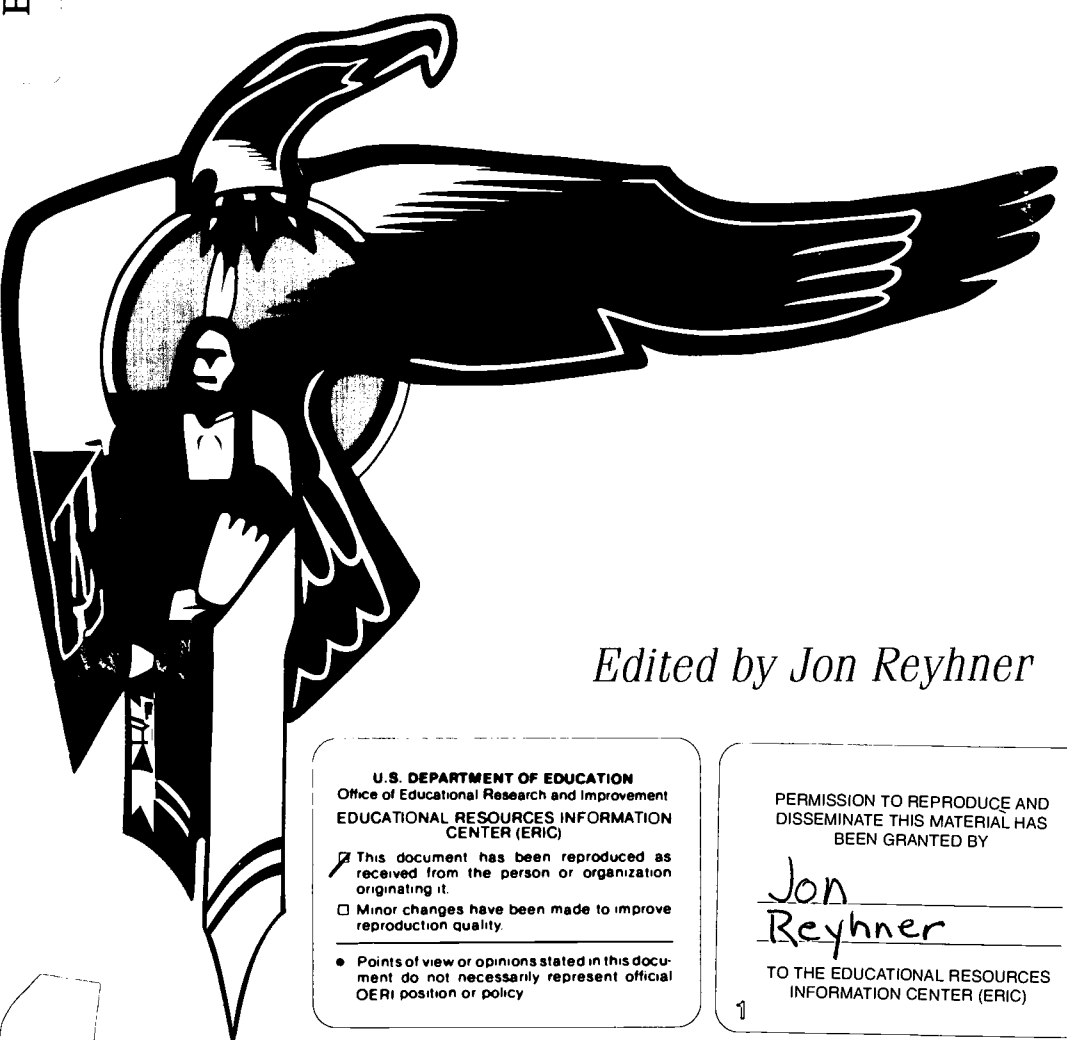ABSTRACT
        The 25 papers collected in this book represent the thoughts
and experiences of indigenous language activists from the United States,
Canada, Mexico, and New Zealand, and are grouped in six categories: tribal
and school roles, teaching students, teacher education, curriculum and
materials development, language attitudes and promotion, and summary thoughts
about maintaining and renewing indigenous languages. Papers are: "Keeping
Minority Languages Alive: The School's Responsibility" (Gina P. Cantoni); "A
Tribal Approach to Language and Literacy Development in a Trilingual Setting"
(Octaviana V. Trujillo); "Going beyond Words: The Arapaho Immersion Program"
(Steve Greymorning); "Teaching Children To 'Unlearn' the Sounds of English"
(Veronica Carpenter); "Learning Ancestral Languages by Telephone: Creating
Situations for Language Use" (Alice Taff); "Coyote As Reading Teacher: Oral
Tradition in the Classroom" (Armando Heredia, Norbert Francis);
"Revernacularizing Classical Nahuatl through Danza (Dance) Azteca-Chichimeca"
(Tezozomoc); "KinderApache Song and Dance Project" (M. Trevor Shanklin, Carla
Paciotto, Greg Prater); "School-Community-University Collaborations: The
American Indian Language Development Institute" (Teresa L. McCarty, Lucille
J. Watahomigie, Akira Y. Yamamoto, Ofelia Zepeda); "Language Preservation and
Human Resources Development" (Joyce A. Silverthorne); "Issues in Language
Textbook Development: The Case of Western Apache" (Willem J. de Reuse);
"White Mountain Apache Language: Issues in Language Shift, Textbook
Development, and Native Speaker-University Collaboration" (Bernadette
Adley-SantaMaria); "Science Explorers Translation Project" (Dolores Jacobs);
"Incorporating Technology into a Hawaiian Language Curriculum" (Makalapua
Ka'awa, Emily Hawkins); "It Really Works: Cultural Communication Proficiency"
(Ruth Bennett, editor); "Marketing the Maori Language" (Rangi Nicholson);

"Tuning In to Navajo: The Role of Radio in Native Language Maintenance"
(Leighton C. Peterson); "The Wordpath Show" (Alice Anderton); "The Echota
Cherokee Language: Current Use and Opinions about Revival" (Stacye Hathorn);
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Initiative" (Ann Batchelder, Sherry Markel); "Four Successful Indigenous
Language Programs" (Dawn B. Stiles); "Language of Work: The Critical Link
between Economic Change and Language Shift" (Scott Palmer); "The Invisible
Doors between Cultures" (Robert N. St. Clair); "Personal Thoughts on
Indigenous Language Stabilization" (Barbara Burnaby); and "Stabilizing What?
An Ecological Approach to Language Renewal" (Mark Fettes). Most papers
contain references and author profiles. (SV)

Teaching Indigenous Languages

Edited by Jon Reyhner

NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY

Center for Excellence in Education

Teaching Indigenous Languages

Jon Reyhner, Editor

**CELEBRATING
NORTHERN ARIZONA UNIVERSITY'S
CENTENNIAL YEAR OF EDUCATION**

**FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA
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Teaching Indigenous Languages is a compilation of papers presented at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium sponsored by Northern Arizona University's Center for Excellence in Education and Department of Modern Languages on May 1, 2, & 3, 1997, at the University's du Bois Conference Center in Flagstaff, Arizona.

Symposium Co-Chairs

Evangeline Parsons Yazzie
Jon Reyhner

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Introduction

Teaching Indigenous Languages contains a selection of papers presented at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium "Sharing Effective Language Renewal Practices" held at Northern Arizona University (NAU) on May 1, 2, and 3, 1997. This conference brought together nearly three hundred indigenous language experts, teachers, and community activists to share information on how indigenous languages can best be taught at home and at school. The goals of the fourth symposium were to:

- To bring together American Indian language educators and activists to share ideas and experiences on how to effectively teach American Indian languages in and out of the classroom.
- To provide a forum for the exchange of scholarly research on teaching American Indian languages.
- To disseminate though a monograph recent research and thinking on best practices to promote, preserve, and protect American Indian languages.

There is a pressing need for sharing successful practices since despite the passage of tribal language policies and the 1990 Native American Languages Act, fewer and fewer children are speaking American Indian languages. While the legal right to maintain tribal languages has been obtained, the effective right still has yet to be achieved. More needs to be done to disseminate effective native language teaching methods and materials. For example, Dr. Richard Littlebear, participant in all four symposia, noted that the ability to speak an Indian language is often incorrectly seen as all that is needed to teach the language effectively in schools.

The first symposium held in November 1994 at NAU featured some the leading figures in the field of minority language preservation. The second symposium held in May 1995 at NAU also included many tribal educators from throughout Arizona. The third symposium was held in Anchorage, Alaska, in February 1996 and brought together mostly Alaskan Native educators. The proceedings of the first two symposia were collected and edited by Dr. Gina Cantoni and published in 1996 under the title *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*.

The importance of maintaining and renewing indigenous languages

I have written on this subject of maintaining and renewing indigenous languages before (see e.g., Reyhner, 1990, 1992, 1995, 1996; Reyhner & Tennant, 1995), but the recent work of Dr. Evangline Parsons Yazzie and Dr. Richard Littlebear, who both spoke at the fourth symposium, has crystallized for me the centrality of this effort for the survival of indigenous peoples. For her doctoral

dissertation, Parsons Yazzie (1995) interviewed Navajo elders about their language. Their responses included the following:

> *Truly, it is through our language that safety is reached*
> —J. Manybeads (p. 2)

> *Older people who speak only Navajo are alone . . .*
> —E. Manybeads (p. 4)

> *When learning Navajo, children are just learning nouns without verbs or without the whole sentence, because of it children don't think too deep, their minds cannot grasp difficult concepts... Culture can only be taught in Navajo; without language, knowledge cannot be transmitted.*
> —E. Guy (p. 2)

Another infomant said,

> *You are asking questions about the reasons that we are moving out of our language, I know the reason. The television is robbing our children of language...*
> *It is not only at school that there are teachings, teachings are around us and from us there are also teachings. Our children should not sit around the television. Those who are mothers and fathers should have held their children close to themselves and taught them well, then our grandchildren would have picked up our language.* (p. 135)

Parsons Yazzie found in her research that, "Elder Navajos want to pass on their knowledge and wisdom to the younger generation. Originally, this was the older people's responsibility. Today the younger generation does not know the language and is unable to accept the words of wisdom" (1995, p. 1). She continues, "The use of the native tongue is like therapy, specific native words express love and caring... Knowing the language presents one with a strong self-identity, a culture with which to identify, and a sense of wellness" (1995, p. 3).

Dr. Littlebear (1994) quotes Northern Cheyenne elders expressing similar thoughts:

> *It's scary the way we're losing our Cheyenne language.*
> *Cheyenne language is us; it is who we are; we talk it, we live it. We are it and it is us.*

> *How much does the Cheyenne language weigh? How much does the Cheyenne language cost? How much room does the Cheyenne language occupy? How does the Cheyenne language feel, taste, or smell? What does it look like? If the Cheyenne language can be put into those quan-*

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tifiable terms, then the more prevalent white society may understand the total impact of what it means to be losing the Cheyenne language. But we will never be able to weigh the Cheyenne language.

Cheyennes who are coming toward us are being denied by us the right to acquire that central aspect of what it means to be Cheyenne because we are not teaching them to talk Cheyenne. When they reach us, when they are born, they are going to be relegated to being mere husks, empty shells. They are going to look Cheyenne, have Cheyenne parents but they won't have the language which is going to make them truly Cheyenne.

The voices of these Navajo and Northern Cheyenne elders add to the sense of urgency surrounding the issue of maintaining and renewing native languages. The purpose of this collection of 25 papers is to disseminate information about what is being done so that we can all be more knowledgable in our efforts to keep indigenous languages and cultures alive and well. The papers are divided into six categories: tribal and school roles, teaching students, teacher education, curriculum and materials development, language attitudes and promotion, and a summing up of thoughts about indigenous language stabilization. A brief summary of each paper is given below by category.

Tribal and school roles

The first two papers describe some of the roles that schools and tribes can play in promoting the use of indigenous languages. In "Keeping Minority Languages Alive: The School's Responsibility," NAU regents professor Gina Cantoni discusses the need for systematic and school-wide support of the use of indigenous languages among those who learn them at home and of appropriate instruction in the same languages for those who do not. It focuses on the relationship of indigenous language curriculum with the entire school's official and hidden curricula. In "A Tribal Approach to Language and Literacy Development," Arizona State University Center for Indian Education Director Octaviana V. Trujillo gives an overview of the efforts of her Pascua Yaqui Tribe to develop a tribal response to the language development needs of its people. She examines the tribe's effort to assume responsibility for coordinating and directing all programs and activities initiated by its own as well as other public education agencies to meet the long range needs and interests of the tribal community. It also examines the significance of language usage both on educational achievement as well as in the larger cultural milieu in which tribal members live. A historical perspective traces the efforts to better understand the conceptual underpinnings of current programs and the tribal planning underway to expand those efforts. Her case study approach conveys the story of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe in order to focus on universal variables and constraints that are relevant to the language development of all indigenous groups.

Teaching students

The next group of papers describe various efforts to teach indigenous languages. The first paper, "Going Beyond Words: The Arapaho Immersion Program" by Steve Greymorning of the University of Montana describes the Arapaho language immersion program on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming. He examines the growth and development of the Arapaho language immersion program and discusses the language revitalization strategies and levels of success that the Arapaho Language Lodge staff have achieved as they have worked to establish a new generation of Arapaho speaking children.

Veronica Carpenter's "Teaching Children to 'Unlearn' the Sounds of English" discusses the incorporation of linguistics into an American Indian language program. Rather than focusing on teaching any particular indigenous language or dialect, she concentrates on teaching children and adults to recognize how the sounds of the English language interfere with learning the correct pronunciation of tribal languages.

Alice Taff's "Learning Ancestral Languages by Telephone" is a progress report on a group of adults who have been connecting by phone to learn to speak Deg Xinag, the language of the Deg Hit'an (Ingalik Athabaskan). A one-credit distance delivery class was organized because the number of Deg Xinag speakers, all elders, is less than twenty and the learners, young adults, are too dispersed to get together face-to-face.

In "Coyote as Reading Teacher: Oral Tradition in the Classroom," Armando Heredia and Norbert Francis describe how legends, myths, folk tales, and stories have long been an important aspect of the history and culture of indigenous people and can be used as vehicles to teach historical events, ethics, and values to the young and old.

"Revernacularizing Classical Náhuatl Through Danza (Dance) Azteca-Chichimeca" relates how traditional Danza Azteca-Chichimeca can be used for the intergenerational re-vernacularization of an indigenous language. The efforts of several Danza groups in Los Angeles, California, to bring back Classical Náhuatl into daily use are described.

In "The KinderApache Song and Dance Project," Trevor Shanklin, Carla Paciotto, and Greg Prater report how using Apache song and dance in a kindergarten classroom helped students gain knowledge of and pride in their culture and begin to sing spontaneously the songs they were taught. In addition, the project reinforced the image of the school as a focal point of the community.

Teacher education

The first paper in this third section describes the American Indian Language Development Institute and the second paper describes the professional training needed by indigenous language teachers. In considering what can be done to reverse language shift, many look to schools as primary resources. But school-based language renewal programs have been criticized for transferring responsibility for mother tongue transmission away from its necessary domain—the family. In "School-Community-University Collaborations: The American

Indian Language Development Institute [AILDI]" Teresa McCarty, Akira Yamamoto, Lucille Watahomigie, and Ofelia Zepeda present one model for connecting school, community, and university resources to strengthen indigenous languages. AILDI has raised consciousness about the linguistic and cultural stakes at risk, facilitated the development of indigenous literatures and a cadre of native-speaking teachers, and influenced federal policy through a grassroots network of indigenous language advocates. The authors look at the program's development, provide recommendations for developing similar institutes, and suggest specific strategies for strengthening indigenous languages in the contexts of community, home, and school. AILDI is currently held every summer at the University of Arizona in Tucson.

A profession has a defined area of competence, an organized and important body of knowledge, identification as a career field, controlled access for competent individuals, principles and practices supported by research, professionals involved in academic programs, a program of continuing education, and graduates who exercise independent judgment. Joyce A. Silverthorne's paper "Language Preservation and Human Resources Development" takes each of these areas in turn and examines them for indigenous languages teachers with the view of documenting that they are in a profession worthy of recognition and certification by states and tribes.

Curriculum and materials development

The first two papers in the fourth section describe the development of an Apache language textbook. The first paper by Willem de Reuse describes the experience from a linguists point of view while the second paper by Bernadette Adley-SantaMaria reflects on the same effort from the Apache speakers point of view. De Reuse's paper "Issues in Language Textbook Development: The Case of Western Apache" describes two experimental language learning textbooks developed in collaboration with Apache speaking scholars from the San Carlos and White Mountain reservations. One was written in the grammar-translation tradition and modeled after Wilson's *Conversational Navajo Workbook* and Zepeda's *Papago Grammar*. The other text was a guide to teaching Apache with the Total Physical Response (TPR) method. Finally, de Reuse calls for a dialogue between linguists and native experts to decide how much linguistic terminology can be handled in each particular curriculum.

Adley-SantaMaria's "White Mountain Apache Language: Issues in Language Shift, Textbook Development, and Native Speaker-University Collaboration" is an overview of topics covered during two presentations at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium from the perspective of a native speaker of Apache. She describes her master's thesis on White Mountain Apache language shift, including her recommendations for further research studies on the White Mountain Apache language, and comments on her work with de Reuse on an Apache language textbook.

"Science Explorers Translation Project" by Dolores Jacobs describes a pilot project of Los Alamos National Laboratory to translate science education

curriculum developed by Argonne National Laboratory into Navajo. In "Incorporating Technology into a Hawaiian Language Curriculum," Makalapua Ka'awa and Emily Hawkins describe Hawaiian language courses developed at the University of Hawaii at Manoa that incorporate computer technology in the teaching of Hawaiian. The last contribution to this section titled "It Really Works: Cultural Communication Proficiency," edited by Ruth Bennett, is an example of an actual indigenous language teaching guide.

Language attitudes and promotion

The fifth section contains four papers centered around peoples attitudes towards indigenous languages. The first paper "Marketing the Maori Language" is by Rangi Nicholson from the Ngai Tahu and Ngati Raukawa tribes in New Zealand. He describes the need to "market" indigenous languages so that they can hold their own against English. He relates how despite the fact that the New Zealand Government currently spends millions of dollars to teach Maori in preschool language nests, Maori total immersion primary schools, and elsewhere, its language policies are not likely to succeed because it has failed to promoted Maori among Maori and non-Maori to the extent that the language has a sufficiently good image. The results of a market research study and the promotion of the 1995 Maori Language Year indicate that the passive tolerance of the Maori language by New Zealanders in contemporary New Zealand society will allow a more active and explicit promotion of Maori.

"Tuning in to Navajo: The Role of Radio in Native Language Maintenance" by Leighton C. Peterson discusses the realities of radio in indigenous language maintenance with a case study of KTNN, a Navajo language radio station. The relationship between audience, language, and programming is analyzed, and more effective uses of radio are suggested.

