

Walker\_#WA20215FLW

1/12 Building a Bridge: Crafting a Southern Pomo Pidgin for Heritage Speakers

Southern Pomo (Ps) is one of seven mutually unintelligible Pomoan languages Indigenous to Northern California. It has no living speakers.

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#FragmentedLanguageWorkshop2021

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Southern Pomo has a rich inventory of consonants and (for English speakers). The table below gives the inventory of sounds.

	BILABIAL	DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATO- ALVEOLAR	VELAR	GLOTTAL
PLOSIVES	p p' p <sup>h</sup> b	t t' t <sup>h</sup>	ʈ ʈ' ʈ <sup>h</sup> d		k k' k <sup>h</sup>	ʔ
AFFRICATES			c c'	č č' č <sup>h</sup>		
FRICATIVES			s	š		h
NASALS	m		n			
APPROXIMANTS	w		l			

It also has exceedingly complex phonological and morphological alternations (e.g. [l], [m], and [n] alternate in certain positions and interact with other morpheme-specific phonological rules to allow the same speaker to pronounce ||hu:w-mul-Vn|| as [hu:muman] or [hu:mulin] with no difference in meaning—the same morphemes are present in both forms (Walker 2020: 105-108). Verbs and kinship terms are polymorphemic, as in the two examples below:

*daʔiʔamhuk<sup>h</sup>:eʔyowanʔonhk<sup>h</sup>ay*

da-ʔiʔa-mhu-k<sup>h</sup>:e-ʔyowan-ʔonhk<sup>h</sup>ay

by.sight-encounter-RECIPROCAL-FUTURE=DETERMINER.OBJECT=ward

'toward (the place) where we shall meet each other'

*mač:ac'yačo:šan*

ma-č:a-c'-yačo:-šan

3COREFERENTIAL-mother's.father-GENERATIONAL.SUFFIX-PLURAL.OBLIQUE-ALLATIVE

'toward (the place) of my grandfathers'

I served as the Language Project Coordinator for the Dry Creek Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians from 2011-2014, in which position I taught Southern Pomo to heritage speakers via weekly classes.

# ʔay:a:k<sup>h</sup>e čahnu

OUR LANGUAGE

ʔ  ʔahča <small>house</small>	a  ʔahša <small>fish</small>	b  biʔdu <small>acorn</small>	c  colo:pa <small>beadband</small>	č  čap <sup>h</sup> :a <small>acorn of valley oak</small>
č  čahči <small>bed</small>	č̣  č̣o:či <small>gopher snake</small>	čh  č <sup>h</sup> eʔeʔmay <small>beak</small>	d  dono <small>mountain</small>	e  ʔe:me:la <small>bee</small>
h  hay:u <small>dog</small>	i  ʔihsun <small>condor</small>	k  kas:in <small>redwood tree</small>	k'  kayan <small>duck</small>	k <sup>h</sup>  k <sup>h</sup> aʔdus <small>raccoon</small>
l  lip <sup>h</sup> :u <small>leg</small>	m  miʔdiš <small>nut</small>	n  no:mi <small>rabbit</small>	o  ʔoh:o <small>fire</small>	p  polo:ša <small>oak ball</small>
p'  p'ala <small>slug</small>	ph  p <sup>h</sup> išh'in <small>octopus</small>	s  sa:wala <small>starling jay</small>	š  š:ma <small>leaf</small>	ṭ  ṭaʔkohay <small>leaf</small>
ṭ̣  ṭ̣ala <small>tick</small>	ṭh  ṭ <sup>h</sup> o:yo <small>sacramento sucker</small>	t  ṭule <small>hummingbird</small>	ṭ  ṭe:ke <small>beaver</small>	ṭh  ṭ <sup>h</sup> a:na <small>hand</small>
u  ʔuylos <small>western skink</small>	w  wi:yi <small>Oregon oak</small>	y  yoʔči <small>the oak acorn</small>	:	the doubling sign
1	2	3	4	5
č̣a:ʔa ʔak <sup>h</sup> :o mis:ibo mihča ṭu:šo				

This Southern Pomo revitalization project included the creation of posters, signage, smartphone apps, and summer day camps for language learning. This effort revealed the severity of the challenges faced by Southern Pomo heritage learners.



Dry Creek Rancheria  
Band of Pomo Indians

# ʔay:a:kʰe ʔam:a

OUR LAND

THE Russian River area was a land of plenty for the Southern Pomo people who lived here. Acorns, nuts, grapes, berries, and other edible plants abounded in the riverine woodlands and rugged hills.

THIS display presents some of the most important plants and villages. Explore the surrounding area to see individual plants labeled.

## ʔay:a:kʰe čahnu

OUR LANGUAGE

Southern Pomo Alphabet

ʔ a b c č  
 ɛ ɛ̃ ɛ̃ʰ d e  
 h i k k̃ k̃ʰ  
 l m n o p  
 ɸ pʰ s ʃ t  
 tʰ ʔ ʔʰ  
 u w y :

SOUTHERN Pomo has been spoken for thousands of years in what is now Sonoma County. For generations, the language was passed on without a written form. After Spanish, Mexican, and American colonization, the number of speakers dwindled, and Dry Creek children no longer learned to speak the language.

