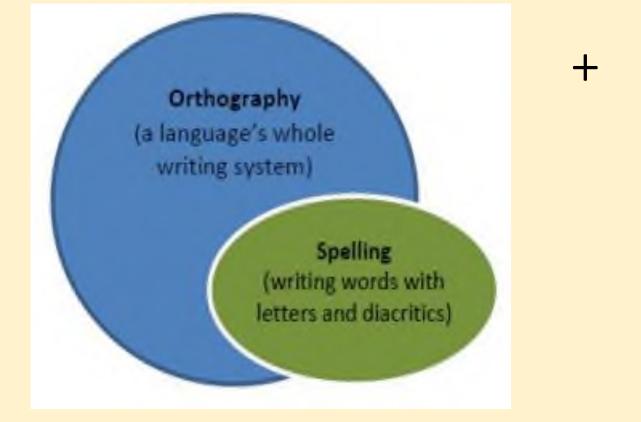
- Wherever people are politically influenced by others, the more powerful polity typically tends to—and eventually does—impose their scriptal principles, including
- script,
- writing system, orthography,
- or other graphic elements, such as fonts, letters/graphemes, or diacritics

What is orthography?



- neoLatin term < ὀρθός +γράφειν
- standardized writing system
- set of conventions for writing a language (also varieties / lects)

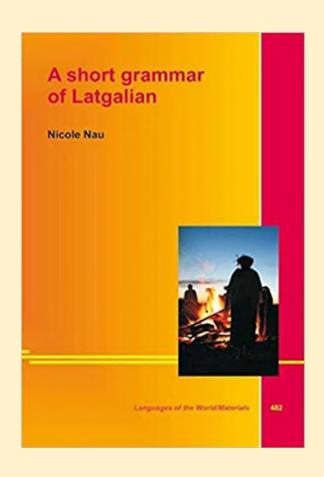
ZASADY PISOWNI KURPIOWSKIEGO DIALEKTU LITERACKIEGO





- orientation
- penmanship and written styles
- punctuation, & other unpronounced (?) characters!
- characters for special purposes (digits)
- _spacing_ <u>Capitalization</u> emphasis

Nau 2011: 6



The first [Latgalian] primers stem from the 18th c., (...)
Publications with secular content followed in the 19th c. [...]

The orthography used in these early texts is based on the Polish writing of the time, and the typeface used in print is Antiqua.

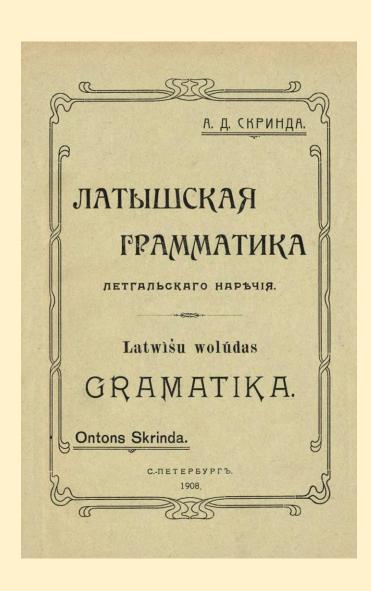
In contrast, from the 17th to the 19th centuries, Latvian books were printed using Blackletter (Gothic script), and the orthography was based on German. A consequence of these differences was that, although the spoken languages were mutually comprehensible and regarded as dialects of the same language, printed Latvian books seemed foreign to Latgalian readers (and vice versa), and the two literatures developed largely independently of each other.



In the 1830s some Latgalian authors began to follow the change in Polish orthography, e. g. to indicate the second component of the diphthongs [ai, ei] by the letter **j**.

In the second half of the 19th c., printing in the Latin alphabet was banned by the Tsarist authorities.

At that time handwritten books were quite widespread in Latgale. In the most cases the authors of these books followed the written tradition of the first Latgalian books.



Nau 2011: 6

In the second half of the 19th c. the Russian Empire pursued a severe policy of Russification, which greatly impeded the further development of written Latgalian. [...]

In 1865 a ban of printing in Latin alphabet was issued, which in fact meant the end of printing in Latgalian.



Jankowiak, Mirosław 2018. *Latgalian language in Latvia: between politics, linguistics and law*,

https://www.icelds.org/2018/03/30/latgalian-language-in-latvia-between-politics-linguistics-and-law/

Īnōkūt bazneicā, izdorūt sv.krysta zeimi ar

svēteitū yudeņi, ja gribit salykt naudas uperi, nametit tū svēteitō yudeņs traukā, bet īmetīt tū upertraukūs bazneicā.

"the Latgalian language is regularly used in the Roman Catholic Church in the region. This is one of the domains where the use of this language has not been interrupted throughout history."

Summer 2019

- semi-structured interviews in person
- in Latvian
- 47 interlocutors (26 F, 21 M)
- age 23-93
- Rīga, Pierīga, Latgale
- Methods of accessing interlocutors:
- social media (FB)
- gate-keepers
- snow-ball
- + 2 interlocutors (Latgalian diaspora in the USA) in Winter 2019/2020 [interviews in English]
- * special thanks to Vineta Vilcāne



- Most interlocutors
 - active users of Latgalian (82.3%)
 - also in writing (79.6%)
 - Several language activists

- PROBLEMS with ANONYMIZATION ☺
- Many attittudes and linguistic biographies recognizable within the Latgalian community...