In "The Wordpath Show" Alice Anderton describes the efforts of the nonprofit Intertribal Wordpath Society to promote the teaching, status, awareness, and use of Oklahoma Indian languages. The Society produces *Wordpath*, a weekly 30 minute public access television show about Oklahoma Indian languages and the people who are teaching and preserving them.

"The Echota Cherokee Language: Current Use and Opinions About Revival" by Stacye Hathorn describes the efforts of the Echota Cherokee Tribe and Auburn University to establish a database on tribal language resources and attitudes. A survey was designed to gather information on Native American language knowledge, language attitudes, and potential language use in order to lay the groundwork for the language revitalization efforts. The ultimate goal of Echota leaders is to offer instruction in the Cherokee language through the Alabama public school system. In "An Initial Exploration of the Navajo Nation's Language and Culture Initiative," Ann Batchelder and Sherry Markel describe the results of a survey of attitudes about the implementation of the Navajo Tribe's mandate to teach Navajo language and culture in all schools in the Navajo Nation. The survey indicated there was widespread support for teaching

Navajo language and culture in schools and that they should be infused through-out the curriculum.

Summing up

The last section contains five papers. The first paper by Dawn Stiles, an adult educator for the Cocopah Tribe in Southwestern Arizona, compares Cree, Hualapai, Maori, and Hawaiian indigenous language programs currently in existence and describes common components and problems of implementation in order to help provide guidance for other indigenous groups looking to start their own language revitalization programs. Stiles concludes that successful programs need to link language and culture, need written teaching materials, and need community support and parental involvement and that successful programs can fight gang activity, alcohol and drug abuse, and a high dropout rates in indigenous communities.

Scott Palmer in "Language of Work: The Critical Link Between Economic Change and Language Shift" theorizes that there has been a widespread change in the language of work and that this quite possibly is a common cause of much of the indigenous language shift that is becoming increasingly noticeable in the Twentieth Century. This language-of-work hypothesis is summarized as a causal chain leading from a shift in the structure of work to a shift in language of the home. Palmer concludes that communities in which parents train their children for life in an indigenous language dominated work force are less likely to experience language shift in the home.

Robert St. Clair in "The Invisible Doors Between Cultures" discusses the concept of cultural awareness within the context of three recent cultural changes that have taken place since the turn of the century in America: the construction of the consumer culture, the urbanization of America, and the marketing of America. Those who are not aware of these changes risk the chance of becoming overwhelmed by them, and for them, the doors between their culture and the business cultures of America remain invisible. However, awareness on the part of indigenous peoples of the surrounding dominant cultures and these "doors" can help them insulate themselves from linguistic and cultural loss.

Barbara Burnaby's "Personal Thoughts on Indigenous Language Stabilization" describes the author's personal, intuitive reflections on the preservation and stabilization of indigenous languages in North America based on her extensive experience with Canadian First Nations' language maintenance and renewal efforts. She explores the complications that conflicting goals and agendas bring to the development of community control, the recruiting of human resources and motivating community action, and the small size of many indigenous language communities. She argues that we need to develop the right strategies for different size language communities and to pay attention to the amount and variety of language use actually going on in communities. She concludes that local priorities must be respected; local leadership must be fostered; the forces that create negativity must be met with healing; and recent accomplishments must be appreciated.

Finally, in "Stabilizing What? An Ecological Approach to Language Renewal," Mark Fettes develops a speaker-centered view of language as an alternative to the monolithic, decontextualized abstractions favored by modern linguistics. Successful language renewal requires the interweaving of critical literacy in the dominant language with local knowledge and living relationships expressed through the local language. The stabilization of indigenous languages forms part of a broader movement to reestablish societies on a human scale that are in balance with nature.

The papers presented here give a sample of the many different efforts currently being made worldwide to keep the world's indigenous languages alive in the belief that by sharing these experiences language experts, activists, and teachers can develop more effective indigenous language programs for their communities. I want to thank all the presenters and attendees at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium who made the conference a success as well as the staff of the Center for Excellence in Education's Division of Educational Services and NAU's du Bois Conference Center for their help.

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Keeping Minority Languages Alive:
The School's Responsibility
Gina P. Cantoni

This paper discusses the need for systematic school-wide support of the use of indigenous languages among those who learn them at home and of appropriate instruction in the same languages for those who do not. The paper does not deal with native language teaching and learning per se, for that is best done by members of the group who own the language and advocate its maintenance; it focuses instead on the relationship of this instructional component with the entire school and its official and hidden curricula.

Many Native parents expect the schools, which in the past had contributed to the eradication of their tribal languages, to help maintain or restore these languages. Can the schools do it? It depends. Keeping minority languages alive requires more than the addition of a native language component to the existing curriculum; it requires a pervasive change in the entire school system.

Generally speaking, schools have been increasingly successful in meeting the official curricular goals established for Native students: English proficiency and academic competence. What should be faced now is the hidden assimilationist curriculum that brings to mind the days when children had their mouths washed out with soap for speaking their own language. It is the entire school's responsibility to identify the beliefs and attitudes that underlie the marginalization of the students' languages and cultures. These include the misconception that learning more than one language could retard a child's development and cause confusion and the perception that English is more valuable than an indigenous language.

American schools are not alone in having contributed to the decline of home languages. Remembering the frustration they had suffered in school because they could not understand the teacher's language, parents all over the world have tried to protect their children from a similar ordeal. Instead of teaching them the language of their home, they made the effort and sacrifice of using only the language of the school. The Native families who decided to speak only English around their children in hopes of facilitating their academic progress have succeeded, in most instances, in raising a generation of monolingual speakers of English. They have, unknowingly and unintentionally, deprived their children of the cognitive advantages of bilingualism. Moreover, they have become unable to transmit cultural knowledge that has no equivalent in the worldview and language of outsiders. The children of these families have been deprived of their rightful linguistic and cultural heritage.

The many parents who made this kind of decision had their children's well-being at heart and are not to blame for the societal attitudes of their time. These parents are now turning to the schools for help and leadership in keeping home languages alive. A school-wide initiative in support of Native language maintenance must include the following components: dissemination of information, attitudinal change, and sustained action.

Cognitive advantages of bilingualism

Mastery of more than one linguistic code results in a special kind of cognitive flexibility, such as the awareness that the same thought can be expressed in more than one way and some words and expressions have no exact equivalent in another language. These abilities relate to an early realization that a symbol is not the same as the item it refers to; for example, the words "dog," "chien," and "perro" all refer to the same kind of animal, but they are not the animal itself.

Unfortunately, the cognitive abilities related to the mastery of more than one language are not covered by most of the tests used to measure academic achievement or predict academic success. We know that language minority students have experienced difficulties in school and have performed less well than their monolingual peers on various oral and written tests. In the early part of this century researchers came to the conclusion that bilingualism caused cognitive problems and language handicaps. Many schools made serious efforts to repress the children's use of their home language, believing that it created academic difficulties and interfered with their learning of English.

The phenomenon is a familiar one in the United States. It is the story of countless American immigrant and native children and adults who have lost their ethnic languages in the process of becoming linguistically assimilated into the English-speaking world of school and society. Few American-born children of immigrant parents are fully proficient in their ethnic language, even if it was the only language they spoke when they first entered school. Once these children learn English, they tend not to maintain or develop the language spoken at home, even if it is the only one their parents know. This has been the story of past immigrant groups, and it is the story of the present ones, but the process is taking place much more rapidly today as indigenous communities become less physically isolated and more exposed to television and other mass media.

A negative view of bilingualism persists among many educators and members of the general public. Yet, as early as 1962, Peal and Lambert came to different conclusions. A rigorous comparison of monolingual and bilingual children showed that the bilinguals had a cognitive advantage. The bilinguals' experiences with two languages seemed to result in mental flexibility, greater skill at forming concepts, and a more diversified set of mental abilities. By contrast, the monolinguals appeared to have rather unitary cognitive structures, which restricted their problem-solving ability. Many subsequent studies with

bilingual children have substantiated Peal and Lambert's results (Bialystock & Ryan, 1985; Cummins, 1987; Hakuta, 1986; McLaughlin, 1984).

Hakuta and Diaz (1985) have reported that bilingualism may have a positive effect on general cognitive abilities as measured by nonverbal intelligence tests. The children in these later studies were adding a second language at no detriment to their first (Lambert, 1975). In conclusion, research on the academic, linguistic, and cognitive effects of bilingualism indicates that an additive development of oral and written second language has no adverse effects and actually seems to provide important metalinguistic, academic, and intellectual benefits. These conclusions are confirmed by rigorous and extensive studies by Cummins (1989), Ramirez (1991), Collier (1992), Lindholm and Aclan (1991) and many others.

For those who worry that teaching the home language may interfere with the development of English skills, there is abundant evidence that the opposite occurs (Cummins, 1987). Instruction that promotes proficiency in one's first language (L1) also promotes proficiency in the second language (L2), provided there is an adequate amount of exposure to L2 and motivation to learn it. Both languages are manifestations of a common underlying proficiency (CUP). The CUP model indicates that concepts and abilities acquired through L1 transfer to L2. For example, bilingual education for Spanish-speaking minorities learning English as a second language leads to higher abilities in both languages, even with limited direct instruction in English (Cummins & Swain, 1986). A student who has mastered a concept or skill in one language does not need to relearn it in his second language; all he needs is to learn new words and structures. These conclusions apply to the study of subjects such as algebra or history as well as to the acquisition of literacy.

According to Heath (1986, p. 144), "For all children, academic success depends less on the specific language they know than on the ways of using the language they know." The school can promote academic and vocational success for all children regardless of their first-language background by providing the greatest possible range of oral and written language uses. A wide range of possible language uses can be compared to a rich wardrobe to fit all occasions. One does not usually dress in the same kind of clothes for a wedding and for a football game, for winter and for summer. Instead of throwing away wool socks and fuzzy earmuffs because summer is here, one stores them for use when the weather turns cold again. Dressing appropriately for a variety of occasions and needs requires a certain amount of diversity in our wardrobe so that we can make suitable choices, just as a rich variety of linguistic tools allows us to select the language and style that is most likely to achieve the desired results in a given situation at a particular time.

Attitudinal change

Although minority children are no longer subjected to corporal punishment for using their home language, they are often the target of other, more subtle forms of rejection and ostracism on the part of teachers, administrators,

and peers. That the acquisition of more than one langauge is an asset and not a handicap is well known to scholars (Saunders, 1988); however, fears of confusion and other problems persist in many families, especially when one of the languages (e.g., English) has more prestige than the other (e.g., Navajo) within a community. When we talk about prestige, we are dealing with attitudes, and these are much harder to correct than misconceptions.

A study of language shift among language-minority children in the United States indicates that the loss of primary languages is a national phenomenon, which can be very costly not only to the families and communities that are directly involved, but to society as a whole (Fillmore, 1991). It is not easy to explain or understand why these children are dropping their home language as they learn English, since second-language learning does not necessarily result in the loss of the primary language. However, most language-minority children encounter powerful pressures for assimilation and conformity to the norms of the mainstream American youth culture even before they enter school. They begin to see themselves as different in language, appearance, and behavior, and they come to regard these differences as undesirable because they impede their easy participation in the society around them. If they want to be accepted, they have to learn English, because others are not going to learn their language. English is the high-status prestige language in the United States and Canada (as is Spanish in most of Latin America), and although young children do not yet care about prestige and status, they do need belonging and acceptance. As they learn the prestige language, they stop using their primary language. If the parents or grandparents have not yet mastered English, what is lost is the vehicle for imparting values to the next generation, enabling the children to become the kind of men and women their families want them to be.

Parsons Yazzie (1995) documented this kind of situation on the Navajo Reservation. She identified ten children from Rocky Ridge Boarding School whose scores on the Window Rock Oral Language Test (WROLT) indicated that their fluency in Navajo was very limited or nonexistent. The children were surrounded by an extended family that used Navajo routinely; some of the elders did not even know English. The adults considered Navajo a very important source of identity, strength, and sacredness, and they viewed the loss of their language as leading to social dysfunction, erosion of identity and beliefs, disappearance of sacred ceremonies, and abandonment of traditional teachings.

Being a native and longtime resident of the area, Parsons Yazzie was able to conduct a series of unobtrusive observations in settings such as trading posts, homes, chapter houses, and waiting rooms. She heard a lot of Navajo spoken all around her but noted that when family groups consisting of adults (parents, grandparents, aunts, and uncles) initiated a conversation in Navajo with a child, the child responded in English. Sometimes this would mark the end of the exchange; sometimes the code-switching pattern would continue. Yazzie did not witness any attempt on the adults' part to ask or encourage the child to use Navajo. She states, "It appeared...that the child was the one in each case who dictated what language was spoken," and the language was English (1995, p.

38). This is a startling conclusion in view of the parents' overt assertions of their allegiance to Navajo and their awareness of the moral and social consequences of its neglect.

The tragic results of the intergenerational breakdown in communication have been documented not only in the case of Native American groups, but also in the case of Hispanic, Asian, and other minority groups where juvenile gang behavior and drug abuse are increasing. What should or can be done about it is still poorly understood, but there is no doubt that language minority children and their families are paying a very high price for admission into American society.

Children are sensitive to social approval or disapproval long before they enter school. They are surrounded by messages that promote the majority culture and its language and ignore all others, even if they do not explicitly downgrade them. Overt put-downs are most likely to come from older siblings who are ashamed of their own ethnicity. Having been ridiculed and called derogatory nicknames, they inflict the same treatment on others. If the school can develop better attitudes among its students, the benefits may filter down to the preschoolers and to children yet to be born.

The following recommendations were made at the Symposia on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages held at Northern Arizona University in 1994 and 1995 (Cantoni, 1996):

- All educators must show greater respect and appreciation for the cultures of their students' parents.
- All educators should not criticize those who use the native language in school.
- There should be no put-downs of people who use the tribal language on the part of anyone who does not know that language.
- Perceptions that English is better than the local language should not be accepted or transmitted.
- All educators (including the school principal) should try to learn the students' home language; even if they do not become very proficient, they will have indicated a certain degree of interest and respect.
- All educators must realize that, although they alone cannot be responsible for the intergenerational transmission of a language, they can do much to encourage positive attitudes towards it.

To counteract the extinction of home languages, school boards and school administrators need to do much more than develop native language programs and hire qualified, literate teachers to implement them, for these teachers are few in number and control only a small portion of each student's time. Native language and culture offerings tend to be isolated from the rest of the curriculum, from subjects taught in English, and from the majority of teachers and pupils. This amounts to a form of segregation. What the entire educational es-

tablishment must do, instead, is to actively and systematically promote linguistic diversity rather than conformity. This would be feasible if it was required that all English-speaking teachers become fluent in another language. If they do, they will gain very rewarding experiences and personal growth. However, let us be realistic; we are talking about attitudes, not about some unreasonable standard of proficiency.

Sustained action

Educators can play a significant role not only in promoting positive attitudes towards the local native language but in creating opportunities for people to use it. School personnel and community members together can create and support participation in such initiatives.

Many years ago I was invited to the traditional Crow Arrow Games by some friends from Lodge Grass, and it was an unforgettable experience. The spectators sat around the huge playing field, each family gathered under an awning or a big umbrella, enjoying refreshments and conversation. The announcements and the talk were all in Crow, but from time to time someone would take me aside and whisper a quick English summary of what was being said. This kind of event included adults as well as children, and this is where a lot of language learning and practice was taking place. The school provided additional instruction, including reading and writing from an impressive collection of Crow language materials. Many schools have similar programs for Native students, but the Arrow Games are a unique and exemplary model of community involvement.

It is important to keep in mind that if a language is learned as an academic subject, it may enjoy high prestige and yet never be used for meaningful communication in authentic social interactions. This is what happened when I was taught Latin in Italy, where I obtained most of my education. I began to study Latin in a public school when I was ten and continued until the end of college. In class we read the classics as well as later documents by medieval scholars, we did a lot of translation and grammar exercises, and eventually we wrote compositions. We hardly ever used the language orally in class, but outside of school we heard it in church, for this was before the Vatican allowed the use of modern languages in Catholic services. What we heard during Mass and other ceremonies was entirely formulaic and ritualistic, either read aloud or recited from memory. We learned what the holy texts meant during religious instruction classes, but the discussion was conducted in Italian, not in Latin. The only times I heard Latin used for communication were when priests from different countries used it with each other when they had no other common language.

For us students, the language was a reminder that we were descended from the Romans, who had once conquered the world. Our ability to decipher inscriptions in churches, monuments, and graveyards identified us as members of the educated class, so that the language had prestige and was greatly valued, but everyone knew that it was dead.

To keep native languages alive, it is not enough to value them; it is essential to use them. If their use is declining, it is necessary to identify special occasions and designate special times and places where it makes sense not to use English. The community must provide direction, but unless the school system participates in the effort, it may lack credibility in the eyes of today's sophisticated youth.

In addition, all teachers should develop an integrated approach to language across the curriculum, building on what the learners bring to the classroom from their out-of-school experiences and from other classes, especially those on Native language and culture. Teachers can also identify and collect supplementary materials that highlight diversity as a desirable worldwide phenomenon. This is particularly important in the case of schools located in isolated areas. Although technology and the media bring the outside world into their home, students may not pay attention to what does not relate directly to their own interests, and the teachers must act as mediators and interpreters. One source of such materials is the Curriculum Resource Program available from the editors of *Cultural Survival* (1997)[1]. The program covers a wide range of themes, from contemporary issues in Native North America to international case-specific studies of ethnic conflict. Resource packets for teachers include bibliographies, videos, lists of speakers and artisans, and suggestions for classroom activities and further learning.

Teachers need some guidance and administrative support about how to implement the changes they may be willing to try, but, as competent professionals, they should also assume responsibility for their own informed decisions. The enormous differences in contexts, cultures, backgrounds, ages, and achievement levels that exist in every classroom call for flexibility, adaptability, and creativity, rather than passive submission to a syllabus developed and imposed by someone else.

The higher principle one can invoke in support of this pedagogy is a humanistic respect for teachers as well as learners. To encourage these initiatives so that they become more than lip-service, school districts could engage in action research projects, possibly in collaboration with a college or university that would offer them academic credit. The goal of action research is the development of a better understanding of a local issue in order to bring about improvement. The participants research their own classroom, department, program, school system, or community, not someone else's, and can do so in a fairly informal, relaxed, and natural way. The projects are best conducted as cooperative efforts involving colleagues, students, staff, parents, and other appropriate collaborators. One possible project could be aimed at increasing the integration of traditional and academic knowledge into thematic units and should be a collaborative effort between Native instructors and other teachers. Another project could explore whether learning about the advantages of bilingual-

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[1] *Cultural Survival*, 96 Mount Auburn Street, Cambridge, MA 02138. Telephone 617 441-5400; FAX 617 441-5417; e-mail csinc@cs.org

ism leads to increased native language use among the people who receive that information.

To begin an action research project, teachers could identify a component of their practice where the outcomes are somewhat unexpected or not in line with stated goals. After reflecting on the situation and deciding to focus on one item of manageable size, they should seek as much relevant information as possible from various sources such as professional literature, consultants, and community representatives. The next steps consist of collecting data such as reports, diaries, videotapes, and questionnaires and then analyzing them to identify what needs changing. Planning and implementing change leads to a new cycle of observation, reflection, and revision.