THE Southern Pomo Alphabet has been created to reverse this trend. Use a bar code scanner to hear the pronunciation of plant names written in the Southern Pomo Alphabet.



 <b>čelhe</b> valley oak <i>Quercus lobata</i> 	 <b>ʔim:i</b> native blackberry <i>Rubus ursinus</i> 	 <b>bahšakʰle</b> buckeye <i>Aesculus californica</i> 	
 <b>ʔa:sa:n</b> wild rose <i>Rosa gymnocarpa</i> 	 <b>ʔabʔak</b> madrone <i>Arbutus Menziesii</i> 	 <b>bahkača</b> pepperwood <i>Dimorphanthera californica</i> 	 <b>baʔʰ:inkʰle</b> elderberry tree <i>Sambucus caerulea</i> 
 <b>šič:un</b> California grape <i>Vitis californica</i> 	 <b>šaʔčan</b> coast live oak <i>Quercus agrifolia</i> 	 <b>šičikʰle</b> tanbark oak <i>Lithocarpus densiflora</i> 	 <b>miʔdiš kʰa:le</b> native walnut <i>Juglans hindsii</i> 

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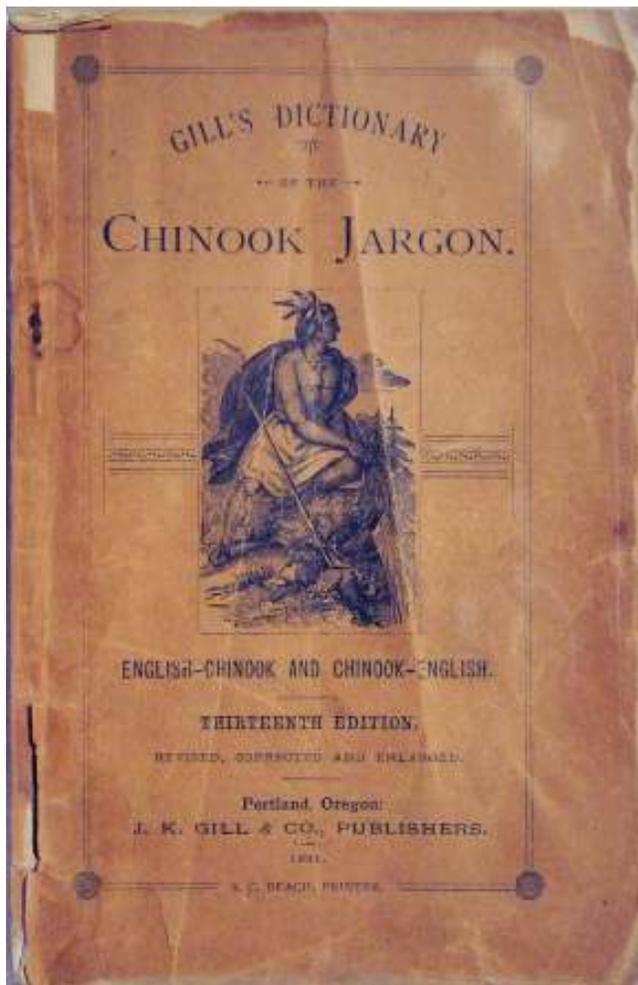
Despite successes among a subset of learners, the language project did not meet the expectations of many tribal members, who hoped to learn Southern Pomo quickly and with little effort. I chose to end the program in 2014, though I continued to work with students off and on.