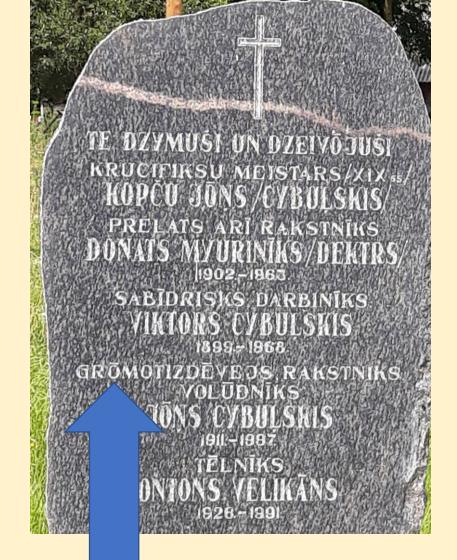
therefore,

in the current presentation, personal metadata have been hidden entirely in order to avoid a direct recognizability

the questionnaire was to secure respondents of their anonymity

For the same sake, I am also excluding the two US questionnaires

For the purpose of this presentation, only the issues referring to the orthography of Latgalian written language shall be discussed



Streičs, Jōņs 2017. "...KAI YUDIŅS OLŪTĀ", *Rēzeknes Vestis* http://www.rv.lv/kai-yudins-oluta

I've been explaining this to specialists and now I can claim – there is no order decision – at least on how to write diphtongs: with the letter **ō** (with macron), or with two letters **uo** (...)

There are those »Spelling Rules« by the [State] Language Centre, which mention that both variants can be used, if only consistently.

Our language is strong with its spelling principles. Plus, a lot of good writings were already [made] both before the war and on exile. Plus, editions of the Catholic church.

On the other hand, what has already been written is of such a weight, that nobody can win (...)



https://latgaleslaiks.lv/raksti/2019-04-20stiprina-dzimtas-saknes-un-dzimtenesmilestiba

"(...) the 91-year-old woman describes her life course,

(...) her publications in the press, (where she has been defending) the <u>cultural-historical Latgalian spelling</u>

(kultūrvēsturiskā latgaļu rakstība)

Babre, Anna 2017. "VĒSTURISKAJAI LATGALĪŠU ROKSTU VOLŪDAI — 90", *Rēzeknes Vestis* http://www.rv.lv/vesturiskajai-latgalisu-rokstu-voludai-90/

The so-called "hybrid" law, made the «historical» one unnecesary, when becoming a "legitimate" "subcommission" of the State Language Center.

(...)

Probably, the resolutions have already been prepared in Riga

(...)

When will our new justice system work?

(...)

Let's hope the truth wins.

Questionnaire

Age:

Gender:

Place of residence:

Place of birth:

Who do you think you are?

1.

2.

3.

Do you consider yourself a Latvian?

Do you consider yourself a Latgalian?

Do you consider yourself a Latvian from Latgale?

What languages do you speak? What languages do you understand? In what languages can you write? What languages can you read?

What is/are your native language(s)?



ALL RESPONDENTS

declared knowledge of Latgalian, Latvian, and Russian

other languages declared randomly (English, German)

Knowledge of Latgalian declared in

Do you like the Latgalian written language? 100% - yes

Do you like to write in Latgalian?

74.5% yes

25.5% - not anymore

If yes, whom are you writing in Latgalian? What kind of texts?

- friends, parents, other Latgalians
- letters, social media, SMS, press comments, poetry

Do you like to read in Latgalian? 97.9% - yes

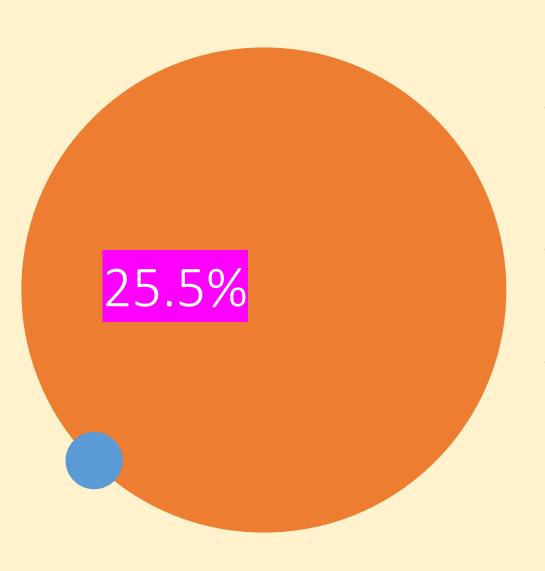
If yes, what do you read in Latgalian? What kind of texts?

- social media, press, religious texts

Reading in Latgalian makes me think about my region

Thanks to reading in Latgalian I feel a member of our Latgalian community

When writing poetry in Latgalian I can express myself in a different way than when writing in Latvian



• I used to read and write Latgalian regularly, but nowadays I am quite discouraged/frightened to write it myself.