Motivated teachers have always tried to modify their mode of delivery as well as the content of their lessons to achieve better results, but they have not always done it systematically, reflectively, and with careful documentation. They have often been alone in their struggles to understand and alleviate problems, and when they have succeeded, they have seldom been given the opportunity to share their findings with others. Considering the importance of the changes involved in resolving the indigenous language issue and doing away with a harmful hidden curriculum, it seems appropriate to have the process implemented in a professional manner and to generate models that might be useful in other schools.

In conclusion, a school that downgrades home languages and encourages conformity instead of diversity emphasizes social differences and leads to elitism and intolerance for some and low self-esteem and inner conflict for others. Children can be pointed in either direction; the school must, therefore, be held accountable by parents and communities for making ethical and responsible choices in these matters. The school can and must become a strong promoter of minority language preservation and transmission instead of continuing to be one of the main agents of its endangerment.

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23

A Tribal Approach to Language and Literacy Development in a Trilingual Setting

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This paper is an overview of the efforts of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe to develop a tribal response to the language development needs of its people. It examines the tribe's effort to assume responsibility for coordinating and directing all programs and activities initiated by its own, as well as other public education agencies, to meet the long range needs and interests of the tribal community. It also examines the significance of language usage both on educational attainment as well as in the larger cultural milieu in which tribal members live. A historical perspective traces the efforts to date to better understand the conceptual underpinnings of current programs and the tribal planning underway to expand that effort. This case study approach conveys the story of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe in order to focus on universal variables and constraints that are relevant to the language development of all indigenous groups.

The language competency of the members of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe encompasses, to varying degrees, the Yaqui language as well as community dialects of both Spanish and English. Even though this unique trilingual linguistic pattern has been functional for their survival needs, it has also served as a barrier to educational achievement where competency in the standard forms of Spanish and English is required. Because of the considerable discontinuities that exist between the sphere of public educational institutions and those of the Yaqui community, many Yaquis have not acquired functional literacy in any of their three languages.

In responding to the broader educational and social needs of its members, the Tribe has focused its educational program development efforts on reviving and encouraging the use of the Yaqui language in order to promote a language and cultural renaissance, encompassing both the desire to reassert the role of the language in the culture, as well as to provide a vehicle for enhancing the attainment of improved English and Spanish skills.

Many indigenous groups have had to undergo pronounced bilingual and bicultural adaptation, particularly in the urban setting, as a result of their proximity to a dominant European American cultural presence. Yaqui communities have a third, Hispanic, cultural variable, making them trilingual and tricultural in character.

Historical background

To understand the underpinnings of Pascua Yaqui's unique cultural setting, it is imperative to briefly retrace the historical antecedents in the southern region of the state of Sonora, Mexico, the traditional homeland of the Yaqui. The phenomenon of the bilingual and bicultural adaptation of Native Americans is much older than the history of Native American/non-indigenous American contact. Many Yaquis, as was the case with other indigenous groups, knew the languages of some of their neighbors. This was important to the conduct of trade and regional stability. Contact with Europeans, on the other hand, has occupied a relatively short period in the Native American social experience. This latter contact has been unique in Native American history in that it has spawned the profound cultural and linguistic diversity that characterizes the contemporary social landscape.

The first non-indigenous influence in North America was a result of the establishment of the Spanish colony in the Valley of Mexico, from whom the Yaqui steadfastly maintained an almost singular isolation in comparison with other tribes in the region. Yet significant inroads were eventually made into traditional Yaqui culture as a result of their adoption and adaptation of Catholicism, introduced to them by the Spanish Jesuit missionaries during their long journeys north into the present day western United States (Rivas, 1968). This also provided the common thread that culturally, if not socially, would eventually link them to the growing racially and culturally mixed Mexican population neighboring their homelands.

The ensuing cultural adaptation was also reflected in the Yaqui language. Spanish words were added to the Yaqui lexicon to accommodate cultural innovations (Spicer, 1943). Even the morphology and syntax were influenced by Spanish. Yaqui speakers readily incorporated Spanish words as well as grammatical structure to accommodate new things and concepts introduced by the missionaries, rather than coin new Yaqui terminology or even translate the Spanish words into Yaqui. This phenomenon is a characteristic of the early intercultural period, before the Yaqui began to feel cultural coercion and oppression (Dozier, 1956).

Gradually some Yaquis became literate both in Spanish and Yaqui. Yaqui leaders wrote to their Mexican contemporaries in Spanish and to their literate Yaqui friends who had relocated to other parts of Sonora in Yaqui. As church ceremonies were written in Spanish and Yaqui for all to use, a Yaqui written record appeared (Barber, 1973). The majority of Yaqui were literate, although with little formal schooling, and many spoke several languages (Spicer, 1980). In their own minds, the Yaquis considered themselves more civilized than Mexicans and other indigenous groups and equal, except in technical skills, to European Americans.

The Yaqui experience in the United States

Although Yaquis began to cross the border into the United States as early as 1887, they were not strangers to the northern region. Yaqui oral history tells of their presence in the area of what is today the southern U.S. from time immemo-

rial (Senate, 1994). The major migration of the historical era came during the years 1900-1910. By the 1950's, there were approximately 4,000 in Arizona. For the most part, they were escaping deportation by the Mexican government to Yucatan, or seeking employment when conditions in Sonora became extremely difficult. As many Yaquis in Sonora were doing, those coming to Arizona established themselves in barrios at the edges of cities or in work camps, neither assimilating into the dominant society nor returning to their homeland permanently (Spicer, 1961).

The Yaquis were refugees and their earliest settlements bore universal refugee characteristics of inadequate food, shelter, and sanitation. They were intruders who had no legal status. They owned no land and were forced to establish themselves as squatters. During the early years, they were fearful of being identified as Yaquis and being sent back to Sonora, so they operated primarily within their own micro-cosmic cultural enclave as a defense mechanism to the perceived threat of deportation. Because of this, Yaqui identity, language, and religious practices were outwardly suppressed. They had as little contact as possible with government officials so that nearly fifteen years passed before the Yaquis became aware that they had been afforded political asylum and that in the United States religious freedom was upheld regardless of political or social status.

European American and Mexican communities were already well established in Arizona by the time the Yaquis settled there. As in Mexico, they were faced with the cultural diversity that was anything but democratic. While the Mexican majority in Sonora had essentially relegated them to second class status in their homeland, in the United States their social status was diminished further by the Mexican Americans who were, themselves, already enduring that status relative to the "Anglo" population. The trilingual characteristic of the contemporary Arizona Yaqui community is a cross-cultural legacy of the dynamics of their living many decades in proximity to ever increasing numbers of non-indigenous language speaking neighbors flanking both their Mexican and U.S. communities.

Despite considerable success in trilingual and tricultural adaptation, the Yaqui continue to be financially the poorest of any single population in southern Arizona. This is largely attributable to extraordinary low levels of formal educational attainment. Only about two-thirds have completed the eighth grade, less than one-fifth have completed high school or the equivalency, and less than one percent have graduated from an institution of higher education. Economic indicators show that over 60% are unemployed and that of the employed, less than 25% are employed full-time. Based on national standards, approximately 85% of the tribal population live below the poverty level (Yaqui, 1989).

Although it was not uncommon for Yaquis in the traditional homeland to know other languages, Spanish was the first truly *foreign* language with which they would be compelled to contend in terms of cultural adaptation. The Yaquis historically adapted to the changes in Mexico by learning the cultural "vocabulary" as well as the vernacular of the Mexicans. By the time of the migrations to Arizona, Spanish was widely used by the Yaqui residents in all their deal-

ings, economic and social, with the population of Mexicans and Mexican Americans that surrounded them. But a new cultural vocabulary and vernacular had to be acquired to survive in the Anglo dominant society they found in Arizona.

The trilingual character of Arizona Yaqui society today

Spanish is the dominant language today among the Arizona Yaqui. Its is spoken in the majority of all Yaqui homes, roughly 70% percent of the time on average. Yaqui is spoken approximately 20% of the time on average (usually by older family members) with the remainder consisting of English (usually younger family members) (*Culture*, 1979). Many Yaquis over age 50 speak at least some Yaqui, although primarily among those of their own generation. Most also speak a regional Spanish dialect, in which they have steadily become dominant.

The population of Arizona Yaquis today is young, almost half of them are in school. Their language abilities are mixed. The children of today typically learn Spanish as their first language, since this is the predominant *lingua franca* of most Yaqui communities. The trend is, nevertheless, toward an ever greater percentage of children learning English as their first language, although this is often a non-standard English dialect. It is now common for parents to speak to their children in Spanish and have the children respond in English. Only a few adolescents maintain a passive knowledge of spoken Yaqui, but virtually none speak it fluently. An ever increasing number of children speak only English, with perhaps passive receptive knowledge of Spanish.

The particular character of the linguistic competence of Yaquis is unique. They, as most Native Americans, speak a dialect variant of English that bears a strong influence from the native language. Since individuals who are raised in an indigenous or minority community usually learn English from other members of that community, the linguistic patterns of their English dialect continue that influence (Leap, 1977). In the case of the Yaqui, however, there exists another dimension to their linguistic culture, since they have gone through this same process earlier in learning Spanish as a second language. The majority acquired English as dominant Yaqui dialect *Spanish* speakers. That is, many of the grammatical patterns and items of vocabulary differ in form and meaning from those used in the "standard" form of both English *and* Spanish (Leap, 1977).

The Yaqui educational experience in Arizona

Yaquis, like most Native Americans, have been impacted by the discontinuity between the school and the community and the implicit institutional "hidden curriculum" predicated on a deficit model of them as learners. This has been generalized to both language and culture. That is to say, that the Yaquis are somehow assumed to be culturally and linguistically lacking. Given that learning occurs in a context of positive interaction, mutual intelligibility, and shared meaning, the Yaquis have been marginalized institutionally by this hid-

den curriculum. They share this experience with most linguistic and cultural minorities.

The public schools have perpetuated both the social distance and contextual effects that perpetuate inequality. This has been largely owing to the failure of many school district personnel to perceive their own lack of understanding of cultural "literacy" and the implications that has for education (Chilcott, 1987). This scenario has provided the impetus for the Yaqui Tribe's various initiatives to assume leadership and control of programmatic efforts to address the language development needs of its constituency.

For many years no bilingual instruction was provided and no appropriate assessment was used to ascertain the educational needs of the Yaqui children by any of the public school districts serving them. In 1971, the community based Guadalupe Organization (GO) took action to correct the situation of misdiagnosing and mislabeling Guadalupe's non-English proficient students by filing a class action lawsuit against the Tempe Elementary School District. At the time, over 67 percent of the children in special education classes were Yaqui and Mexican, although they constituted only 17 percent of the district student population.

The following year, the district was ordered to develop a desegregation plan as a result of the U.S. Office of Civil Rights (OCR) citing a 97 percent minority enrollment at the local elementary school in Guadalupe. In response, the Guadalupe Organization opened *I'tom Escuela*, "Our School" in Yaqui, in a church community center with 15 volunteer teachers and 200 students (Retzlaff, 1982). *I'tom Escuela* was financed by rummage and bake sales, car washes, contributions from community groups, and by fund-raising campaigns. Its teachers were paid through money received from Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA). The alternative school prided itself on building on the cultural heritage students brought from home. The instructional program was not oriented to tests or grades, rather it helped students establish positive self-concepts through learning about their own and other cultures. Three languages were taught: English, Spanish, and Yaqui. The curriculum included the unseen components of language that structure the way people view themselves, each other, and the world around them. It also addressed many injustices, the most glaring being the placement of children in classes for the mentally retarded on the basis of intelligence tests administered in English.

After ten years of providing a trilingual/tricultural curriculum for the students of Guadalupe, *I'tom Escuela* closed its doors owing to financial instability. A primary barrier to their seeking federal funds for continuing this unique school was owing, ironically, to their resistance to busing and boycott of a civil rights desegregation plan.

The 1973 lawsuit against the Tempe Elementary School District by the Guadalupe Organization brought about change in regard to language and student assessment. The *Guadalupe Decision* was incorporated into Arizona Department of Education policy on assessment, which now states that the primary language of each student must be determined and then the student's proficiency

must be tested in that language. As a class action suit, the *Guadalupe Decision* ensured that all children in the state of Arizona will be assessed in their native language (Trujillo, 1992).

The Tucson Unified School District and the Pascua Yaqui Tribe entered into an agreement to develop and implement the *Yaqui/English Bilingual Education Project* in 1981 with funding from the U.S. Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs. The goal of the project was to develop curriculum materials incorporating the Yaqui culture and language for grades K-5. To meet this project goal, it was necessary to develop guidelines for the use of cultural information and the development of an orthography for the Yaqui Language. These guidelines were first established by the Parent Advisory Committee to the Title VII Yaqui English Project, and were later reflected in the tribe's language policy.

The adoption of a tribal language policy

In September, 1984, the tribal council officially adopted the *Pascua Yaqui Tribe Language Policy*. The basis for this policy is contained in the policy declaration stating:

> The Yaqui Language is a gift from *Itom Achai*, the Creator, to our people and, therefore, shall be treated with respect. Our ancient language is the foundation of our cultural and spiritual heritage without which we could not exist in the manner that our Creator intended. Education is the transmission of culture and values, therefore, we declare that Yaqui education shall be the means for the transmission of the Yaqui language and spiritual and cultural heritage. We further declare that all aspects of the educational process shall reflect the beauty of our Yaqui language, culture and values.
>
> It shall be the policy of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe that no member of the tribe shall be coerced by any outside non-Yaqui Tribe authority or system to deny or debase the Yaqui language. We declare that the Yaqui language policies shall manifest consideration of the whole person incorporating high academic achievement with the spiritual, mental, physical and cultural aspects of the individual within the Yaqui family and the Pascua Yaqui Tribe. This shall be the Yaqui standard for excellence in education.
>
> We declare that the Yaqui people must have genuine freedom of access to excellence in education and that we shall carry out our obligation to uphold the Yaqui code of ethics which will enable our present and future generation to survive.

This policy incorporates statements in reaffirmation of the tribe's commitment to the promotion, protection, preservation, and enhancement of the Yaqui language, culture, and tradition. These statements encompass the tribe's authority to establish policies regarding the status of the Yaqui language, the role of pa-

rental and organizational involvement, the recognition of eminent persons and elders, the recognition of the Yaqui language as an integral part of all school curricula, the requirement of tribal approval for all external research and studies, provision for the copyright of publications and reproductions of ceremonial artifacts, the sanctioning of the Pascua Yaqui orthography, guidelines for teacher training, the establishment of the Yaqui Language and Culture Commission, and the provision of funding to support Yaqui language development (Pascua Yaqui Tribe, 1984).

Yaqui attitudes on language development and usage

The possession of multiple operating cultures is the ability to act and behave appropriately in accordance with alternative sets of standards. The ability to demonstrate competence in more than one set of standards or to engage multiple operating cultures constitutes a wider field of shared cultural competence. The Yaquis distinctive identity within their respective communities in the U.S. and Mexico, where they must coexist with "dominant" cultures, has been reinforced as a consequence of both positive and negative factors.

Languages are generally not viewed by the Yaqui community as systems of communicative competence, but rather as vehicles of access to the socioeconomic cultural domains they symbolize. The Yaqui language is perceived more as a repository for culture and heritage in a static sense, not viewed as an equally valid and viable medium for intellectual and contemporary social development. English, however, is imbued with such qualities and thereby becomes the gatekeeper for success in the Euro-American dominated national culture.

A study of Yaqui viewpoints on language and literacy conducted in 1989 found that cultural conflict exists in education and language learning. Cultural conflict in education reflects a dichotomy of cultural survival versus functional survival within the multiple operating cultures. The decline of the Yaqui language in Arizona is expressed by Yaquis in terms of cultural change and adaptation to the dominant culture (Trujillo, 1991). Yet paradoxically, their historical marginalization by the dominant society and its institutions such as the schools, as well as by the Mexican American community, has served to keep that identity strong.

Yaqui students' native language skills in either Yaqui or Spanish are still not being developed in the public schools, and because their primary language skills are not being fully exploited to assist in the acquisition of English, their overall linguistic development is being shortchanged. While language is seen as a critical aspect of cultural pluralism and the study of the languages of developed or exotic societies is widely encouraged, there continues to be a stigmatization associated with indigenous languages or, as in the case of Spanish, with languages that are locally associated primarily with culturally and economically marginalized groups. Spanish study is viewed favorably, on the other hand, for native English speaking European American students who may, for example, seek to participate in an exchange program in Spain. Yet it is viewed quite

differently when it is offered for minority students who come from Spanish speaking homes.

Few people will regularly choose to use a stigmatized language without a strong ideological commitment. This has provided a strong impetus for many Yaquis to seek to ensure that their children learn English as a primary language as early as possible. Often this is done even to the detriment of commensurate Spanish and/or Yaqui skills development.

Development and maintenance of language skills demand the use of the language in significant and useful ways as part of normal real life activities, not just in structured language lessons. Full language acquisition necessitates availability of the total range of communicative possibilities by which the learner may selectively recreate the language in a natural order (Chomsky, 1965). This is why dominant languages always prevail while minority languages are continually retreating in their path.

Tribal responses to language development needs

The *Yaqui Family Literacy Partnership Program* (YFLPP) was funded in 1988 by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA) of the U.S. Department of Education, to initiate a family literacy program utilizing the rich oral tradition and cultural heritage of Yaqui people in the teaching-learning process. This project represented a partnership of the Pascua Yaqui Tribe Education Department, Pima Community College, and the Tucson Unified School District. As such, it united the efforts of these educational agencies in a collaborative effort to create a family milieu literacy program for the Yaqui people. The program focused upon utilization of existing forms of language and literacy to build new dimensions of linguistic competence. The broad range goal of the project was to increase learning outcomes for Yaqui children enrolled in bilingual education programs by increasing the literacy levels of their parents and older, out-of-school siblings.

The initial eight-week classes were initiated at three sites in April. Each class met one evening per week, usually for two hours. Based on the project assessed training needs and interests, the Spring 1989 classes included pre-GED literacy in New Pascua, pre-GED literacy and Yaqui language in Old Pascua, and pre-GED and Spanish Language in Yoem Pueblo (Marana). Instructional topics included history of the Yaqui people, discussion of significant Yaqui cultural themes, comparison between Yaqui lifeways in Arizona and Sonora, comparison between Yaqui and European scientific perspectives, critical reading of newspapers, oral and written reports, group discussions, and language-based work skills.

The program's instructional services were enthusiastically received by those family and community members who availed themselves of the opportunity. Participants and staff alike reported being pleased with the overall classroom accomplishments.

The widely claimed highlight of the project was the *First International Yaqui Language and Family Literacy Conference* held in July 1989 in Tucson.

While this unprecedented event featured a range of unique and timely themes and topics, it was the historic convergence of Arizona and Sonora Yaquis that impressed the greatest number of participants. Many extolled the historic and cultural significance of this important event.