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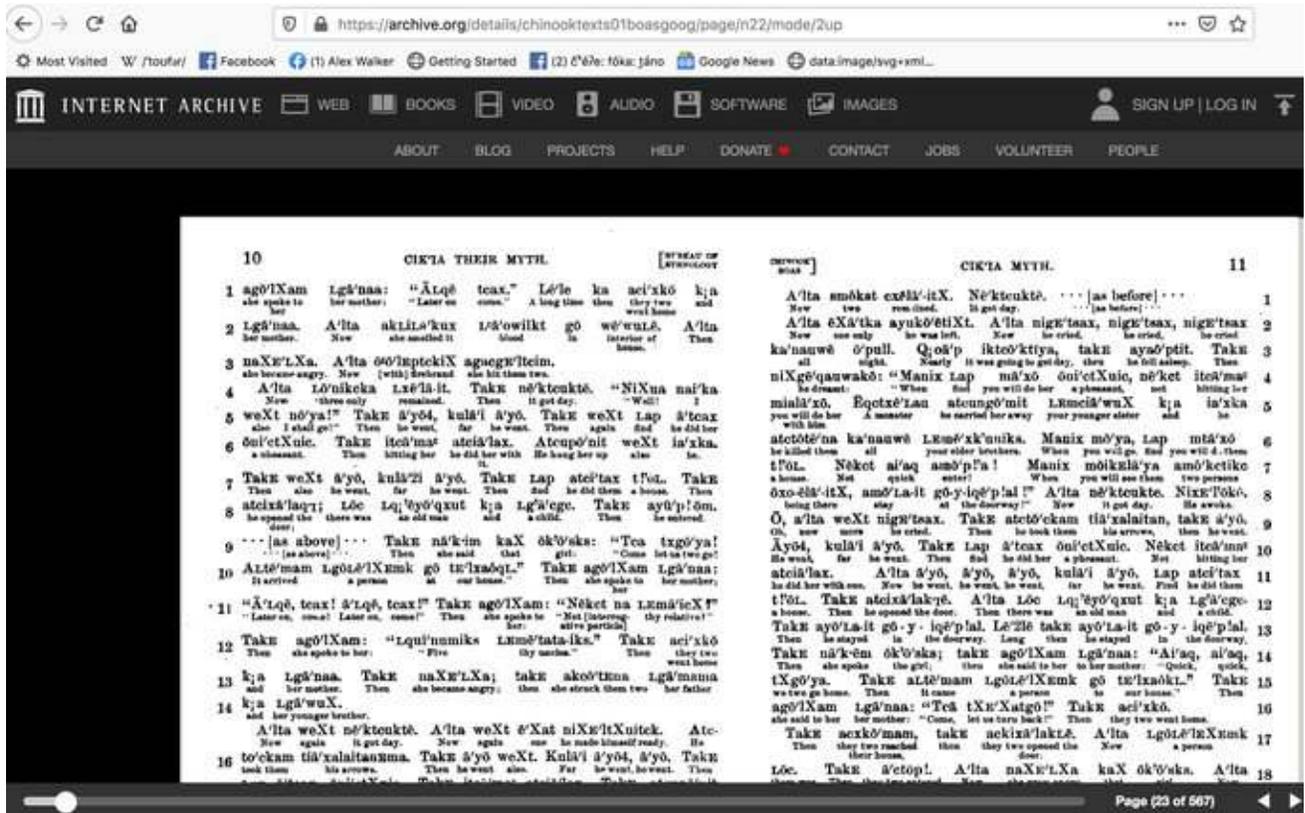
In 2019, discussion began on whether a new revitalization plan might allow learners to acquire enough knowledge in a short time to satisfy their communicative needs. The proposed solution is a carefully designed pidgin, dubbed Še:wey Čahnu ‘New Language’.

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This proposed solution is inspired by Chinook Jargon, a trade pidgin used by both Indigenous & European speakers in the 18th to 19th centuries in the Pacific Northwest (Silverstein 1971: 191-192). This plan was also influenced by my learning Tok Pisin for work in 2018.



7/12 Chinook Jargon takes its phonology & most of its limited lexicon directly from Indigenous languages of the area. It lacks any of the complex inflectional morphology of the Indigenous languages from which it draws its lexicon, but its phonology preserves non-European sounds.



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On the basis of this model, Še:wey Čahnu is designed to preserve all the sounds of Southern Pomo and keep special words for key cultural concepts, but the complexities of verb paradigms and nominal declensions are almost entirely removed.

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A critical part of the design of this pidgin involves how complexity is removed from the grammar. The goal is to allow learners the ability to speak relatively quickly & to let a subset of learners who wish to access traditional texts to move on to the full language.

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Thus Še:wey Čahnu makes use of simplified constructions that would be grammatical (or near-grammatical) in Southern Pomo. The end product uses a limited number of words and just a fraction of Southern Pomo affixes to allow basic communication on any topic.

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The Ps Pidgin allows two suffixes: the citation form suffix (the perfective), and the future (which is regular). The agent/patient case marking suffixes & clitics are omitted and only the Ps SOV word order is preserved to indicate who does what to whom.

Traditional Southern Pomo	Proposed Southern Pomo Pidgin
do:nonhk <sup>h</sup> ay ho:lik <sup>h</sup> :eʔwaʔya	ʔa:ʔa do:no(nhk <sup>h</sup> ay) ho:lik <sup>h</sup> :e
do:no-nhk <sup>h</sup> ay ho:li-k <sup>h</sup> :eʔwaʔya	ʔa:ʔa do:no(=nhk <sup>h</sup> ay) ho:li-k <sup>h</sup> :e
hill=ward go-FUTURE=COPULA,EVIDENTIAL=1SG.PLURAL	1SG.AGENT hill(=ward) go-FUTURE
čuh:u:li ho:liw	čuh:uw ho:liw
čuh:u:-li ho:li-w	čuh:u-w ho:li-w
eat-DIFFERENT.SUBJECT.SEQUENTIAL go-PERFECTIVE	eat-PERFECTIVE go-PERFECTIVE
'After (someone) ate, (someone else) left.	

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Currently, members of the Dry [Creek] Rancheria Band of Pomo Indians are trying to decide on a core vocabulary that preserves as many unique cultural concepts as can be included. The other remaining question is how to handle the directional suffixes of Ps.

## References

- Silverstein, Michael. 1971. "Language contact and the problem of convergent generative systems: Chinook Jargon." In *Pidginization and creolization of languages: Proceedings of a conference held at the University of the West Indies Mona, Jamaica, April 1968*, 191-192. Edited by Dell Hymes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, Neil Alexander. 2020. *A Grammar of Southern Pomo*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.