• I am afraid of being criticized or even 'expelled' or cursed for not using the 'right' spelling.

• I feel totally disheartened to use Latgalian in writing, because I have a feeling that the combats around the correct spelling make average Latgalians to abandon writing and leave it solely to specialists.

* What do you think orthography is? (ortogrāfija) * What do you think spelling is? (pareizraktstība)

• 91.5% responses reveal:

• Latvian (including Latgalian) understanding of both terms is much more focus of rigorous prescriptivism than rules of spelling in writing, and includes also e.g. speaking the state language (or Latgalian as its variety) in a correct way, accepted by the prescriptivist bodies and language specialists

- When did you learn to write in Latvian? 100% in kindergarten or school
- When did you learn to write in Latgalian? 34% as teenagers, 66% as adults
- Did you learn to write according to the spelling norms of the Latgalian written language? - 100% yes
- Which varieties of Latgalian orthography do you know?
- P. Strods' / 'Church' orthography
- modern orthography (Leikuma's spelling, Commission or LaKuGa's spelling)

- Do you know old versions of Latvian orthography?
- Do you know how to write in Russian? -
- When did you learn to write in Russian?
- Do you write in other languages? How often do you do this?

- Evaluate your **Latvian** spelling skills on a scale of 1 to 10.
- Do you think it is important to follow the spelling when writing in Latvian? Why?
- Do you accept other people's spelling mistakes in Latvian?
- Evaluate your **Latgalian** spelling skills on a scale from 1 to 10.
- Do you think it is important to follow spelling rules when writing in Latgalian? Why?
- Do you accept other people's spelling mistakes in Latgalian?

- Average for Latvian 8.8
- Average for Latgalian **5.6**
- slightly less important to obey spelling rules for Latgalian than Latvian
- spelling mistakes more acceptable in Latgalian than in Latvian

The 'old' spelling has been blessed by our Church. Those 'modernizers' aim at destroying our [Latgalian] identity — in the same way the Muscovite Bolsheviks did...

What do you dis/like about Latvian spelling? Would you like to change something in the modern Latvian orthography?

What do you dis/like about the modern of Latgalian written language?

Would you like to change something in the modern Latgalian orthography?

What do you dis/like about the "old" (P.Strods') orthography of Latgalian?

Orthography conflicts – referred to by 68.1% Inconsistency – 25.5%

In your opinion, which letters of the Latgalian alphabet are the most Latgalian?

Which letters of the Latgalian alphabet do you like the most / dislike?

Latgalīšu rokstu volūdys alfabets

AĀBCČDEĒFGĢHI YĪJKĶLĻMNŅOŌP RSŠTUŪVZŽ Which letters of the Latvian alphabet do you like the most / dislike?

Do you like Fraktur (the Gothic typescript)?

Do you like Russian Cyrillic?

Do you like any other scripts/fonts?

Both languages are equally important – they should coexist

In your opinion, what are the major differences between Latvian and Latgalian orthographies?



In your opinion, what are the major differences between the spoken Latvian and Latgalian languages?

In your opinion, what are the major differences between Latvians and Latgalians?

3 x YES



Do you want Latgalian written language to be used in public?

yes – 59.6% yes, along Latvian – 40.4%

Do you want Latgalian written language to be more visible in Latgale?

yes - 100%

Do you think it is possible to write in a dialect?

yes (or 'yes, why not?') - 100%

CONCLUSION

- Latgalian written language is vividly present in the current language debate and discourse in Latgale.
- Language attitudes to the Latgalian written language are univocally positive; Latgalians are eager to use Latgalian in possibly all domains and modalities, including writing and reading.
- Language ideology in Latgale similarly to the all-Latvian scale is dominated by prescriptivism and purism.
- Latgalian scriptal ideologies do form part of the community's overall set of beliefs and constitute an important factor of intra-Latgalian different identities and different life-styles
- The conflictive discourse on Latgalian spelling varieties is both a base and emanation of internal subgrouping;
- Apparently, it also constitutes an increasing DISCOURAGEMENT for language maintenance, potential revitalization and normalization

Orthography is ideologically loaded

As such,

the very act of using an orthography in an act of spelling

can serve to provide a meta-comment not just about the orthography itself

but also, about ethno-political debates

Grecanic Italiot Greek

Calabrian Greko

Apulian Griko

Very diversified:

- dinomic
- territorial
- generational:

elder "last" speakers new speakers

IDIOLECTS



Alfáβητο

 a proposal for a standardized digraphic

orthography for Italiot Greek Giovanni Lorenzo Vacca Francesco Malafarina Freedom Pentimalli



Graphization

Graphization is the development of a system of writing for a language subject to language planning.

It is considered a key component of language maintenance and revitalization efforts for a number of reasons:

- o it may enhance the status and the prestige of an endangered language
- o it may help create a sense of unified identity in speech communities that are dialectally or geographically fragmented;
- o it allows the creation of **organic didactic materials**: dictionaries, primers, textbooks, reading materials, etc. through which:
- o facilitating **teacher training** and **curriculm development** for school-based teaching programmes;

Graphization

It is necessary to identify an 'ecological niche' (Lüpke 2011:312) for writing or to create a context for written forms of endangered languages.