The conference was the symbolic departure point for the Yaqui Family Literacy Partnership Program. It was the Conference that brought YFLPP to the forefront of attention for most tribal members, both those living within and those living outside of communities targeted for project services. Widespread interest was expressed for having this conference activity be institutionalized as a regular annual tribal activity.

In terms of the YFLPP project, the most significant result of the conference was that it represented the point in time when the project changed its perceptual ownership. From that point it was widely felt to be a Yaqui program, belonging to the people who it is intended to serve. The last session of the Conference in particular, the open forum, was the point at which the people began to identify and articulate in their own terms the meaning of the event and what it signified.

Following up closely on that phenomenon and taking advantage of the momentum of the occasion, an in-depth study designed to get at the very core of Yaqui perceptions on language and educational issues was initiated by the author. The findings were the subject of her doctoral dissertation, *Yaqui Viewpoints on Language and Literacy* (Trujillo, 1991). The study utilized ethnographic interviewing for exploring the perceptual underpinnings of tribal members attitudes that shape their responses to language acquisition, educational attainment, and in the broadest sense, Yaqui cultural development.

The language viewpoint study provided a framework for addressing the tribe's language development desires and needs. One of the outcomes of the study was the determination that any meaningful effort to impact the language development needs of the tribe would have to come through a "whole community" approach. Specifically, a family-centered milieu was identified as the most appropriate method to address the community's needs in light of the unique character of their communicative competence.

With the author's election as the Pascua Yaqui Tribal Council Vice-Chairwoman, the responsibility for initiating education projects was delegated to her. One of her first acts was the establishment of a tribal education department to oversee all educational activities in a comprehensive and unified manner.

In 1993, utilizing the personnel of the various programs under the new tribal education department, a comprehensive community survey was developed at the reservation community of New Pascua. This was devised to elicit comprehensive information regarding living patterns, educational attainment levels, language abilities, employment, and various other kinds of data from the entire community.

The results of the community survey have been utilized for refining subsequent project intervention services as well as planning additional programs dealing with language development. Extensive coordination with local tribal and

school personnel and agencies was conducted regarding the instruments, the implementation protocols, and the assessment timeline. Approximately two-thirds of the entire reservation community were surveyed, 957 adults and 922 children. The survey showed that over 80% of both adults and children speak English, and, while over 75% of adults speak Spanish, less than half of the children do. Less than 25% of adults and 10% of children speak Yaqui.

Project Kaateme, one of the first new programs undertaken by the new education department, is the Pascua Yaqui Even Start Family Literacy Program, an intergenerational project of the tribal Education Department that addresses the needs of Yaqui parents, their preschool children, and other family members who have not completed school. The goal of the project is to increase learning outcomes for Yaqui children while increasing adult training and employment opportunities through raising the literacy levels of their parents and older, out-of-school siblings.

Project Kaateme incorporates a parent-as-tutor strategy based on a non-deficit family approach. This method emphasizes the strengths of the Yaqui family. The non-deficit perspective helps increase the self-confidence of parents and fosters their participation in school settings. The meaningful participation of parents in the academic progress of their children has a direct relationship to the children's academic achievement. Out-of-school youth also participate in order to achieve increased literacy skills that offer them a new range of possibilities in both the job market and for further education. They also serve as role models for younger children who continue to face great challenges in the school environment.

Educational activities are provided in tribal education facilities on the reservation and are built around culturally relevant themes. Yaqui culture, traditions, and language serve as the medium, context, and subject of learning experiences, carefully designed to foster and stimulate the acquisition of additional linguistic competencies. Family literacy creates a base from which to increase the effectiveness of education for all. The project emphasizes the use of the existing linguistic characteristics of the community as a base for additive competencies, while addressing the concerns of parents that their children acquire the standard American academic form of English in order to enhance their access to a good education.

The program focuses on the utilization of existing forms of language and literacy to build new dimensions of linguistic competence. Commensurate with developing effective learning outcomes for educational and occupational advancement, the project also addresses the need to promote the enhancement of Yaqui cultural knowledge. Yaqui culture is, therefore, the primary content vehicle for training activities for all family members.

Project Kaateme places equal emphasis on two generations and two goals, maximizing the effects of early education for children and literacy instruction for adults. The synergy of reciprocal learning and teaching among family members creates a home environment that supports and enhances learning. The underlying premise that parental involvement in the education process of children

leads to academic achievement and increased self-esteem is expanded in this project to include total family involvement. This framework that builds upon family interrelationship to produce positive learning experiences provides benefits not only to the basic family unit but also the community and tribe.

The tribe is now offering *Yaqui as a second language* classes for adults through the auspices of Pima Community College. The class is taught by one of the Project Kaateme staff members, who is also providing Yaqui as a second language instruction to preschoolers.

Educational opportunities have increased markedly only recently, as a result of revenues generated through the tribe's gaming operation. Benefits are now offered by the tribe to its administrative and casino employees. The casino, which only began operation in 1994, employs more tribal members than all other tribal enterprises combined. The tribe is currently in the process of constructing a new learning center with casino revenues. This will bring together under one roof the early childhood learning programs, represented today by the Head Start and Project Kaateme programs, as well as future integrated language and culture educational projects.

This is the situation Yaqui community leaders confront as they attempt to develop community education programs that address language and culture. Historically, the cultural and linguistic adaptation of the Yaqui has been primarily reactive, in an effort to ensure that they would survive. The focus has now shifted to reflect the awareness that in a democratic multicultural society it is the right of every culture, as it is with every individual, to thrive.

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Going Beyond Words: The Arapaho Immersion Program
Steve Greymorning

Throughout Indian Country efforts to teach Native languages to non-Native speakers usually results with non-Native speakers only acquiring a limited number of words and phrases. Thus the teaching of Native languages has had little or no effect upon reversing the steady decline of the number of speakers of indigenous languages. A problem that has consistently plagued Native efforts to teach Native languages to successive generations is not having well defined examples and a clear understanding of methods that can actually yield successful speakers. To provide one such example, this paper examines the growth and development of the Arapaho language immersion program and discusses language revitalization strategies and methods and levels of success that the Arapaho Language Lodge staff have achieved as they have steadily worked to establish a new generation of Arapaho speaking children on the Wind River Reservation in Wyoming.

From the late eighteen hundreds to the middle nineteen hundreds, the Arapaho people, along with most other Indigenous peoples of North America, were led to believe that if they and their children were to become "valued" American citizens they would have to abandon their Arapaho language. During this period, boarding school personnel, backed by government support, aggressively worked toward replacing the languages of Indigenous peoples with English as the standard language of communication. The result of this effort has lead to the steady decline of Indigenous languages throughout North America.

As Indigenous people prepare themselves for the challenges of the twenty-first century, many will face the problems of language loss as their greatest challenge. Typically, the pattern of language loss usually begins with young adults becoming bilingual, speaking both their Indigenous language and the language of the majority population. Their children then become monolingual, speaking only the language of the majority population, until eventually only the older people are left as speakers of an Indigenous language that has become a minority language. Left unattended or neglected, the process of language loss continues until the last indigenous speaker dies.

Long before an indigenous language actually slips into extinction, it slowly decays through the loss of its grammatical complexities, the loss of native words forgotten by native speakers, and the loss through the incorporation of foreign vocabulary and foreign grammatical features into the indigenous language. As language losses accumulate, they also bring about dramatic cultural losses.

Assessing the problem and developing a strategy

The future of any language lies in its ability to be passed on to successive generations. It is well documented that early childhood is the ideal time for language learning; it is the time when language acquisition occurs in all cultures. In recognizing this, Elder Arapaho community members expressed concern over the fact that children had not learned to speak Arapaho for the past 40 years. Out of this concern, Elders articulated their desire for children to become speakers of Arapaho. Faced with the lack of success schools were having in teaching Arapaho, the Northern Plains Educational Foundation, a community group, asked me to direct a language and culture program within the reservation public schools.

I began work in January 1993, and within the first week of my position I realized that in spite of Arapaho having been taught in the schools since 1978, students only received an average of 45 hours of language instruction per academic year; about the same amount of time an administrator devotes to his job tasks in one week of work. This information made it that much more unsettling when administrators and teaching staff consistently questioned why students were not developing Arapaho speaking skills. I then realized the magnitude of our struggle to try and maintain our languages and cultures in the face of such deeply rooted colonialistic attitudes that still maintain, with the best of intentions, assimilation is the best course for "Indians." This and the following scenario is most likely similar on many reservations. District superintendents, school principals, administrators, and perhaps 98% of teaching staff, from kindergarten to grade twelve, are neither natives of the culture nor native to the reservations upon which they work and teach. My observations led me to realize that I would have to maneuver carefully.

Taking advantage of the newness of my position, I suggested setting up a kindergarten class to test what would be the impact of an hour-long language class, five days a week, over an eighteen week period. The school's principal acknowledged that this would be the first time anyone had attempted to accumulate statistical information on an Arapaho language class and endorsed the class. After eighteen months the results were dramatic.

Addressing the problem with an effective methodology

The instruction of the Arapaho language within the Wyoming School District was provided by six fluent Arapaho speakers. These Arapaho language instructors were hired on the basis of passing a review of Elder fluent speakers who made up the Arapaho language commission, and it was their responsibility to instruct the Arapaho language to students from kindergarten to the twelfth grade. While none of the language instructors had actually begun their jobs with any teacher training, the school system had provided them with numerous in-services on teaching methods throughout their employment within the school system. In spite of this, the methods that they learned were not well suited for the task of teaching Arapaho.

In creating an hour-long Arapaho language kindergarten class, the strategy was to take five children from each of the three kindergarten classes to form a class that would receive an hour of language instruction each day. The progress of this test class was then compared to the other three kindergarten classes, which received 15 minutes per day of language instruction throughout the school term. The class was structure to accommodate 15 kindergarten children of varying interests and attention spans who were divided into three groups of five students, with each group assigned to a learning station. After 15 minutes at a learning station, each group rotated to a different station. After 45 minutes of working at the three different learning stations, all 15 students met as one group for the fourth 15 minute segment of the hour-long period. Each station covered a different aspect of language use. One station focused on word drills, a second focused on phrase drills, and the third focused on interactive conversations between the children and instructor. At each station the children were led by a different instructor. When the three groups combined into one group for the last 15 minute session, a fourth instructor came into the class and asked the children to respond to various commands and execute different tasks. The obvious strength of this approach was in exposing the children to four different speakers who each focused on different aspects of language use.

After twelve weeks had elapsed, 80% of the test class had mastered 162 words and phrases. This included a list of 32 phrases such as stand up, sit down, come here, are you hungry, yes I am hungry, what are you doing, I am jumping, what is your name, my name is…, write your name, are you thirsty, I am thirsty, pick it up, throw it away, put it down, come in, throw it (for both animate and inanimate objects), go and get it, give it to me. In addition to the 32 phrases, they could name; 36 animals, 15 body parts, 12 different food items, eight different types of clothing, nine colors, count to 30, and the following 20 miscellaneous words; ball, plate, grandma, box, fork, grandpa, chair, spoon, mother, cup, tree, father, knife, rock, what, paper, river, hello, snow, and mountain. By the end of a school year the three control classes, in comparison, were assessed at having mastered a vocabulary of between 15 and 18 words.

Implementing immersion classes

I had already known that the best way to accomplish the long range goal of producing children who can fluently speak Arapaho was by placing them in a setting that paralleled the way fluent speakers acquired Arapaho, in other words by immersing them in the language. These thoughts were reinforced after I attended a language conference in May 1993 that showcased the immersion efforts of the Hawaiians. Through my observations at this conference I assessed that Hawaiian children were achieving an age appropriate level of fluency in Hawaiian after being exposed to from 600 to 700 language contact hours. The goal then became to implement an immersion class in Arapaho.

The results of the kindergarten test class were favorably received by the elementary school principal. On the basis of the documented results, a half day immersion kindergarten class was implemented at the school in September 1993.

The class was set up similar to how the hour-long kindergarten class had been set up, with children learning at different language stations that focused on different aspects of language use. Along with this initial effort, Arapaho language assessments were developed and implemented for children in kindergarten through fourth grade. The assessments charted what the students knew in Arapaho at the start of the school year and then again between the seventh and eighth week of each successive nine week quarter. Using each documented word/phrase count, a bar graph was created to illustrate each child's language level growth rate.

By the end of October I realized that the existing weakness in understanding language teaching methods, coupled with the severely limited amount of time allotted for Arapaho language instruction, would not allow for any significant change to occur in what could actually be taught and learned. This realization led to an Arapaho pilot language immersion class being implemented in January 1994 for preschool aged children within the Ethete community. One of the objectives of the preschool immersion project was to demonstrate how children could be guided toward achieving a speaking ability that would allow them to interact with instructors and each other in Arapaho. Underlying the implementation of the immersion class was the idea that if children could gain fluency before reaching elementary school then the task of language instructors would shift to focusing on maintaining fluency rather than trying to create fluency under almost impossible conditions.

The pilot immersion project ran for two hours a day, four days a week, from January to May 1994. During the course of this class children were exposed to 136 hours of Arapaho over a four month period. When comparing the number of language contact hours received in the pilot project to the number of language contact hours a child received in the school system, it was assessed that it would take a child three years of elementary school to attain the same amount of language contact hours. In both cases, however, the number fell far short of the 600 to 700 language contact hours projected as being needed for the onset of fluency to occur. As expected, when comparing the language learning that occurred between the kindergarten immersion class, which received 540 language contact hours, and the preschool immersion class, the kindergarten class demonstrated an Arapaho language vocabulary and comprehension level that greatly surpassed that of children in the preschool immersion class. In an attempt to address this, partial funding was acquiring from a private source to help with the operation of a summer immersion class.

The summer immersion class could not operate, however, without finding additional money. Parents of the children attending the immersion class decided that in order to make up the rest of the needed funds they would pay a tuition to keep their children in the immersion class during the summer. The summer project ran for five weeks, three hours a day, three days a week on a $500 budget. Each parent paid a $20 tuition fee, and the instructors agreed to work for five dollars an hour. When realizing that the unemployment rate on the reservation can exceed 80% during the summer months, the tuition paid by

the parents was probably one of the most significant acts of support ever given to a reservation program.

Possibly impressed by the demonstration of parental support for the summer class, the Wyoming Council for the Humanities agreed to fund the project from September 1994 to mid-May 1995. The 1994/1995 project year ran three hours a day, Monday to Friday. It was calculated that the total number of language contact hours during this time period would amount to approximately 456 hours. In spite of this increase, I was still very aware that if we hoped to develop fluent speakers from among the children, the project needed to operate at least six hours a day. Satisfaction was nevertheless drawn from knowing that the increase in time reflected movement in the right direction.

Troubleshooting problems and moving to a full-day immersion class

One of the problems that seems to face many of our language instructors is a belief that in order for students to learn an Indian language they have to always be given English meanings for what is being said to them in "Indian." This stood as a consistent problem with the language instructors in the Arapaho immersion class. In spite of numerous explanations and signs announcing "No English Spoken," each of the times I visited the class it was common for me to hear instructors speaking English. This made me speculate that although the language instructors knew the project's goals, they still lacked a firm commitment to the methods needed to instruct within an immersion setting. I constantly tried to convince the instructors of the absolute necessity of not speaking English to the children. From their perspective, however, because they observed more Arapaho spoken by children in the immersion class than they had ever heard from any other child, they remained quietly convinced that it was due to their mixing English and Arapaho when they spoke to the children.

In an attempt to get the children exposed to more Arapaho, the language class was expanded to six hours a day, made possible by grants from the Wyoming Council for the Humanities and Lannan Foundation. In addition, a director was hired to locally oversee the project. The primary goals of the expanded class were for the instructors to use no English with the children and to get the children to achieve a higher level of language competency.

After the class started, I was not able to observe how things were going until mid-December 1995. When I walked into the class I was overwhelmed by the children's speaking ability in Arapaho. In a matter of three and a half months the children had mastered enough Arapaho that they could collectively interact with the language instructors for ten to 15 minutes without speaking English. I viewed the class with renewed enthusiasm and believed that by the end of the school year children would surely be demonstrating speaking skills that bordered upon fluency.

By the time April 1996 arrived it was clear that the children were not even close to fluency. After such demonstrated promise in December, the question that remained was: Why weren't the children on the threshold of fluency? While the children possessed very impressive speaking abilities in Arapaho, abilities

that enabled them to pray and respond to a wide range of questions, tasks, and commands, they still did not possess an ability to speak Arapaho outside of what was directly taught to them within the classroom. The task became to assess the problem and make corrections.

What the children lacked was the ability to independently use and manipulate new speech forms. Simply put, they lacked the ability to use Arapaho to speak what was on their minds. They could only speak phrases that they had been directly taught. Again it became clear that what was missing was an understanding, implementation, and effective use of a methodology that could guide language learners to true language acquisition and fluency. To address the problem I decided to bring in an immersion technician from the Hawaiian Punana Leo language immersion system for the following school year. The designated task of the "immersion trainer" was to observe the classroom on a daily basis and then provide the staff with guidance and training in proven immersion techniques. The new problem this created was finding additional funding support so the immersion trainer could be brought in.

Expanding and strengthening the program

In January 1996, I was called by the Arapaho Tribal Council about the prospect of my writing and Administration for Native Americans (ANA) grant. I thus set myself to writing a grant proposal to start up a second language immersion class on another part of the reservation about seventeen miles away in the Arapaho district. In addition to this grant proposal went the task of writing grants for the continuation of the already existing immersion class in the Ethete district and finding money to pay for the immersion trainer. Much to our relief all grants were awarded and additional money was found to bring in the trainer.

While it turned out to be a benefit to have two immersion classes operating, it initially was difficult staffing them. Fortunately, an interview process had been worked out in 1994 when the first half-day immersion class were implemented. In an effort to identify the strongest staff for the language positions, people being interviewed were asked to teach a shortened version of an immersion class day. In their videotaped 40 minute demonstration lesson they were told to speak only Arapaho. A plus was given for following the outlined schedule of tasks or creatively leading the children through other tasks in Arapaho and a minus was given each time they spoke English. The pluses and minuses were added up, and the individuals with the strongest scores were offered positions. In spite of very promising demonstrations, over the years the need remained for proper training in the techniques of immersion. It was fortunate however that from out of those hired an individual emerged who had promising natural teaching skills and who had also filled in as a substitute from time to time for the Ethete immersion class. What resulted for the second class was a very dynamic instructor who was familiar with the philosophy and approach of the immersion effort who was joined by two other strong instructors.

In the initial months of the immersion classes the trainer worked on laying down a strong understanding of language instructional techniques that could

help move children attending the language classes toward fluency. His observations revealed that the children in the newest class in the Arapaho district were making rapid advancements, and his comments led me to videotape the class. I had been impressed with the progress of the Ethete class in December 1995, but I was left speechless in November 1996 by the amount of Arapaho I heard from the children attending the immersion class in the Arapaho district.