If such context cannot be identified or created, we must question the necessity of orthography development.

Do the **community** consider the development of an orthography as something necessary?

And if so, why? What would an orthographic standard be useful for?

Graphization in Language Revitalization and Language Maintenance

- [many endangered languages are unwritten]
- language planning involving orthography development (= graphization) is seen as 'an essential prerequisite for many activities in favor of their maintenance and revitalization, such as dictionary writing, curriculum development and the design of language/ teaching courses'

(Lüpke 2011: 312)

 in speech communities that are fragmented dialectally or geographically, a common writing system may enhance the status and prestige of an endangered language and may help create a sense of unified identity.

creation of a [new] orthographical system

- often considered a key component of language revitalization efforts.
- The ability to encode an endangered language can facilitate the implementation of literacy programs, which aim to reverse language shift by facilitating teaching and learning.

• Graphization can legitimize an endangered language owing to the widespread belief that a language must be written in order to be considered a language: "the existence of a written form almost lends mythical qualities to a language" ('graphocentrism' / Blommaert 2004).

Ό διάβολο subetu respundεύει



An' embi tossu chonei olu s'emò » —
Osso pu ita ti porta ti emmu nii,
I pane ti sto n'anfierno u schonèo,
Ce pau sti talass na dò mi ci
Utti mali fotiamu ine studèo.
Sconnete mia tempesta danati:
« Mi' n' embi ca e fotiasu me sicchèi! » —

Linguistic factors - by GLV, FM, FP ®

phonographic shallower orthography mainly based on Italian orthography mononomic system

morphographic deeper orthography mainly based on SMG orthography polynomic system

Roghudi	Bova	Martano	Zollino	proposal	S.M.G.
sp omí	ts omí	fs omí	sci omí	ψ ωμί	ψωμί

Extra-Linguistic factors - by GLV, FM, FP ®

- users input: opinions of native, semi- and new speakers
- o **ideological distance**: orthographies may be strong 'identity markers'; should the new orthography resemble or be maximally distinct from the language of wider communication? Culture, history, ethnicity, politics, religion must be considered.

o learnability:

- **transfer of literacy**: «[...] if literacy in the language of wider communication is already established, [...] orthography development should integrate elements borrowed from the dominant language» (Jones and Mooney 2017:27)
- use of digraphs and diacritics may increase system's complexity
- ocognition and pedagogy: «[...] second-language learners will most likely learn the language alongside its orthography, and in such cases, the orthography should provide them with information on how to pronounce the language they are learning. For fluent speakers, in comparison, conveying phonological information orthographically is less important, because they identify meanings, not sounds, during the reading process (Venezky 1970:260)» (Jones and Mooney 2017:29)
- pre-existing orthographies
- reproducibility (especially on smartphones and laptops)

Community-Driven, Goal-Centred Orthography Development:

Goals for language and culture

e.g.

- passing the language to next generations;
- access to adequate literacy materials
- connecting separate communities
- preserving oral literature in writing

BUT: recording the oral performance in writing might undoubtedly face the challenge of altering those social practices



the twofold Grecanic orthography is an ambitious experiment of a community-based strategy of constructing and stregthening a diachronically and synchronically inclusive semiotic identity

Fattuci 4 - I ajo beneditsioni

tu mesakù.

Φαττούτςι 4 - Η άγιο ββενεδιτσιώνη

Enan viaggio iche enan ciuri ce mian mana, ce Έναν βιάττζο είχε έναν τςούρη τςαι μίαν μάνα, τςαι ìchai tria pedìa arcinikà. Irte i morti ce apèthane i έιχαϊ τρία παιδία αρτςινικά. Ήρτε η μόρτη τςαι mana ce èmine o ciùrise me ta tria pedìa. **Irte pu** απέθανε η μάνα τςαι έμεινε ο τςούρησε με τα τρία èsteke pethènonda ce o ciùrise, ce tùtose o ciùrise παιδία. Ήρτε που έστεκε πεθαίνοντα τςαι ο iche dio cipuse ce ena podi asce appidia. Èkrasce ta τςούρησε, τςαι τούτοσε ο τςούρησε είχε δύο tria pedìa ce ipe tu pleon megalu: «Esù thèlise tin τςήπουσε τςαι ένα πόδι άξε αππίδια. Έκραξε τα τρία beneditsioni, ò robba?». «Egò thelo ton enan cipo παιδία τςαι είπε του πλέον μεγάλου: «Εσού θέλεισε ja na kamo tikandì na zio». Ce tu èdike ton enan την ββενεδιτσιώνη, ό ρόββα;». «Εγώ θέλω τον έναν cipo tu pleon megalu. Poi ipe tu mesakù: «Esù tì τςήπο για να κάμω τικαντί να ζήω». Τςαι του έδηκε thèlise?». «Egò thelo t'addo morcio asce cipo ce de τον έναν τςήπο του πλέον μεγάλου. Πόι είπε του tin beneditsioni». O ciuri tu èdike ton addon cipo μεσακού: «Εσού τί θέλεισε;». «Εγώ θέλω τ'άδδο μόρτςο άξε τςήπο τςαι δε την ββενεδιτσιώνη». Ο