The second class in the Arapaho district began operation on October 6. I arrived four weeks later on November 7 to observe the class and during my three hours of observations I assessed that the children had spent about 90% of their time speaking Arapaho. In addition to this I was greatly impressed by the fact that on a number of occasions I heard different children speaking Arapaho to one another without the assistance or intervention of the language instructors. An example of this was that on one occasion when a child had been hurt, she ran crying to the instructor speaking Arapaho instead of English! On another occasion after a child had been hit by a large playground ball, he jumped up and said to the child who had thrown the ball "You're bad!" in Arapaho. Each time I listened to the tape I became aware that children in the background, who were not the focus of the camera's lens, were using Arapaho phrases on their own and among themselves without the prompting of the instructors.

The strong start of the class led me to hope that the elusive goal of fluency among the immersion class children would be realized. Unfortunately, as in previous years, while the children of both immersion classes were speaking far more Arapaho than children had mastered the year before, they still were only using the language within the confines of what they had been exposed to, and that, when compared to the fullness of the entire Arapaho language, was very limited. Again, the key that seemed to be lacking was an understanding of that facet of language acquisition that allows children to begin to independently use and manipulate language on their own. Thus, it is not enough simply to teach children language phrases. If the objective is for children to acquire our native languages, then children must be exposed to every facet of whatever native language they are meant to acquire. This means that by learning several hundred phrases we cannot expect that language learners will somehow magically acquire an ability to speak in a passive voice or to form questions in a negative, future or past tense if they have never been exposed to such speech forms.

The only way to get children to speak in such a full manner is to systematically expose them to speech forms in a way that requires them to not only hear the usage of such forms but also requires them to verbally respond to such speech acts by using a full array of speech forms. Again, this does not mean that they will some how magically begin to demonstrate a fluent use of speech forms if they are not systematically led to such forms of language use. The realization of this means that one of the tasks of the instructor is to work with an absolutely thorough understanding of their own language, with all of its nuances and complexities, so that the language instructor can very systematically bring these speech forms out when speaking to developing speakers and getting developing speakers to speak back to them. An example of this can be

illustrated with the following. When giving one speech form, such as "Are you hungry?" Children are usually taught to respond by saying "I am hungry." But how many of our language instructors go beyond this so that developing speakers learn how to express such things as "I am hungry now but I am not going to be hungry later" or "I am not hungry but I should eat" or "Yesterday when I was asked if I was hungry I wasn't really hungry but after my teacher asked me I got hungry so I ate" or "When teacher asked my friend if he was hungry it made me hungry" or "I am not going to eat because I am not hungry" or "Yesterday I wasn't hungry but I still ate, but tomorrow if I am not hungry I am not going to eat" or "Tomorrow I am going to eat even if I am not hungry because before when I didn't eat I quickly got hungry." Thus, by having an absolute thorough understanding of ones own language, a single phrase like; Are you hungry? can generate an almost endless array of speech forms that include expressions in first, second, or third person singular and plural, conditional ("They might help us if we feed them first"), and negative forms of statements such as "Can't we go swimming" or "Why can't we go swimming?" or "I would have gone swimming but because one of them said I couldn't swim very fast and my girl friend's eyes were crossed I did not want to go with them."

For those who would wonder why anyone should have to worry about whether someone should actually be able to say such things, the response is that it is because of the fact that a speaker possesses the ability to go beyond saying isolated words and phrases to say such things, and much much more, that they are recognized as fluent. Furthermore, if we cannot pass on to our developing speakers this ability our languages will be lost. Therefore, if we are to maintain any hope of keeping our languages viable and alive, it remains absolutely essential that we shift our focus from teaching our children words and phrases to passing on to them the ability to think and effectively communicate in our native languages.

The next step

By May 1997 the immersion program had still not produced a child with any level of fluency in the Arapaho language. After assessing the class and other unsuccessful language efforts, it appears that having a clear understanding of how language is acquired is a crucial link in getting children to actually acquire the languages being taught. Thus, the need for effective teacher training still remains a key issue in achieving a successful level of operation for language immersion classes. In observing successful indigenous language immersion efforts, one of the factors that has consistently contributed to their success is that they are being primarily staffed by second language learners. This success is most likely the result of these individuals having effectively internalized the language learning process based on their own experience and success, a factor that seems to elude most speakers who have acquired their languages as first language speakers.

At the time of this writing, I am in New Zealand to examine the enormous success of Maori immersion efforts. In a revitalization effort that states "lan-

guage from the breast," Maori people now have numerous examples of children who are speaking Maori as their first language. Much to their credit, these achievements have not fostered complacency among them. In the course of their language revitalization work they have developed primary schools, secondary schools, and even universities of their own in which Maori is the primary language of communication. While here I have also learned of their intensive adult language immersion work, and it is here where I believe Indigenous North Americans might receive the most benefit.

As the Arapaho language immersion effort looks to move on to the next step, developing an arrangement with the Maori may be the natural thing to do. By offering very intensive week-long immersion classes at the end of each month, the Maori have been very successful in developing waves of adult second language learners. The idea is that since these classes are so effective, then by having an instructor attend a week-long class, with perhaps a second week-long follow-up class on actual methodology, our language instructors could internalize the methods that are enabling adults to become proficient language speakers as second language learners. The logic of such an approach would seem more favorable then trying to send our Elder speakers through a year or two of the standard university-level teacher training. I plan to attend one of these classes in October 1997 to assess the viability of using similar classes to train Arapaho language instructors.

The second approach stems from the Maori philosophy of language from the breast. This approach involves starting language classes for mothers and their 16 to 24 month old children. These immersion classes would focus on the language needs of the infants and their mothers in such a way as to develop the language skills of both. Thus in a relatively short period of time the emergence of the infant's language could serve as a motivational factor for the mothers to encourage them to develop their own language skills. By focusing on these two groups of language learners, two things could occur. One, we could hope to prepare a younger group of fluent speakers to carry on as the next generation of language teachers, and two, infants could emerge as first language speakers who could serve to aid in the continued effort to reestablish our native language as a viable and healthy language.

Teaching Children to "Unlearn" the Sounds of English
Veronica Carpenter

This paper discusses the incorporation of linguistics into an American Indian language program. Second language teachers need to understand the importance of methods and strategies that help students to recognize how the sounds and structure of their first language differ from other languages, especially a tribal language they are attempting to learn. My focus is not on teaching any particular indigenous language or dialect, but on teaching children and adults to recognize how the sounds of the English language interfere with learning the correct pronunciations of sounds in a tribal language they are learning. Perhaps more than children, adults can benefit from this approach because of the unique issues of adult education, such that classes meet fewer times a week and minimal teacher availability. This can result in adult students having more difficulty learning, retaining, and producing new language sounds.

The majority of American Indian children are first language English speakers. English is being spoken in their homes, on the playground, and on television. Only remnants of indigenous language phrases are being carried on, and fewer children have much exposure to their ancestral language. The fact that the dominant language in this country is English and that children from coast to coast are speaking it as a first language can offer us a unique strategy for teaching an indigenous language as a second language. By incorporating a formal introduction to linguistics, we can practice methods to help children "unlearn" English or aspects of English that interfere with second language acquisition. These methods can be shared with all indigenous language programs.

When one learns a second language, the interference between the sounds and grammar of one's first language, usually English in the United States, and the new language hinder progress in learning that new language. There are strategies for children and adults that can enhance language retention and address the problem of how English influences an indigenous language being learned as a second language. The concept of incorporating linguistics in the language class has exciting possibilities because the students become aware of how the brain and vocal tract work together to produce the specific characteristics of their own first language. This technique productively redirects that awareness to facilitate second language acquisition. These methods, as they are implemented and tested, can be shared with all indigenous language programs around the country.

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Linguistic application

Linguistics is the study of language, and its four major areas of study are phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax. This paper examines the importance of incorporating phonetics and phonology into an American Indian language program as the primary linguistic application for second language acquisition. During the past three years, I visited several indigenous language programs, including the Houlton Band of Maliseets in Houlton, Maine; the Western Abenaki Self-Help Office in Swanton, Vermont; the St. Francis Mission School on the Rosebud Reservation, South Dakota; the Northern Ponca Tribe of Nebraska in Niobrara, Nebraska; several families from the Santee Reservation in Nebraska; and the Hocak Culture and Language Center in Wisconsin Dells, Wisconsin. I informally interviewed residents, teachers, administrators, and language center directors. We discussed various issues and concerns surrounding their language programs. Whether the focus was in-place language programs or support for language revitalization programs, the primary concern was for language preservation. The second concern was in preserving the language in its original form. Pronunciation, expression, and grammar are the areas of speech most affected by the influence of a primary language. In my research, there were three common concerns expressed by the people I interviewed.

First, there were concerns about family dynamics. Children are going home and trying to "speak Indian," but they do not speak it well enough to be understood by grandparents. Parents are not fluent speakers themselves and do not know how to address the language barrier. Families become frustrated and confused, and children often refuse to speak for fear of rejection or ridicule. Second, there are application problem concerns. Children are leaving the classroom and trying to produce the indigenous language on their own (whether in reading aloud or play conversation) using the only rules for speech that they know—those for English. Third, are concerns about teacher availability. Adult education programs are being taught by non-indigenous language teachers whose first language is English. The teachers speak with English influencing their intonation, pronunciation of consonant clusters, and stress placement. Students are therefore learning a new dialect rather than the language spoken by their forefathers.

These common problems have been discussed at length within the reservations and tribal offices where I visited. All sites had established or were in the process of establishing indigenous language programs. Representatives of tribes with established language programs who spoke dialects within the same language family supported and encouraged other related tribes who were just beginning their language revitalization program. By sharing their successes and failures, different language programs were able to work to improve the quality of their language instruction.

Phonetics

Phonetics is the study of how speech sounds are produced or articulated in the vocal tract. A simple introduction to phonetics can help children distinguish between the sounds in their first and second languages. By teaching students to identify the parts of the vocal tract such as the tongue, teeth, lips, vocal cords, alveolar ridge, palate, velum, nasal cavity, and so forth, children can identify those sounds in tribal languages that are not a part of the English sound system as well as those sounds that are a part of the English sound system. Even children who are in preschool can learn to identify the parts of the oral cavity as easily as a one year old can identify where the eyes, nose, and mouth are located.

The process of teaching phonetics can be modified in a language program for each level of learning. During the early years of school, the obvious approach would be games or activities. As a child begins to bring reading skills into the learning process, activity workbooks can be applied as a teaching method. By the time a child is at the high school level, a detailed phonetics course could be added to the language program. Why is it important for children to learn about the sound system? Simply put, languages around the globe are different. When a person begins to learn a second language during school years, they will be learning from people who are explaining most of the course or program in the primary language of the student. It is completely natural to let a first language influence the sounds and pronunciation of a second language. The problem is that the speaker is generally unaware that this phenomenon is taking place. This means that we often think we are producing sounds of a language as they are supposed to be pronounced but in fact, we are not.

A well known example of this kind of language interference is how a Japanese speaker will pronounce an English /l/ as /r/. The sounds are not perceived by a Japanese speaker as being different sounds because they do not discriminate the two. Thus, the pronunciation of English words with /l/ or /r/ becomes altered. Other examples of this phenomenon is how a French speaker will pronounce an English /th/ as /d/, or how a Spanish speaker will pronounce an English /v/ as /b/. Once again, these sounds are not perceived as being different by the speaker.

In keeping with language preservation, we must consider the effects that perception can have on an indigenous language if speakers are not formally taught how to recognize and produce those sounds that are not familiar to the English language speaker. For a child who grows up learning only one language, categorical perception of language sounds is limited to the one language thus making it difficult to learn new pronunciations during adulthood. However, children who grow up bilingual or multilingual have a greater range of categorical perception and can learn to speak an additional language as adults with little chance of an "accent" from their native language. Unfortunately, the majority of children in indigenous language programs are indeed monolingual and the adults in indigenous language programs face "accent" problems owing to the influence of English.

Phonologic acquisition

To understand the importance of incorporating a formal introduction to phonetics and phonology in second language acquisition, we can turn to the work of Patricia Kuhl (see Kuhl et al., 1992) at the University of Washington. Her study involves human infants and the critical period in which children absorb and retain the sounds of their environment. When human infants are born, they have the capacity to hear, retain, and eventually reproduce the sounds of speech in their linguistic environment. In other words, it doesn't matter if children are going to be monolingual, bilingual, or multilingual, they are capable of learning whatever sounds they will need to learn in order to communicate in the language or languages of their environment.

In her experiment, Dr. Kuhl tested six-month-old infants to determine if they are drawn to sounds from their linguistic experience. If they were able to recognize sounds within their linguistic experience or sounds in their language environment, it was predicted that the infants would hear and respond to these sounds. Sixty-four infants were tested, 32 in the United States and 32 in Sweden. All components of the experiment remained the same in the two countries. The same computer equipment, experimenters, and speech testing apparatus were used for all 64 infants. Two vowel sounds were used in this experiment. One from American English and one from Swedish. It was predicted that the American infants would exhibit a stronger response for the American English vowel and the Swedish infants would exhibit a stronger response for the Swedish vowel.

The results showed that indeed the infants at six-months-old recognized the sounds from their native language and were drawn to those vowel sounds in their language environment. Their linguistic experience or the language of their environment had altered their phonetic perception. Their categorical perception for sounds needed for communication had already been established. Thus, infants at six months old have already learned and retained the sounds they will need in their linguistic environment. At six months old, children can already identify and respond to sounds within their linguistic experience as those sounds are presented to them. With this kind of information, we can begin to understand how a native language can influence our ability to learn a second language. In other words, by the time a child is in preschool, their language sound system is well in place, which means that second language acquisition becomes a challenge particularly for children who have never been exposed to the second language being learned. Thus, the challenges for adults who are learning a second language, in spite of the commitment to language preservation, become more apparent. Learning to produce sounds in the second language that are not within the sound system of the native language requires years of practice.

Phonology

Phonology is the study of sound patterns in a language. The grammar of language includes rules of phonology that determine how to pronounce sounds to form words. We have already learned that children are able to recognize

sounds within the language of their environment very early in language acqui-
sition. Now we can begin to examine how children acquire those sounds in
speech production. By understanding this process, we can learn to design and
develop teaching methods giving students concrete information that will help
them to be aware of and recognize the phonological rules that they use every-
day.

In order to teach native English speaking students about the phonological
rules of the English language, it is important to review the primary stage of first
language production. A brief review of the one-word stage can assist students
in understanding how phonological rules of a first language are initially pro-
duced. The following is a study of a 23 month old female subject whose speech
production was in the one-word stage. Examples of phonologic production,
omission, and substitution give a clear indication that this subject is demon-
strating an understanding of phonological rules of the English language. By
reviewing the initial stages of language production, students can gain an in-
creased awareness of how native language sound patterns are learned and how
they are distinct from other languages. The student can then learn to distinguish
sound patterns between first and second languages, thereby diminishing the
influence of the first language on second language acquisition.

First, there is the one-word stage. When children are about three or four
months of age, they begin to coo and babble sounds. This manner of sound
production continues until the child enters the next phase of sound production
between nine and twelve months. During this period there will usually be a
recognizable rising and falling intonation in the sound production, but the bab-
bling usually remains unrecognizable even to the parents. This does not mean
that the child is not communicating with the parents, on the contrary, it simply
means that the child is not yet communicating with recognizable speech. By
the time children reach their first year, they are usually beginning to utter their
first words and enter into the one-word stage. Some children stop the babbling
phase when their first words appear, but some children continue to babble with
wonderfully expressive intonation. Because of intonation cues, some recogniz-
able sounds, and the one-word stage, parents become fluent in Child-English
during the first year of speech production. Children are seldom held back from
communicating their desires simply from lack of phrases. However, it does not
take long before children demonstrate knowledge of phonological rules in their
native language during speech production.

In 1993, I investigated the language abilities of Phoebe, a one year old
female, by recording her speech one week before her second birthday. I used
spontaneous production with Phoebe because she was very comfortable with
me and seemed eager enough to speak freely. The recording was done in her
home with her family present. I spent a few minutes asking Phoebe to identify
toys from her toy box and then to identify animals from a book in her toy box.
She did not know all of the animals from the book though she did repeat some
of their names after I recited them. She did not attempt to repeat others such as
"giraffe," which I thought might be difficult sounds for her judging by the look

on her face when she tried to say the /j/ sound in "giraffe." Phoebe became bored with this identifying game and began to wander the house, talked to her baby brother for a while, and then went outdoors where she demonstrated her ability to recite one word phrases. This is where the tape ends.

Although she was not able to pronounce all of the English speech sounds, she was very easy to understand. Phoebe substituted the (palatal liquid) /r/ sound for the (velar glide) /w/ sound. This was evident when she identified "wabbit" for "rabbit." She also substituted the (alveolar liquid) /l/ sound for the (velar glide) /w/ sound when using the word "milk" which sounded like "miwk." Phoebe did not produce such sounds as /j/ or /f/ as when I asked her to say the word "giraffe" (Her face looked as though she wanted to try but could not figure the sounds out.). She also did not produce the (voiced interdental fricative) /th/ sound as it was omitted from her words "bathing suit," which she pronounced "bayn zoot" with no "th." Her (alveolar voiceless fricative) /s/ was substituted with a (alveolar voiced fricative) /z/, which was indicated by her pronunciation of "bathing suit" as "baying zoot." She had no problems with nasals or bilabial stops ("mommy," "baby," and "poop" were all very clear) nor did she have any problem with the velar stops, both voiced and voiceless ("go" and "monkey" were very clear).

Phoebe was able to pronounce six of the twelve English vowel sounds and was in the one-word stage. She easily identified many objects with individual words and used many one word phrases such as "no," "uh-oh," "don't," and "yeah." Phoebe's ability to use single word phrases for many different circumstances led me to believe that she was using words that have meaning. I believe that this was not a babbling phase that she was demonstrating. She showed no signs of babbling at all. However, Phoebe did show signs of entering the two-word stage as when she said "baby cute" and "Mommy, bathing suit," meaning "Baby, you're cute" and "Mommy, I want my bathing suit." These were the only exceptions of anything more than the one-word stage. She identified objects with one word, let her feelings be known with one word (no!, Mommy!, yeah!), and called people to come to her with one word.

During this taping, Phoebe did not babble to herself. However, when she did speak she used expected intonation and stresses on her words. She correctly stressed the first syllable of "horsie" and "pocketbook." She raised her voice when she was questioning, lowered her tone when she was identifying objects (declarative), and kept an even tone when she was forceful ("No, don't"). She effectively communicated frustration, anger, command, nurturing, and happiness in the words that she chose and successfully made the transition from babbling to the one-word stage. Her phonology seemed to be normal for her age group, and she communicated with a limited lexicon but effectively and accurately for her needs. This taping seemed to indicate that Phoebe was comprehending speech much faster than she was producing speech. At one week from her second birthday, she effectively used the sounds of her language for communication.

By observing her facial expressions, it was clear that certain sounds were difficult for her and that she had not yet acquired them. However, she knew what sounds were needed for the words she wanted to use and produced a similar sound in their place. This was clear when she used /w/ in (wabbit) for /r/ in (rabbit). As with all language acquisition, it was just a matter of time and practice before she acquired those sounds. Phoebe's language acquisition was far beyond sound production although her vocal tract was not developed enough to accommodate her understanding for the sounds of her language. She demonstrated an understanding of semantics (communicating meaning), pragmatics (conversation), and syntax.

Second language acquisition

As we learned above, an infant's ability to recognize the sounds of the language of the environment happens very early in life. Their ability to produce those sounds becomes apparent within the next few years of life. There are always temporary problems associated with sound production such as loss of teeth and "baby talk," but children establish native language rules of phonology, morphology, semantics, and syntax by the time they are in school. This presents good reason for teaching children about language. Linguistics can provide the tools for helping children to realize what they already know about language.

Language realization is the key to preventing children learning a second language from being influenced by their first language. In second language acquisition, children can often be confused by sounds, intonation, stress placements, and so forth and will often revert to English rules concerning these areas without an awareness that this phenomenon is taking place. There is often frustration, and sometimes classroom withdrawal can develop in second language learning simply because the child is not "getting it" in pronunciation, verb construction, or even just lexical memorization. It is important to teach a child what they do know about language and then help them to eliminate those parts of the English language that do not apply to the language being learned. For example, children know that /m/ does not start a consonant cluster at the beginning of a word in the English language. You cannot use an /m/ with an /l/ or a /g/ or a /k/. Children know this English phonological rule. However, in the Western Abenaki dialect (part of the Algonquian language family) you can start a word with a consonant cluster that starts with an /m/. A word can begin with an "mk" and that is unfamiliar to the English language. In learning Abenaki as a second language, children would pronounce this consonant cluster as "muk" (this is known as a schwa insertion) as English rules of phonology would predict, but the Abenaki word in its original form would be pronounced mmmmk (mmm as in "MMM, that's good!") with a /k/ sound on the end. Because this is an unfamiliar consonant cluster for a native English speaker, the rules of phonology from the English language would alter the Abenaki word from its original form. Thus, indigenous language word pronunciation is altered and influ-

enced by the way children first learned to pronounce the sounds of the English language.

I recently conducted an experiment in which a list of forty Abenaki words were given to native English, non-Indian speakers who were asked to read the words aloud. Most of these words contain such consonant clusters as the "MK" phenomenon, and it was expected that the readers would insert a schwa sound as English rules of phonology would predict. The readings were taped. The schwa insertion and other phonological rules of the English language were used by the subjects as they read the Abenaki words as predicted. The consonant clusters and phoneme placements unfamiliar to the English language were indeed influenced by English phonological rules. This experiment gives support to the realities of indigenous languages (as second languages) being influenced and altered by native language rules. In order to preserve indigenous languages in their original form, students must be taught an awareness for their native language. Students must understand what sounds from their native language do not transfer into the language being learned, and they must learn to recognize when the native language is interfering with the second language pronunciation.

Methods and strategies

In education, especially for our purposes, there are three groups of students to consider when examining methods and strategies: preschoolers, readers, and adults. Preschoolers, categorized as nonreaders, require non-reading or beginning-reading activities and games for second language acquisition instruction. For this purpose, a puppet that I designed specifically for second language learning has been used to help young students learn about the vocal tract. The mouth of the puppet is color-coded for easy identification for both teacher and student. Students learn to identify the parts of the color-coded mouth because they will help the puppet to make sounds in English and in the new language being learned. The tongue is detachable with bits of velcro attached so that teachers and students can manipulate the tongue to those parts of the mouth that it would touch when making certain sounds. Different shapes of lips are also available for the student to choose from and attach to the mouth when making different sounds.

The teacher helps the students identify which sounds in English are *not* a part of the sound system of the indigenous language. For example, the phoneme /a/ in English has many allophones (different sounds for a phoneme), but in an indigenous language there may be only one sound for the phoneme /a/. The students then learn what /a/ sounds are not part of the indigenous language and therefore will not produce those sounds in later years when reading or speaking in the indigenous language.

When students begin to read, other methods can be used that produce the same results. Workbooks can be used for the classroom that have English allophones of the phoneme /a/. For the student's benefit, pictures can be included that have the /a/ sound associated with it. For example, on a workbook

page, students will have between two and four animal pictures to look at. Each animal has a different /a/ sound associated with it, such as alligator and swan. The student then determines which /a/ sound is *not* associated with the indigenous language being learned and will successfully pronounce the second language vowel sounds without English vowel sound influence. Students should be encouraged to create these workbooks in the classroom using characters, animals, or everyday items that are familiar to them. This will help the child to stimulate their imagination in recognizing vowel sounds in any words that they encounter. The inevitable results will be that students will then be able to eliminate English sounds where they are not transferable into the indigenous language, thus preserving the second language sound system.

Conclusion

The acquisition of a second language is highly dependent on the understanding of the student's first language. It is critical to language preservation to explicitly teach students the differences between the two languages being spoken. When children are learning a second language primarily in a school setting, the exposure to that language is minimal and the native language dominating the acquisition of the second language is inevitable. Adult education faces the same dilemma. Incorporating a linguistic background into a language curriculum can eliminate many delays. A simple phonetics and phonology program can give students of any age the mechanics of language production that they need to help eliminate the influence of English as they learn their tribal language. The most important factor is that this method or curriculum, once proven successful, can be utilized by any indigenous language program because it addresses the English language and how to eliminate the influence of English from second language acquisition.

Reference

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Learning Ancestral Languages by Telephone: Creating Situations for Language Use
Alice Taff

This is a progress report on a group of adults who have been connecting by phone to learn to speak Deg Xinag, the language of the Deg Hit'an (Ingalik Athabaskan). The Deg Hit'an are the westernmost of the Athabaskan peoples, living near the confluence of the Yukon and Innoko Rivers in Western Central Alaska. Since the number of Deg Xinag speakers, all elders, is less than twenty and the learners, young adults, are spread amongst sites too distant to make it feasible to get together face-to-face, we organized a one-credit distance delivery class under the authority of the University of Alaska, Interior Campus—McGrath Center. This paper describes the effort of a small language community to preserve its language orally, notes some of the broader implications to be drawn from our experience, and tells a story or two.

We have finished our second semester of teaching Deg Xinag by phone, meeting with fluent speakers for an hour once a week by audioconference. Our speakers provide us with phrases we don't yet know and guide us in pronouncing Deg Xinag. We call in from Anvik, Shageluk, McGrath, Fairbanks, and Anchorage in Alaska and Seattle, Washington.

To set up the class, administrators at the McGrath campus advertised in relevant communities, calling the schools and tribal offices. Interested students registered by fax. Taking students' preferred meeting times into consideration, a weekly meeting schedule was set up with the Alaska Teleconferencing Network. This costs the University $18 per site. The student cost is $70 for this one credit, but University of Alaska funding for Alaska Native Languages subsidized the course, reducing the cost to $25.

Ideally, all class members in each community got to a central location and called the toll-free number using audioconference convening equipment, a speaker box with microphones attached that is hooked to a phone jack. Alternatively, participants at one site used multiple handsets on one line in a household. We found that speaker phones did not work well since their signal turns off and on during the speech stream. A good signal is very important since we are working with a language that relies heavily on its fifty consonants for a high percentage of its speech signal and some of the voiceless sounds such as tth and tl did not come through very clearly.

We started out our first semester with one speaker and learners in four sites. The first week we could hardly hear each other because the phone connection was so bad and we were not used to putting up with it. The next day our

speaker slipped on the ice outside her house, broke her ankle, was taken to the hospital, and was unavailable for the rest of the semester. The four learners in her village dropped the course owing to other crises there. Just before we were to be shut down for low enrollment, two more speakers stepped in to help out so we were able to persevere. One met in Fairbanks with students calling in from there, and the other met in Shageluk with those students. Students in these locations had the advantage of contact with the speakers; they could really hear all the sounds of the language and get visual cues for pronunciation.

The first semester we met twice a week for an hour and a half each session, but this proved difficult. Listening to a poor phone signal in a language we did not understand for ninety minutes was a strain. In addition, people's schedules were too crowded to enable them to successfully meet three hours together and work on homework six more hours per week. The second semester we met once a week for a one hour class with two hours of homework per week, which worked out better. The second semester the class was made up of four speakers working with eight learners.

Class activities

We started out by setting realistic individual language learning goals, taking into account the actual time each person was able to devote to study. Students selected as their goals learning to perceive and produce the sounds of the language in the context of common expressions and being able to use some expressions in their daily routine.

Basing our activities on the principle that children learn to talk without overt teaching of grammar and following the advice of another Athabaskan teacher, we limited our discussion of grammar. We did not learn lists of words, but concentrated instead on practicing whole phrases and sentences and using them in conversations. In other words, we chose to spend our time talking instead of analyzing how to talk or memorizing someone else's analysis.

Each week we spent some time listening to our speakers converse so we had a chance to hear real discourse taking place. After some weeks, we found that we began to understand some of what our speakers were saying to each other. We practiced saying common conversational expressions following the model of our fluent speakers. We have a literacy manual (Jerue, Maillelle, Hargus & Taff, 1993) with a list of common expressions that we used extensively the first semester to "jump-start" us. We used what we called a "round table" format for this with everyone taking a turn at saying the word or phrase:

speaker 1	*ade'*	hello
learner 1	*ade'*	
speaker 2	*ade'*	
learner 2	*ade'*	
speaker 1	*ade'*	
learner 3	*ade'*	
speaker 2	*ade'*	

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learner 4   *ade'*
And so on.

Having a number of speakers to model the words was especially valuable to us since this gave us the opportunity to hear a range of possibilities for each utterance.

Learners could "pass up" their turn if they chose, but they seldom did. Our language learning heroes are babies since they acquire language effortlessly so we tried to follow their example and give ourselves plenty of time to listen to expert speakers and treat our mispronunciations as acceptable babbling practice, remembering that babies spend up to a year or so at this. Trying to develop an environment in which learners were not afraid to make mistakes, we told the newest members of our class the second semester that they were our babies. We said, in effect, "You are very important to us, and we don't expect you to be perfect. Just keep trying." Once we were practicing a form for 'no' that we had found difficult to remember and could not write even though it is short and had seemed simple enough the previous week (It could be described as a long mid lax front vowel with some nasalization that has an intonation peak followed by a glottal stop in its middle, similar to but not quite the same as an American English 'uh, uh'). We had each taken our turn saying, "Ehenh'eh," when we heard a tiny voice on the line chime in "Ehenh'eh," right on cue. It was the toddler of one of the class members, a real baby, listening and learning. We all laughed in delight. Laughter set this word firmly in our memories. Now we do not need to write it to remember it. A baby helped us learn.

When we had trouble repeating we asked *"Che yixudz didene."* 'Please say it again.' The round table repetition also helped clarify sounds that were cut off as a result of imperfect phone connections. After many repeats, we could piece together all the words. These repetition drills served as warm-up exercises as we shifted from English to working with Deg Xinag. For warm-ups the second semester, we checked on forms from previous sessions that we were not sure of.

After these round table warm-ups, we opened the 'floor' for conversation, *"Deg hiqi xinadra tidlgisr"* (Let's talk Deg Xinag), asking our speakers for translations so we could say the things we wanted to say to each other like:

Ndadz dengit'a?	How are you?
Xughe' iynatlnik.	I'm tired.
Ngegh ndadz dixet'a?	What's the weather like?
Xidetr'iyh.	It's windy.
Ngididhistth'iggi ts'in'.	I can't hear you.

We used a few old phrases and a few new ones every week. By the end of our hour, we were usually talking hard and did not want to hang up, but we would say,

Agide yixudz.	That's all.
Ixudzan.	Good-bye.
Xisrigidisddhinh.	I thank you.

Then we frequently dialed each other so we could continue the conversation.

Most class members took notes during class but had very little practice with the writing system. I, as the teacher-of-record, who was really one of the learners, summarized each class afterward in writing, included the new phrases with their translations, checked spellings with the available resources, then faxed this class summary to all students each week with an agenda for the next meeting. Every few weeks I compiled all the phrases into a list with translations, alphabetized the list for both Deg Xinag and English, and faxed this to students. We used these phrase lists to study from and to refer to during class to help us remember a phrase we had used before.

Care with spelling was only important for us to make sure that we did not miss any important sounds in the words. The relatively new writing system represents each sound with a particular letter combination so spelling can help with pronunciation. However, we were not concentrating on learning to write 'correctly.' We did not want to cripple the leaning process with too much writing. A heavy dependence on writing can result in learners needing to visualize a word mentally in written form when they hear it before they can convert its sound to meaning. When they want to talk, writing dependent learners may need to 'write' and 'read' their utterances mentally before they can speak. We made speaking our primary activity and kept writing in the background. We did have a few, brief discussions of grammar when we observed patterns arising in our phrases lists, for example, the order of subjects, objects, and verbs.

The first semester we concluded by having students memorize a conversation from Jerue et al. (1993) and perform it with a partner during the last class. The rationale for this was that students would be able to retain some large chunks of language to call on from memory.

Second semester, each student chose an independent project. There was a wide variety of projects since there was a wide range of both experience with the language and personal interest in language use. Some of the projects were:

- Translation of a children's book from a sister language into Deg Xinag and publication of the book.
- Organizing some of the phrases we used in the class into coherent conversations in written form with audio recordings for future learners.
- Making a list of twenty phrases to learn.
- Creating and taping a song to sing with children.

The student with the song project had wanted for some time to find a Deg Xinag song she could sing with her child. When we brought this up during a class, one of our speakers said, "Well we can just make one up right now," and

she proceeded to do so. Our speaker reminded us that we are learning a living language, and we do not have to search history to find a song; we can create new songs in Deg Xinag whenever we want.

In addition to our speakers, the literacy manual *Deg Xinag Dindlidik* (Jerue et al., 1993) mentioned above, class summary faxes, and class phrase lists, we checked words and phrases with a computerized stem list dictionary (Kari et al., in progress), a topical dictionary, *Deg Xinag Noun Dictionary* (Kari, 1978), and a computerized language learning program that focuses on the verb system, *Deg Xinag axa Nixodhił Ts'in'* (Taff, 1994).

Evaluation

At the end of the first semester, we reviewed our course goals to evaluate progress. All students reported that they felt they had learned during the class. Some were using phrases with their children and with others in their villages, and some could pick out words when they had a chance to hear Deg Xinag.

At the end of our second semester, we find ourselves gaining confidence in our improved pronunciation. We can extend greetings to each other and converse about the weather, inquire about and tell each other how we were feeling, and tell what we would like to eat (The class met right at suppertime). We are conversing about real concerns in our daily lives.

Our most important resource is our speakers. Without them we could certainly not be conducting the kind of learning experience where we can ask, "How do I say...?" Also invaluable is the telephone system that links us together; we could not do without it, but that doesn't stop us from complaining that it doesn't work perfectly! Our supportive university administrators have enabled us to persist in this effort.

The teaching material we have relied on most heavily is our literacy manual (Jerue et al., 1993), but we have learned that we could probably conduct the class without any materials. We see that we are developing materials as we go along by asking how to say what we want to say and recording these sentences in our minds and on our tongues as well as on paper. We have discussed possible ways to document all of our Deg Xinag conversations in audio and writing for future users.

Compared to a language learning environment where we have speakers in a community able to interact with us face-to-face, learning over the telephone is a terrible situation. We cannot participate in physical activities. We cannot see the faces, gestures, and other body language of our speakers. We have no visual cues about the meaning of the speech we are hearing and have to depend on translations into English to establish meaning for Deg Xinag utterances. But compared to <u>no</u> language learning situation, the telephone class experience is wonderful. It allows us the only opportunity most of us have to listen to and talk with a group of fluent speakers.

We recommend this distance delivery method as <u>part</u> of a larger language learning program or as a way of getting such a program started. Distance deliv-

ery language learning could be an effective method for follow-up after an intensive face-to-face class when participants disperse.

Conclusion

During our second semester, with inspiration drawn from the Fourth Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, we realized that we did more than conduct a language class; we created a situation in which we speak Deg Xinag. In her discussion of Australian language revitalization, Jolly (1995) points out that at the core of language revival efforts is the need for communities to establish situations for language use. The value of this class as an opportunity to learn Deg Xinag is probably overshadowed by the value of the class as an opportunity to use Deg Xinag. Reiterated throughout this conference has been the theme that communities faced with the loss of their ancestral language "for the first time," as remarked by keynote speaker Dick Littlebear, need to consciously create situations in which the language is used for real life activities. Talking on the phone is a real life activity.

We are speaking Deg Xinag, not fluently and not often enough but more than we would without our class. Our disadvantages include our separation from each other, less than perfect audio connections, and lack of time to commit to language learning. Our advantages are our desire to use Deg Xinag, our kindly, tolerant speakers, the telephone system, our supportive university, and our written resources.

The broader implication of our small effort is to recognize and encourage possible situations for language use without waiting for outside experts to analyze the language and develop materials. A simple solution to maintaining a spoken language is to speak it. The hard part, for many reasons addressed elsewhere, is getting ourselves to try.

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Coyote as Reading Teacher: Oral Tradition in the Classroom
Armando Heredia and Norbert Francis

*Legends, myths, folk tales, and stories have long been an impor-
tant aspect of the history and culture of indigenous people; vehicles to
preserve, carry, and teach historical events, religious beliefs, ethics,
and values to the young and old. Ethnographers and students of folk-
lore have described in detail and extensively analyzed the literary as-
pects of oral tradition. However, despite the broad consensus on the
artistic merits of traditional stories and the role they have played in
the linguistic and cultural continuity of indigenous peoples, they are
little used in schools. This paper discusses the instructional uses of
traditional stories is meant to serve as a contribution to realizing their
educational potential.*

Story telling was a way of relating history, transmitting cultural knowl-
edge, and giving expression to the esthetic and poetic endeavors of all Native
American peoples. As Chief Standing Bear explained:

> Story-telling is an ancient profession, and these stories are among our
> oldest possessions. For many years before the white man ever came to
> our homeland these legends were told over and over, and handed down
> from generation to generation. They were our books, our literature,
> and the memories of the storytellers were the leaves upon which they
> were written. (quoted in Humishuma, 1990, p. 305)

Erdoes and Ortiz (1984) refer to the 166 legends that they recorded as produc-
tions from the heart and soul of the Native people of North America:

> Some have been told for thousands of years, and they are still being
> told and retold, reshaped and refitted to meet their audience's chang-
> ing needs, even created anew out of a contemporary man's or woman's
> vision. (p. xi)

While authorship and possession were typically collective, as with all es-
thetic and formal language use, special conditions and contexts of performance,
the narrator's qualifications, and even, in some circumstances, strict require-
ments of execution and replication were observed. For example, Plains Indians
followed prescribed procedures specifically identifying persons for conserving
and sharing stories, who "owned" and protected individual story bundles. When
the time was right, transfer of the story bundles would be carefully transacted
by a process that involved formal instruction and preparation (Lankford, 1987).