	LATIN SCRIPT	GREEK SCRIPT
USERS INPUT	It's generally considered the more "natural" way to write the language and the only one suitable for representing some phonemes that don't exist in SMG.	reluctant to use it;
IDEOLOGICAL DISTANCE	Closer to Italian for cultural and historical reasons	Alien to the social-cultural setting of the community
LEARNABILITY:	Reading-writing knowledge can be more	Speakers should learn it from scratch; People with a classical studies background
TRANSFER OF LITERACY	easily transferred from Italian;	are facilitated;
USE OF DIGRAPHS AND DIACRITICS	Limited use of digraphs and diacritics; The close correspondence between graphemes and phonemes is advantageous	•
COGNITION AND PEDAGOGY	for beginners.	morphographic orthography.
PRE-EXISTING ORTHOGRAPHIES	It has been widely used by scholars, activists and lay speakers for the last two centuries.	It was used between 9 th and 16 th centuries. It was sporadically used in more recent times just by some scholars and activists.
REPRODUCIBILITY	It can easily be reproduced through the Sicilian keyboard layout (no predictive and autocorrect functions).	Greek keyboard can be used, but a specific layout should be created in the future to include two special characters and a diacritic.

Next steps

- The proposal presented to our native, semi- and new speakers actively involved in the preservation and revitalization process.
- Questionnaires to be submitted to speakers passively involved, especially new speakers.
- The possible effects that the use of the Greek script will have on the language and its relations with SMG - to be investigated
- A final version of the orthography will be the result of a negotiation process
- ARTICLE by GLV, FM, FP + TW

Reception - by GLV, FM, FP ®

	LATIN SCRIPT	GREEK SCRIPT
Greko native and semi- speakers	 understand it easily show indifference think it's ok but they'll stick to their idiography often do not accept the grapheme (k) 	 often can't read it think that nobody will understand it think it is too difficult to learn / teach identify it with SMG think that it wouldn't work
Greko new speakers with classical studies background	can read it easilycan recognize few wordshave some problems with nominal and verbal morphology	 have initial difficulties adapting to modern pronunciation can recognize more words have an easier and better understanding of morphology
Greko new speakers without classical studies background	 can read it easily have some problems with nominal and verbal morphology 	 must spend some time learning the Greek alphabet have an easier and better understanding of morphology
SMG native speakers	- often can read but mispronounce- can understand something	 can read it quite easily use SMG pronunciation can understand better think it's odd but they like it

wicher@amu.edu.pl

Dziękuję!

Cīši paļdis!

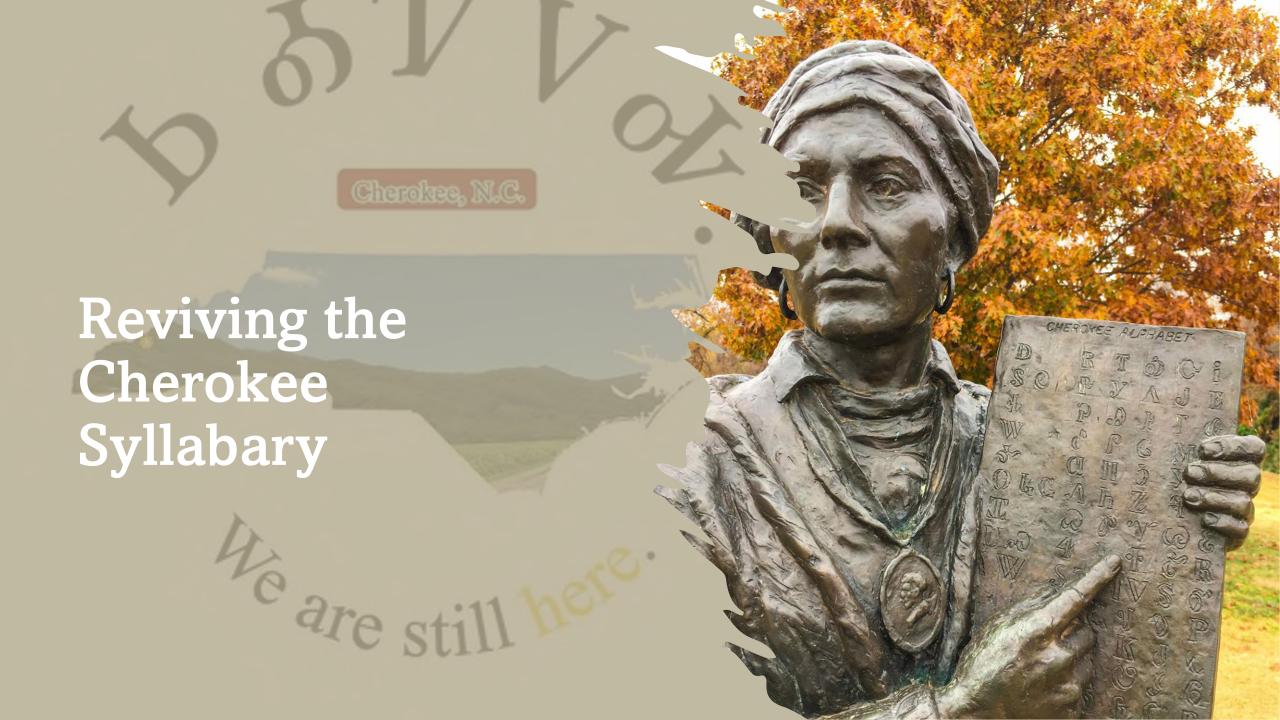
Liels paldies!