Clearly, oral esthetic, ceremonial, and formal genres depart from the context-embedded registers of everyday casual conversation in a similar way that their written counterparts differ from situation-dependent graphic messages.

Oral tradition and writing

It is important to note that the indigenous cultures of the Americas were not complete strangers to complex systems of graphic representation when the Europeans introduced alphabetic writing in the 16th Century. The Maya were evidently the most advanced in this area, with the Aztecs not far behind with their hybrid system that clearly was evolving toward true writing (the representation of *units of language* in graphic form). Montemayor (1993) compares the two systems:

> Mayan writing, the closest to what we would define as a [true] writing system, and Náhuatl, had at their disposal numerals, logograms, phonetic and semantic determiners, and rebus elements. They were able to transcribe homonyms, or rather homophonic suffixes and endings. These pictographs and symbols not only represented ideas, but also sounds and sound patterns, which presupposes the capacity not only to recognize parts of words, but also the ability to recognize homophonic relationships among these parts and among other words. Writing was employed by priests, nobles and specialized scribes, and its origin and functions were closely tied to religion. (p. 22)

At the time of the European contact, many of the tribes to the North had already experimented with various pictographic, iconic, and mnemonic systems. Lankford notes:

> Europeans had early commented on the wampum (bead) belts used by speakers at formal councils to remind themselves of the historical or mythical episodes they were to tell; in the Plains the same devices were used, but they seem to have been more usually painted on skin. Both practices seem to have existed in the Southeast. (1987, p. 47)

However, a full account of pre-Columbian writing will never be available because of the massive destruction of bibliographical and archival data during the Conquest. While the greater part of the material was surely lost, significant portions of the historical record and much of the poetic and narrative tradition was preserved orally.

The interest in indigenous narratives and poetry actually dates to the period immediately following the Conquest as missionaries and religious scholars began to take stock of the devastating loss to scientific and cultural knowledge that had already been irrevocably consummated. The compilation, transcription, and publication of indigenous oral tradition has continued to this day. More recently with the resurgence of interest in preserving the Native languages

of the Americans, original editions have begun to be prepared, in many cases, without translation.

Critics of oral tradition transcription have pointed to the vastly differing contexts of oral performance on the one hand and the conventions of written language on the other—the collective and interactive processes that mediate text construction between narrator and audience versus the isolated and decontextualized encoding of the writer. However, despite the modifications that transcription entails (adjusting, for example, for the absence of an immediate and physically present audience and the loss of certain discourse resources available only to the narrator—prosody, deixis, and so forth), both historical evidence and our own experience in compilation and transcription have demonstrated, we believe, that the alleged discontinuities have been entirely overstated. In any case, transcribed and edited versions of oral narrative are not meant to capture the singularly interactive features of face-to-face performance. On the one hand, the formal and artistic genres of traditional cultures approximate in significant ways the planned, and peculiarly structured discourse that characterizes most (but, again, not all) written expression. And on the other hand, edited versions, in print (which need not in any fundamental way imply the displacement of oral forms) offer the reader/listener new options that we will briefly explore in the following sections.

Narrative structure of the stories

The very selective survey of coyote stories presented below highlights the vast classroom potential of this branch of oral tradition. Even a very introductory study and analysis of their literary aspects by teachers would enrich any reading and language arts program. But in particular, incorporating this awareness into teaching practice would be an essential component of bilingual language revitalization programs involving the teaching of indigenous languages. From our own rather summary examination of the material, teaching applications would seem to fall into two broad areas of school-based language learning:

1. the development of academic discourse proficiencies—the narrative being an "early form" in terms of its acquisition in young children. Teaching language and reading comprehension skills through sustained exposure and direct instruction is ideally realized in both the indigenous language (original versions) and the national language, separately, and in the respective instructional contexts and classroom domains.[1]

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[1]For many indigenous students, their first language has become the language of wider communication, the national language (Spanish, English, and so forth). In other cases, fewer and fewer in recent years, the indigenous language remains the students' first language.

2. the development of second language proficiency; in the original versions for indigenous language revitalization purposes and in translation for learning the national language by indigenous language dominant students.

In our first example, the Colville-Okanogan story "Coyote and the Buffalo," scarcity of natural resources and their judicious exploitation is its theme. The reader/listener must infer from the character's actions which forces and tendencies they represent. Predictable conflicts and rivalries foreshadow the unstable resolution (Humishuma, 1990). The White Mountain Apache "Coyote Gets Rich off the White Men" (Erdoes & Ortiz, 1984) resembles a roller coaster ride of crises and partial resolutions. One problem is solved only to be met with its sequel, each leaving one with the question: "Have I been down this road before?" The series of unresolved conflicts maintains the required narrative tension typical of the coyote genre. From the literacy teaching point of view, forcing the reader/listener to reflect on the constant play of words and metaphors, insinuation, half-truth, and outright deceit introduces an important metalinguistic activity—differentiating between what characters say and mean (Torrence & Olson, 1987).

Closely related to the say/mean distinction is the portrayal of Coyote's complex and ambiguous character. A literary feature usually associated with modern fiction, especially the novel, is ambivalence and inner strife, a common state of mind for our canine hero. Research on literacy development has pointed to the reader/listener's focus on and contemplation of characters' inner psychological states, thoughts, and feelings as an important milestone toward decontextualized comprehension strategies (Torrence & Olson, 1985). In "The Story of the Rabbit and his Uncle Coyote," a Tzutuhuil story (Sexton, 1992), and "Coyote's Rabbit Chase," Tewa (Erdoes & Ortiz, 1984), the use of dramatic irony presents but another opportunity for the emergent reader to reconcile contradictions and disparities of all sorts.

Heroism is unambiguously conferred upon our protagonist in the Diné version of "Coyote Brings Fire" (Newcomb & Zolbrod, 1993). The sequence of building conflicts and increasing tension, punctuated by the characteristic rhythm and tempo of the omnipresent parallel structures and recurring patterns, culminates in Coyote's escape from the Fire Man. Throughout this and many other coyote stories, the extensive recourse to metaphoric language ("cloud of sparks," "in the air waiting for a flame to blaze upward," "showers of sparks"), again, calls the reader/listener's attention to linguistic forms, the poetic functions in general, and how words are good for more than just expressing referential meaning. Especially regarding the higher literacy proficiencies, the reader must be able to reflect on what words actually (i.e., that which is stipulated by the text itself) mean as opposed to the mere interpretation of what was intended, as in casual conversation (see Olson & Hildyard, 1983).

Two contrasting examples

Coyote stories vary widely in their structural complexity, as well as thematically. In this variability, precisely, lies their power as a genre, from the pedagogical point of view. We would like to call the reader's attention to two particularly illustrative examples, each exemplifying features that, respectively, lend themselves to our two broad language learning objectives: 1) the development of textual consciousness and literacy-related discourse competencies, and 2) a source of second language comprehensible input.

Coyote and the Shadow People—for discourse competence

While the theme of the journey to the Land of the Dead in order to retrieve a loved one is apparently universal among indigenous peoples, in "Coyote and the Shadow People" coyote rises to truly heroic and humanlike proportions.[1] The Death Spirit/Guide offers Coyote (who we find in the opening episode weeping and lonely) the opportunity to be reunited with his wife. To our tragic figure, he must repeat the classical admonition too many times: "You must do whatever I say, do not disobey" (Ramsey, 1983).

Guided through a series of images and illusions that Coyote (at first confused) must acknowledge as real, he is rewarded with the arrival at the longhouse where he greets old friends. Upon being reunited with his wife and admonished one last time not to touch her, he sets out on the return journey; the descent from the fifth mountain signaling the triumph over the Underworld. However, by the fourth encampment, the wife's apparition had become too attractive for Coyote to resist touching. Weeping at her loss, he vainly retraces his journey, reenacting the illusions of the first trip that are now so movingly useless, finally he arrives back at the dusty prairie where he first encountered the Lodge of the Shadows.

Here, the teacher can take full advantage of the complex interplay between irony and foreshadowing. As Ramsey points out, "in a sense, everything Coyote does in his quest foreshadows his failure, both for himself and his wife, and for the great precedent of returning from death that he might establish. Specific prefigurements occur at every turn" (1983, p. 53). This element of textual coherence cannot be underestimated, and unfortunately in many elementary reading and language arts programs developing the ability to mentally construct it

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[1]The presentation and percipient literary criticism of this Nez Perce Orphic story we owe to J. Ramsey (1983), whose analysis we follow closely. The myth of Orpheus and Euridice is surely one of the most prominent examples of the universality of traditional narrative themes. The recording, transcription, and translation of "Coyote and the Shadow people" forms part of the extensive ethnographic and literary work of A. Phinney of Columbia University and a member of the Nez-Perce tribe. Swadesh (1966) shares with us a Nutca version where "Orpheus" travels by canoe and is counseled and guided by an elderly woman from his tribe who he finds on a strange and unknown beach.

is left for the student to somehow spontaneously acquire. This particular comprehension skill becomes increasingly more useful as children's reading material becomes more difficult. Students in the upper grades will find school texts more abstract and less transparent because predicting strategies based almost exclusively on general previous knowledge lose their universal applicability. The reader must rely to a greater extent on his or her ability to find *in the text itself* the cues, referents, causal relationships, and antecedents necessary for constructing global meaning.

Predicting strategies in reading have long been recognized as fundamental to both decoding and comprehension (Smith, 1988). Expectation and anticipation facilitate the processing of text at all levels. Perhaps at some levels, direct teaching of the patterns may require relatively limited conscious attention on the part of the teacher (e.g., sound patterns and grammar structures). However, at the higher levels, deliberate and systematic instruction plays a critical role in the acquisition of the advanced text processing skills that are the mainstay of textbook-type academic discourse.

In "Coyote and the Shadow People" some of the cues are explicit. After lecturing the traveler extensively against his inclination to do foolish things and repeating: "you must never, never touch her...but never touch her," in an aside, the Spirit says to himself "I hope that he will do everything right." Other cues are more subtle. Upon arriving at the Lodge of the Shadows, Coyote suddenly, and in apparent contradiction to his desire to take his wife back home, tells the Spirit that he wants to stay with his friends.

Coyote's futile recapitulation of the failed first journey (pretending to see the wild horses on the prairie, going through the motions of picking and eating the berries, and raising the door flap to the lodge) calls for special attention by the teacher, even perhaps during reading, in mid-discourse. On the unconscious level the young reader/listener *experiences the effect* of the different layers of parallelism and symmetry in the narration. Contrast is artfully reiterated: day and night, living world and shadow world, suffering (the heat and dust of the day) and celebration (the lodge reunion). The repetition of detail evokes the *images* that bring narrator and listener closer, another of the many features that everyday conversation and literature share (Tannen, 1989).

But it is when students begin to consciously reflect upon these structural aspects of the text that they are beginning to acquire the basic competencies of what Cummins and Swain (1987) call Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP). In addition to the thematic and general *content schemata,* the students' network of previous knowledge will now call upon the powerful text organizing tools that correspond to their newly acquired system of *formal schemata* (Carrell, 1989; Carrell & Eisterhold, 1983). The skillful teacher can guide their students in discovering, for themselves, these literary features and discourse patterns.

Tlacual uan coyotl—for second language learning

Our second example comes from the oral tradition of the Náhuatl speaking communities of Central Mexico, where we were able to record a complete version of "Tlacual uan Coyotl" (The Opossum and the Coyote) from a middle-aged informant, native of San Isidro Buensuceso, Tlaxcala. Both thematically and structurally, the narrative falls at the opposite end of the continuum from the Nez Perce Orphic myth, although the particular context of the performance, an audience of young children, surely contributed to its simplification. But here, it is this characteristic that corresponds to the instructional objective in question: second language acquisition.

Along the lines of another common theme, especially in Mexico (see "Didxaguca' sti' lexu ne gueu," a Zapoteco version that attempts to account for a different natural phenomenon, de la Cruz & de la Cruz, 1990), Coyote arrives at what he thinks is an agreement with God to eat all His children. God's confederate, the opossum, submits the (in this case, outrageously) foolish coyote to a series of outlandish deceptions and deservingly punishing pranks. If the young listeners do not begin to predict the outcome of the subsequent sequences from the opening frame where the lowly coyote thinks he has actually made a contract with God, they may take note of opossum's patent lie in episode #2 that Coyote wholeheartedly believes. Opossum assures Coyote that, "God won't see [him]" drink the pulque (the agreement was for Coyote to fast before he could eat all the Earth's creatures). Seven episodes of opossum's craftiness and evasion at coyote's expense end with the latter hungry and alone, waiting forever for opossum to reemerge from his burrow.

What "Tlacual uan Coyotl" may lack in universality of theme or structural sophistication is more than compensated for in the series of repetitive structures in close succession, with the pertinent referents in high-profile foreground. This is the ideal kind of sequence for second language learners. Each short episode begins with the same initial event: Coyote comes looking, running after, wandering and (later) faltering; the repeated promise to devour Opossum who, each time, shifts the responsibility of the deception to the pulque opossum, the shepherd opossum, the turkey opossum, and so forth, nicely recapitulating for the reader/listener the sequence of deceptions. True to the repetitive pattern, Coyote, pleadingly, demands to know, *every time* why Opossum is deceiving him so much. And every time he reminds himself of God's admonishment.

The *over*-repetition of key content words (Toteotatzin—Our God Father, niccuaz—eat up, amo nimitztelhuiz—I won't accuse you, otnechacacaya—you deceived me), signaled by the appropriate intonation markers, increases the comprehensible input level. This feature makes the narrative even more accessible to the second language learner, in this case the Spanish speaking student whose Náhuatl language skills are still incipient or have suffered a degree of erosion.

The singular merit, from the pedagogical standpoint, of the Náhuatl coyote story and many others like it consists of the combination of simplified structure

and authenticity. Too often authentic texts lack the necessary modifications that second language students depend on to be able to process textual material in their weaker language. In fact, with appropriate visual context support (puppets of Opossum and Coyote and props that depict the seven action sequences) the performance of "Tlacual uan coyotl" could serve as a highly effective language and literacy instructional material for level one (or even level zero) beginners in Náhuatl. Here, the process of meaning construction is supported by the key content word items, the limited concept load, repetitive action sequences, and the application of general previous knowledge.

For language revitalization purposes this type of narrative genre is a critical component of academic language input that, in turn, represents the raw material for learning new vocabulary and acquiring or reinforcing the grammatical structures of the indigenous language. Its complete and authentic characteristics facilitate learning the structural aspects of the language. Furthermore, learning language in context not only contributes to the development of higher order comprehension skills but integrates the all important cultural component (more critical in situations of indigenous language loss) into the language arts curriculum. Geographical features and towns mentioned in the narrative are often concrete cultural referents that are tied to important historical moments and turning points. The introduction of certain characters often correspond to historically significant transitions in the domain of interethnic contact: the white man, the priest, and new non-indigenous institutions.

For the monolingual indigenous language speaker, or beginner, translations into Spanish or English of oral tradition material provide for many of the same advantages outlined above. Reading and listening to the traditional stories of one's community insure significant levels of top-down support for the difficult second language decoding and processing tasks. And of course, the straight forward temporal/sequential narrative schema (with elements of causal/logical organization) lends itself well for native level Náhuatl speaking children in their initial stages of literacy development.

Conclusion

The popularity of indigenous oral tradition in translation, especially in regions of sustained intercultural contact, attests to the broad applicability of the various sub-genres (creation legends rivaling the coyote stories in both English and Spanish editions) for expanding non-indigenous students "narrative awareness" beyond the familiar patterns of their own traditional texts. The potential of this indigenous literary form for enriching the reading and language arts curriculum has been realized only partially, even in the most favorable contexts of additive/developmental bilingual education. Our examination of the multitude of applications has focused on only a few examples in the area of reading. Without a doubt, applying the material to the area of developing students' writing skills would be equally as productive. Coyote stories are basically vignettes in a never-ending story, prototypes of inexhaustible variations and permutations. It is, in fact, the assimilation of a relatively limited set of text organiza-

tion schemata, mastery of basic narrative techniques, and a set of formulas that the traditional story teller has relied on in developing the extensive repertoires of his or her art.

In closing, it is important to emphasize that creativity depends on the writer's access to structures and patterns, the application of which are facilitated by high degrees of metacognitive awareness—fundamentally, on an awareness of how expression is *constrained*. These text construction frameworks and organizers are consolidated by significant amounts of exposure to the pertinent models and reflective and deliberate examination of how they work (which includes reflection upon and feedback on one's own productions). Creativity, is also expansive and divergent, and within the self-imposed limits of all good literature, Coyote can do, or at least try, anything.

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Revernacularizing Classical Náhuatl
Through Danza (Dance) Azteca-Chichimeca

Tezozomoc, Danza Azteca Huehueteotl, and Danza Azteca Tenochtitlan

Traditional Danza Azteca-Chichimeca contains the elements pre-scribed by Joshua Fishman at the 1995 Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium for the intergenerational re-vernacularization of an indigenous language. Fishman, described the consensual require-ments for creating an environment where participants can interact in an intergenerational environment; can gain in prestige, friendship, and affection; and can participate in community building and spiritual centering—all of which provide the foundation for re-vernacularizing an indigenous language. This paper describes the efforts of several Danza groups in Los Angeles, California, to bring back Classical Náhuatl into daily use.

As we approach the new millennium indigenous languages around the world have little to rejoice over. Mass communication, transportation, and marketing are destroying indigenous languages, helping to bring the estimated 6,700 languages of the world to no more than 3,000. Furthermore, 40% of the remaining 3,000 languages are threatened from measurable declines as children fail to learn their mother tongue. This leaves no more than 600 stable languages, only 10% of world's languages. In North America approximately 155 indigenous languages survive, but 135 of them are in danger of becoming extinct within a generation or two (Crawford, 1995; Kraus, 1992).

The focus of this paper is Mexico, which has approximately 93 million people. Mexico has approximately 295 languages of which 289 remain; 60 of those are listed as Uto-Aztecan and 28 as Aztecan (Grimes, 1996). The importance of keeping these languages alive has been described by King (1994). She states how in one Huichol myth,

the people and animals were dying of hunger because they did not know the name for maize; in another, the ancestors and wise men were turned into snakes, rats, and dogs because they did not know how to name the sun....Language permits not only the naming of the world but also the function of memory. In an oral culture, knowledge once acquired has to be constantly repeated; otherwise it would be lost. Every culture, whether predominantly oral or literate, teaches future generations not only how to speak but also how to think, receiving the categories of classification imposed by language in its cultural context. (p. 111)

This statement is a strong argument for the need to recover an original language and cultural constructs, and it necessitates that the organic symbols, traditions, psycholinguistical constructs, and modes of viewing a cosmology still exist within a community, whether pure or syncretized.

What is the Náhuatl language?