Tosso obbligato!

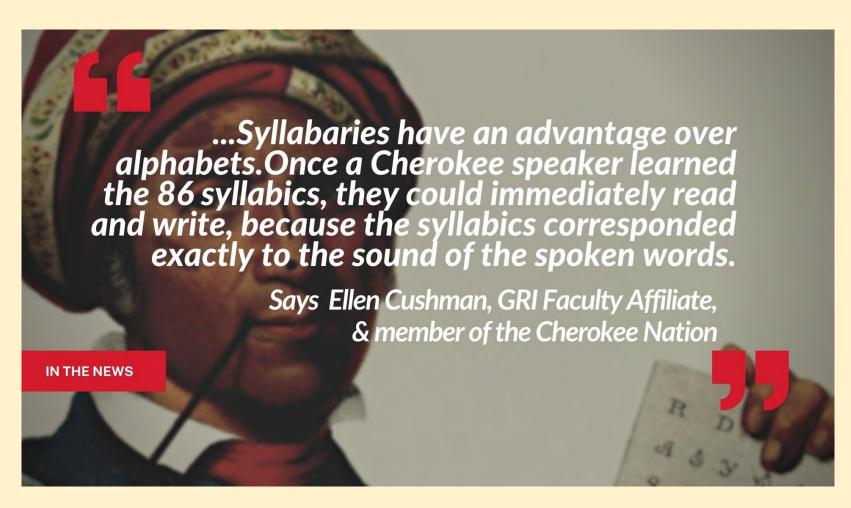
Τόσο ομπλιγκάτο!

Thank you!





SYLLABARY - a set of written symbols used to represent the complete syllables of a language



Hiragana え お 3 P WD わ

h

Katakana 才 ウ 工 コ ス to ヌ ホ モ mo E yo 口 ro ヲ

SYLLABARIES



मराठी मराछी हिन्दी
अध्या अध्या विध्या विश्वा विश्वा विश्वा विश्वा विश्वा संस्कृतम्

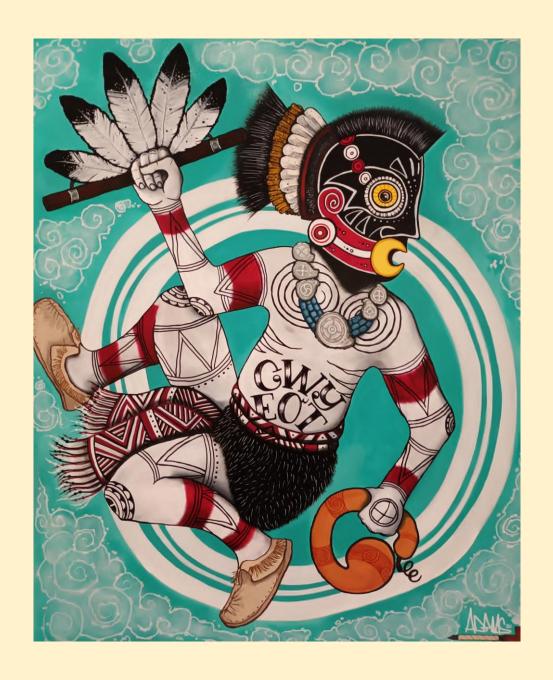
अक्षा अधि विश्वा विश्व

CWY

/() H t. + H S Clasing the Colors ⅏ℎ℄ℴⅅ℄℮ⅅⅆ℄℄ℋ℞ⅅ℞℞℆ ՐԺ Ի Dե ՉՔՖԾՐDե B Vեե PVGF t FHSVt FVI.VG S Րℰℾℙⅅ℄ℴ℀⅋ⅆ℀ⅅ℄℞℧℄℄℀ℴ⅌ℾℬ℞℞ℾ⅌ PVGF ե 4484° ե 4VLVG 845 DtF5, 5F ത്യ EF & V5 HF GSHIBIDSIS VOFF VEOIS







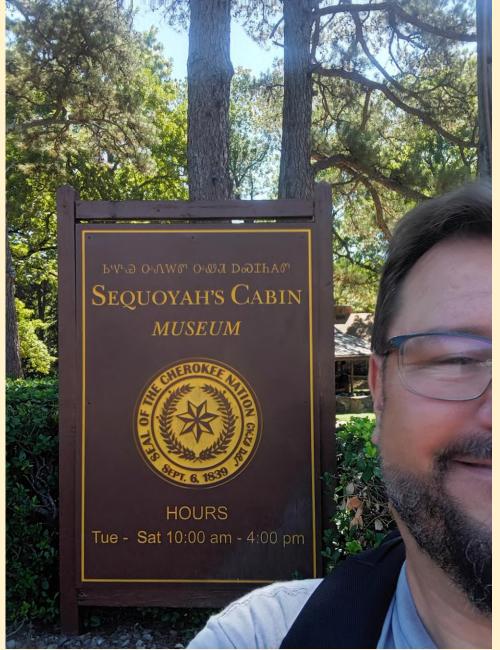


	Cherok	ee Syllab	ary	~~~~	*******
D a	\mathbf{R}_{e}	T.	്കം	On	i
Sga Oka	\mathbf{F}_{ge}	\mathbf{y}_{g_i}	\mathbf{A}_{go}	J_{gu}	\mathbf{E}_{gv}
ha	Phe	• Dhi	\mathbf{F}_{ho}	Γ_{hu}	Orno
Wla	O le	Pu	Gio	M lu	Aiv
ma	Olme	Hmi	5_{mo}	Y mu	
Ona the Grah	$oldsymbol{\Lambda}_{ne}$	$\mathbf{h}_{n_{r}}$	Zno	1 nu	O'nv
L qua	\mathcal{Q}_{que}	Pqui	Vquo	(Oquu	Equi
Hsa Os	4 _{se}	\mathbf{b}_{s_i}	F so	8°su	\mathbf{R}_{sv}
l₃da W ta	State Total	Adi Ati	V_{do}	S_{du}	Pdv
Sdia Ltia	\mathbf{L}_{tle}	Ctli	H tlo	Pilu	Pilv
G tsa	V_{tse}	h tsi	K tso	disu	C. ts
G wa	\mathcal{W}_{we}	O wi	O wo	Dwu	6wv
æD _{ya}	$oldsymbol{eta}_{ye}$	₹ yı	f yo	G yu	\mathbf{B}_{yv}

	unds Repre				in law
e, as a in father, or short			in fool, or		
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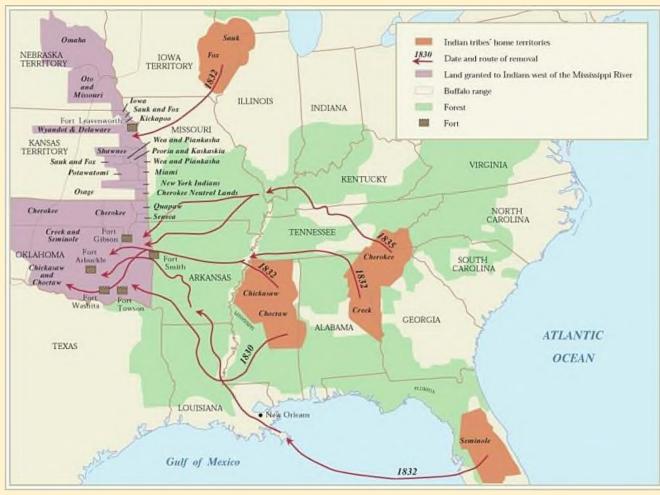




	Cherokee Syllabary						
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Trail of Tears







Principal Chiefs

of the

Eastern Band of Cherokee Indian



Jonathas Barlon Germid Parkar Joyce Phagar Jens Jones Michell Hicks Michell Hicks Michell Hicks Patrick Ganders Richard Sneed

















































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1 A, short. 2 A broad. 3 Lah. 4 Tsee. 5 Nah. 6 Weeh. 7 Weh. 8 Leeh. 9 Neh. 10 Mooh. 11 Keeh. 12 Yeeh. 13 Seeh. 14 Clanh. 15 Ah. 16 Luh. 17 Leh. 18 Hah. 19 Woh. 20 Cloh. 21 Tah. 22 Yahn. 23 Lahn. 24 Hee, 25 Ss (sibilant.) 26 Yoh. Un (French.) 28 Hoo. 29 Goh. 30 Tsoo. 31 Maugh. 32 Sch. 33 Saugh, 34 Cleegh. 35 Queegh. 36 Quegh. 37 Sah. 38 Quah. 39 Gnaugh (nasal.) 40 Kaah. 41 Tsahn. 42 Sahn. 43 Nech. 44 Kah. 45 Taugh. 46 Keh. 47 Taah. 48 Khan. 49 Weeh. 50 Eeh. 51 Ooh. 52 Yeh. 43 Neen. 44 Kan. 45 Paugn. 40 Ken. 47 Paun. 48 Khan. 49 Keen. 50 Len. 51 Con. 52 Ken. 53 Un. 54 Tun. 55 Kooh. 56 Tsoh. 57 Quoh. 58 Noo. 59 Na. 60 Loh. 61, Yu. 62 Tseh. 63 Tee. 64 Wahn. 65 Tooh. 66 Teh. 67 Tsah. 68 Un. 69 Neh. 70 71 Tsooh. 72 Mah. 73 Clooh. 74 Haah. 75 Hah. 76 Meeh. 77 Clah. 78 Yah. 79 Wah. 80 Teeh. 81 Clegh. 82 Naa. 83 Quh. 84 Clah. 85 Maah 86



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NEW ECHOTA, THURSDAY MARCH 13, 1928.

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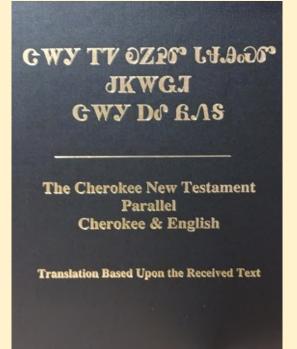
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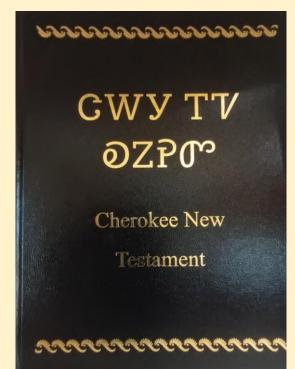




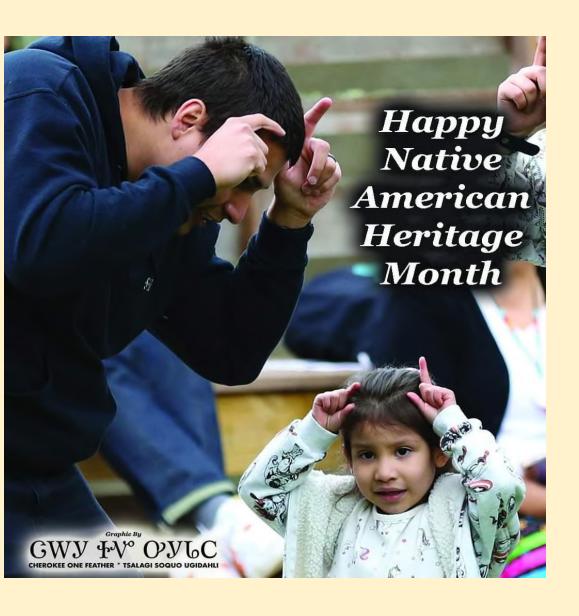


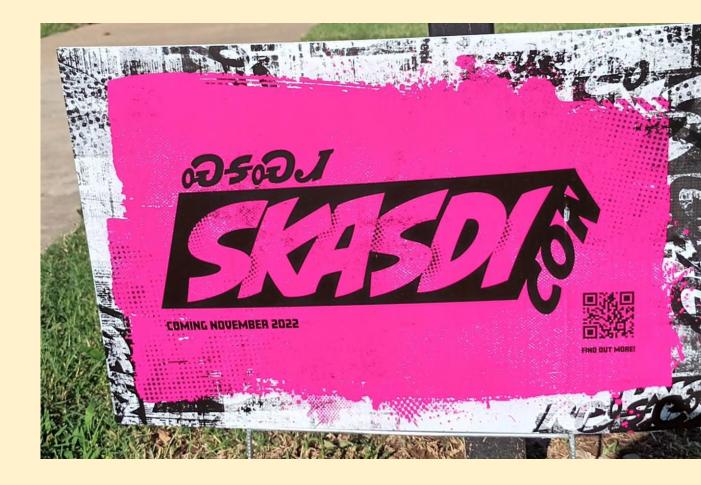














Eastern Band of Cherokee Indians

GWYJS SGLhAY = Tsalagiyi Detsadanilvgi

Cherokee Nation

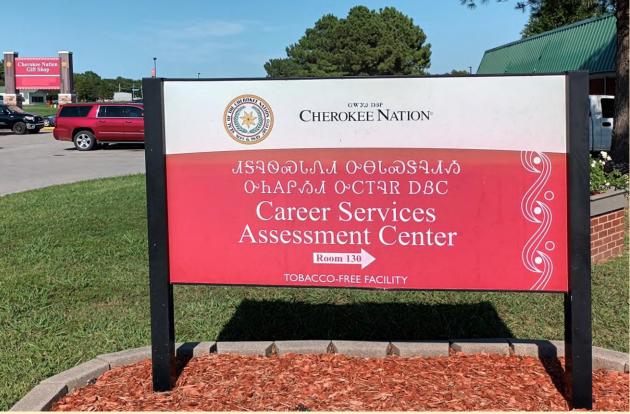
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 United Keetoowah Band of Cherokee Indians in Oklahoma

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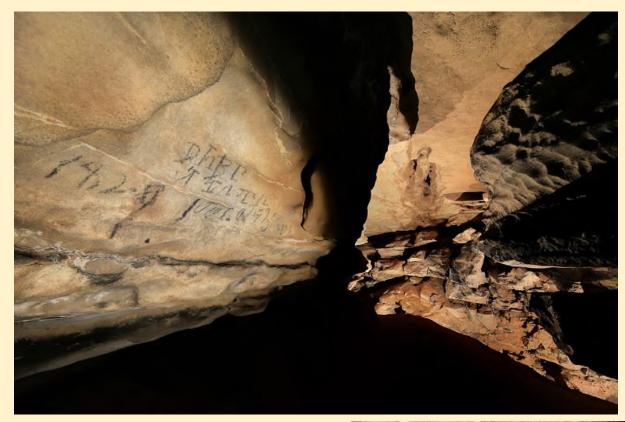








He are still here.











First Language - The Race to Save Cherokee