Classical Náhuatl is classified under the Southern Uto-Aztecan group whose progenitor is Uto-Aztecan. The Proto Uto-Aztecan language family extends over a vast area of the Western United States and Mexico. Uto-Aztecan, while being variegated, has an anthropological record approximated at 5000 years. In the historical record this would put Proto Uto-Aztecan in the same time depth as Proto Indo-European languages (Langacker, 1977). According to Campbell and Karttunen,

> Náhuatl was a latecomer into Meso-America.... Only a few centuries before the Spanish conquest of Meso-America did the ancestors of the Náhuatl-speaking people come down from the northwest into central Mexico, leaving behind them a trail of peoples speaking related languages like: Hopi, Pima, Papago, Tarahumara, Yaqui, Cora and Huichol. (1989, p. 2)

By 1833 Classical Náhuatl was determined to be "extinct" according to the Summer Institute of Linguistics' documentation (Grimes, 1996). However, establishing the extinction of a language is a subjective and a political act because no one calls Shakespeare's English, "Classical English." Therefore, as Campbell and Karttunen have stated,

> Scholars of Náhuatl are accustomed to talk about "Classical Náhuatl" and "the modern dialects." This implies a gulf between immediately post-conquest Náhuatl and what is spoken today; yet the people who speak Náhuatl today are the descendants of the people who spoke it five centuries ago. (1989, p. 2)

Traditional linguistics tend to classify languages into three types: isolating, agglutinating, and inflecting. Examples of these types include Chinese as an isolate, Finnish as an agglutinate, and Indo-European as an inflected. According to previous classifications, the Uto-Aztecan family, and thus Náhuatl, would belong to the agglutinating group. In the process of agglutinating Náhuatl can create monosyllabic words such as "ya:" (to go) or more complex ones like "xictlacachi:huaz" (may you make him/her a person) through compounding and derivation (Campbell & Karttunen, 1989).

It is better to use a metaphor to explain the way word construction evolves in Náhuatl morphology. The verb is much like the dancer in the circle. The dancer is surrounded by prefixes and suffixes that have a fixed formulated morphological value and when analyzed and translated into what would be charac-

terized in western thought as a word, in Náhuatl it would be "tlahtolli." Look at "xictlacachi:huaz". Here, the center of the sentence/word is "chi:hua" (to make, the center of action, the dancer), "tlaca" is a noun, meaning person, used as an adjective, "z" is a suffix that states a time of future, "xi" is an optative mode of speaking and it signifies "you," and finally "c" is the third person singular specific object. This sentence/word would translate as "(may) you-him/her-person-make-future," transliterating to "may you make him/her a person." Campbell and Karttunen go on to present another metaphor, "Náhuatl words—nouns and verbs—are something like onions, and what we need to do in order to understand Náhuatl or to compose anything in the language is to be able to peel off the layers to get to the stem, or—given the stem—to be able to wrap it up in the right layers and in the right order" (1989, p. 11). This is only a glimpse of the language, by no means an attempt to present the language [see Andrews (1975) and Campbell and Karttunen (1989) for more comprehensive presentations of Náhuatl].

Resistance

How did these Mesoamericans resist what Guillermo Bonfil Batalla (1996) describes as the *Imaginary Mexico*, the internal-colonial vision for Mexico and how did the *Mexico Profundo*, what Bonfil calls the residual indigenous vision of the world, survive the European military and cultural assault? These two contradictory visions of Mexico, one an imaginary colonial model and the other an indigenous model of living with the land and continuing the cultural constructs of the indigenous survivors, are in a continued conflict. Batalla's three step model of resistance, innovation, and appropriation can be applied to the transformation of Náhuatl and the Nahua culture and how it has survived to its current state.

Resistance, the first step in Batalla's model, is a mechanism that has been employed overtly and covertly by all oppressed peoples around the world. An example of resistance includes the native who refuses to use fertilizer brought in from outside of the communities, and communities such as the one located in Coahuila who in 1909 "burned the school that had been built for them on the same day it was to be inaugurated" (Batalla, 1996). Other such examples abound in the annals of history. The second mechanism in Batalla's model is innovation. Examples include the use of metal drills to create hair pipe, snuff lids to create jingles, old tires to create huaraches (sandals), and metal cans for drinking water. Appropriation has been the third survivalist tactic of all Native American people. Every autochthonous group wants to have control over its technology. No one wants to be a slave to technology. Consider the appropriation of the horse into the North American life-style. Native Nahua people also have appropriated the Catholic religion as a surface cover for their indigenous customs, which they hide behind the face of Christian worship. We know from history that the Mesoamerican central plateau was militarily conquered on August 13, 1521, but because of these survival strategies this conquest did not

directly translate into a complete physical, cultural, and psychological surrender that myth would have us believe.

Lockhart's (1992) chronology of Spanish-Náhuatl contact validates Bonfil Batalla's model of resistance. In Lockhart's first stage the Spanish conquerors tried to impose their will on the indigenous people by eliminating the old culture both materially and spiritually (King, 1994). It follows that all the secular and religious activities would be handled through the language of the conqueror. However, the Spanish Crown was overwhelmed by the diversity of languages, the difficulty of transportation, and the isolation of many of the ethnic groups. The native people resisted the conqueror's language, and even though in 1550 Charles V decreed that all the natives were to be taught in Spanish, it was virtually impossible.

One effect of the encomienda system (the practice of assigning tracts of land and the indigenous inhabitants of that land to individual conquistadores) was that the natives were isolated from the rest of the Spaniards and only interacted through their priest. The church was unable to meet the needs of natives and was left with no recourse but to turn a blind eye to the needs of the King (King, 1994).

In 1534 the first printing press was introduced to the new world at the request of Bishop Zumarraga. In 1539 the first book to be published was a bilingual catechism in Spanish and Náhuatl. In the following years friars produced what later would be recognized as the most important records of Náhuatl and other Mexican indigenous languages. In 1547 Fray Andrés de Olmos produced the first Náhuatl grammar book. This was followed by Fray Alonso Rangel who translated the Christian doctrine into Otomí. In 1558 and 1559 Maturino Gilberti produced the first Tarascan grammar and dictionary (King, 1994).

This first stage can be seen as a period of intense resistance marked by Royal decrees that went unenforced. The friars discovered it was easier to convert the natives in their indigenous language. This process allowed the phonetic transcriptions of the indigenous languages to be written down and preserved for posterity. Such action on the part of the friars forced the Crown to accept Náhuatl and Mayan as the lingua franca of the natives. It was believed that Náhuatl and Mayan contained grammar and morphology similar to other local languages, and if people were converted in Náhuatl and Maya it would make it easier on the natives to accept Christianity (King, 1994).

The separation between stages one and two mirrored those events transpiring in Spain in the 1560's. In 1560 the Holy Office was established in New Spain, marking a great ideological shift in regard to Native languages. People such as Pedro Sánchez, a chronicler writing at that time, pointed out that the natives referred to their painted codices which were kept hidden by the Indians and read in their meetings. But even within the church itself there were those who questioned the suitability of native languages to transmit the essence of the scripture. In 1555, a group of friars from all three orders, the Franciscans, Dominicans, and Augustinians, became powerful enough to pressure the synod of Mexico to order the seizure of the collections of sermons in native languages.

Many of these documents were destroyed by the Holy Inquisition. Even up to 1634 Philip IV was issuing orders for the clergy to devote themselves to teaching the natives Spanish so that they might better understand and adopt Spanish customs. The Indians themselves expressed no desire to learn Spanish, and local priests were content to teach Indians in their own languages, despite royal decrees in 1771, 1776, and 1778 from Charles III ordering Indians to be taught in Spanish. Meanwhile, in the secular arena the division of languages was still maintained. The Indian courts still dealt in native languages. This maintained a certain level of language maintenance, owing to the need for native scribes and translators (King, 1994).

The division between stage two and stage three is marked by the independence of Mexican colonial elites from Spain. With independence indigenous people were declared citizens of Mexico, which meant not having a linguistic buffer between the clergy and indigenous people. Such an event did away with the native courts that had fostered the maintenance of native languages. These events put the Mexico Profundo of the natives and the Imaginary Mexico of the elite in direct conflict, and the clergy could no longer act as a buffer between the two worlds. This led to conflicts such as the Tzeltzal-Tzotzil Rebellion of 1867, an uprising against local Mestizos. In 1870 and 1881 the Zapotec and Zoque indigenous people took up arms to demand independence. While these movements were unsuccessful, they shattered the myth of the submissive Native. Even up to the late 1800's government documents were still drawn up in native languages. One such example is a law passed in 1866 by Maximilian providing communal lands to groups of people. The documents were drawn up in both Spanish and Náhuatl. Also, consider the work of Leon Portilla on Emiliano Zapata who wrote his communiqués from Milpa Alta in Náhuatl (King, 1994).

The movement towards the Mexican Revolution, which began in the 1880's, marked a clear break from stage three. Here, the mestizo identity was forming with such authors as Vasconcelos who perpetuated the dream of a new race, "La Raza Cósmica." This cosmic race did nothing more than try to further erase any indigenous characteristics from Indian psyches. Its attempts were focused on moving away from an original cultural perspective to one imported from the outside. Here the cientificos, the scientists, had imported a European cultural perspective and market economy. This was epitomized by Porfirio Diaz, of Zapotec blood, who powdered his face white every morning.

The movement to erase Mexico Profundo was most effective through the use of rural schools, and such efforts as those of Rafael Ramiréz, who wrote "Como dar a todo México un idioma" (How to provide a common language for all of Mexico). Ramiréz warned rural teachers, "You will begin by getting used to the local language, then gradually you will start adopting local customs, then their inferior way of life, and finally you also will become an Indian" (as quoted in King, 1994, p. 63).

While the work of Lockhart (1992) and King (1994) has been used extensively to document language and its change in this paper, it is necessary to offer

a fifth stage beyond what they discuss. One that appropriates the tools of education and self-determination. To not incorporate such a stage would be to ignore the model of resistance, even if the vision is against all odds.

Stage five marks an overt clash of two visions, one indigenous (Mexico Profundo) and the other imaginary (Imaginary Mexico), as Bonfil Batalla has proposed. On the one hand, the state has a narcissistic perception of itself and wants to force its preferred marketable identity on the population, without regard to indigenous needs. This was pointed out by speeches of the Chamber of Deputies from post-revolution to present as described by King (1994). At issue was whether to incorporate or integrate indigenou people through linguistic unification (Castellanización, or the teaching of Spanish) or through acculturation. Little attention was paid to the needs of indigenous people or whether they were going to buy into such a solution.

In 1936 the Autonomous Department of Indian affairs was established to adopt a more liberal stance on indigenous languages. Bilingual education was proposed and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) was hired to provide the technical expertise. In 1939, the first Assembly of Philologists and Linguists and the Consejo de Lenguas Indígenas again selected SIL to provide applied linguistics literacy. In 1948, the National Indian Institute was created to deal with Indian literacy and they continued to use SIL for their literacy arm. SIL continued to provide literacy training up till the 1970's when they were discredited by linguists such as Bravo Ahuja who,

> Analyzed a total of 883 literacy materials produced by the SIL between 1935 and 1974. She found that, in the majority of cases, the primers were both pedagogical and linguistically unsound in their approach to teaching Spanish as a second language. Over two-thirds of the materials included in her sample introduced the language by means of isolated words, grouped into semantically unconnected lists, having in common only the use of the same phoneme. (King, 1994, pp. 116-117)

During the mid 1960's anthropologist like Bonfil Batalla began to develop the model of internal colonialism where "Indian groups were not simply cultural remnants of the pre-Hispanic past but rather exploited groups in specific regional, identifiable by ethnic Indian regions" (King, 1994, p. 65). Consciousness of the state of indigenous affairs and the educational system allowed the emergence of Indigenous organizations that challenged the Imaginary Mexico. Some of these individuals, the rural teachers and other community members, had originally been trained to serve as brokers between indigenous people and the mestizo world, the Imaginary Mexico. Knowledge can lead to analysis, and these individuals began to raise questions regarding indigenous education. Some of the demands now being made by indigenous groups over education are:

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- Planning and instrumentation of a bilingual education that provides the basis for economic development, cultural renovation, and ethnic identity.
- Development of a specific Indigenous pedagogy, based on the history and cosmology of each ethnic group.
- Promotion of ethnic and cultural pluralism in Mexico.
- Elaboration of bilingual methods and materials for Indigenous education.
- Definition of standard alphabets for the Indigenous languages.
- Design of a complete bilingual system from primary schooling to higher education. (King, 1994)

King concluded,

> If Mexico's ethnic groups are to survive as such, they must retain their own languages, and if these are to compete on an equal status with the official language, they must develop a written form. With the extension of the state apparatus and the increasing need for educational qualifications for entry into the labor market, literacy has acquired an economic value. But is has been the reluctance to afford the Indian languages an equal place with Spanish in the educational context that has posed greatest threat to the survival in recent years. (1994, p. 68)

Here is where traditional Danza Azteca-Chichimeca comes in to help Náhuatl and Nahua culture survive.

What is Danza (Dance) Azteca-Chichimeca?

The American Heritage Dictionary (1993) defines **dance** "1. To move rhythmically usually to music, using prescribed or improvised steps and gestures." But this definition fails to capture the depth and breadth of indigenous dance practices in the Nahua world. The modern archaeological practice of grave robbing has provided clues to the historical depth of Nahua dance practices amongst Mesoamerican peoples. The finds of human figurines in dance stances from Zacatenco (1500 BC) give a timeline existence for Danza. The eloquent figurines from Tlatilco Morelos demonstrate a highly developed mortuary ceremonialism, including male figures with shaggy costumes associated with animals, suggesting shamanism. Female figurines dancing with cocoon leg rattles impersonated corn spirits (Kurath & Marti, 1964). These are but a small sampling of archeological evidence supporting the existence of Danza as an essential practice amongst Mesoamericans since time immemorial.

One of the oldest indigenous oral versions of how the art of Danza and music came into being can be traced back in time through Tezcatlihpoca. Tezcatlihpoca brought Danza and music so human beings could be happy. Tezcatlihpoca commanded the wind to fetch Danza and music. He sent the

wind to the house of the sun where the singers, musicians, and composers lived. The wind was instructed to go by the seashore at dawn and call Tezcatlihpocas' sea animals, the whale and the sea tortoise. They would take the wind to the sun, just at the break of dawn. There, the wind would sing a special song to the singers, and if they listened to his beautiful song they would have to follow him back to earth. In this way Danza and music were brought to earth to make human beings rejoice and be merry (Sten, 1990). Therefore, Danza is associated with the divine. There exist two opposing feelings for Tezcatlihpoca by Mesoamerican people. One is fear and the other respect, because Tezcatlihpoca can favor you one day and another day he could be your demise. For this reason it was said that Tezcatlihpoca not only made the Toltecs dance, but he also made Huitzilopochtli (Patron of the Aztecs) dance.

It is historically understood that Mesoamericans, along with other native people of this continent, suffered breaks in the continuity of their ancient knowledge. In Mesoamerica, at conquest, the majority of the priest class, the warrior clans, and the intelligencia were slaughtered. This knowledge break has caused great confusion among all the descendants of this continent. The imposition of an antagonistic and alien religion has done nothing more than to further confuse the masses. Anthropologists posthumously have been able to recreate what the colonizers had to destroy to justify the legitimacy of their imposition. From such anthropologists we get merely a glimpse of how these ancient civilizations viewed their universe and their place in it. The documentation of Danza Nahua also suffers from this knowledge break. The Florentine Codex only leaves an external description of what such a tradition was and how it fit into the rest of the cosmovision. What we know of the pre-conquest Danzas comes from the first friars such as Sahagun, Duran, Mendieta, and Motolinia, whose open purpose was not to preserve but rather eliminate these traditions.

The goals of Mesoamerican Danza are to obtain the benevolence of the creator on behalf of the individual and the community and to obtain the fertility of the earth and the abundance of corn, beans, chile, and other consumables, to prevent the dry seasons, to obtain rain and assure the warm of the sun for proper agrarian growth, and to assure victory in war (Sten, 1990). Friars left us scattered information regarding the function of Danza. According to Kurath and Marti (1964), who wrote *The Choreography and Music of Precortesian Dances*, there were 18 ceremonies based on an ecological calendar. These ceremonies dealt with rain, germination, ripening of corn, war victory, hunting, and tribal dead. More specifically, rain was the main objective of most of the ceremonies, especially during the winter season. The crops included beans, corn, flowers, and other domesticated consumables. Not only were the dances and ceremonies controlled by the agrarian calendar used through out Mesoamerica, but people's destinies were governed by the sign they were born under. Certain individuals born under the sign of Ce: Ozomatli (one monkey) were predestined to be singers, dancers, or painters. The ability to dance allowed individuals to acquire prestige. To be able to dance next to a noble was a great honor and privilege. But to falter in the dance movements was considered an offense

to the creator punishable by death. Faltering also demonstrated lack of discipline within the originator's group. When one group wanted to find the weakness of their warring opponent they would send spies to find out how well and what movements were done in their dances. They could read the strength of their opponent by their ability to dance. In this manner Danza played a powerful role in the lives of Mesoamericans (Sten, 1990).

There were several types of dances, most notably were sacred dances and secular dances. The sacred dances were performed in front of temples and always for the maintenance of the relationship between human beings and the creator. Sacred dances were also performed before and after a war engagement. The secular dances were performed in peoples houses or the market place and concentrated more on merriment and agrarian activities. There was overlapping between agrarian ceremonies and the maintenance of the relationship between human beings and their creator (Sten, 1990).

Danza also had an immense outlook in the cosmovision of indigenous people. Facial paints such as red and yellow were connected with the sun, fertility, and rebirth of nature. The color blue honored Tlaloc (manifestation of rain) and Xiuhteuctli (manifestation of fire), these colors signified abundance. Only men were allowed to paint themselves black. The color white, which is usually associated with death, was rarely found as a facial paint. Facial painting was considered a great privilege because one emulated the manifestations of the creator, because they too painted their faces and body parts. There were many forms of dancing, but the general types were serpentines, circulars, and processions. Serpentine dances were grounded in fertility symbolism and were for guarding the crops from the cold. The circular type were associated with the mythical unification of people. The circle represents perfection, and the dancer in the center represents a singular point of perfection. Processions were mainly executed when one visiting group arrived or left a ceremony. It was considered respectful to arrive in a marching formation, showing great humility and respect for the host. In such a manner the visiting group would put itself under the orders of their host. Again, leaving in proper marching formation was also considered respectful. Within these forms there were mimetic and non-figurative dances. In the mimetic dances, dancers imitated animals, while in the non-figurative dances, dancers entered into altered states of consciousness (Sten, 1990).

According to missionary scholars, Danza served an economic and ceremonial function. The progress of the seasons, the status of the people, dance patterns, music, and spirituality were all holistically interwoven (Kurath & Marti, 1964). Danza threatened the work of missionaries. Padre Acosta and the Pope felt "that the fiestas and celebrations of the Indians should be done in honor of God and the Saint whose feast day they were celebrating" (Stone, 1975, p. 196). The Synod of Mexico went on to say it was a, "Matter of great shame and irreverence for men wearing masks and women's clothing to go before the Sacred Host dancing with obscene and lascivious gestures making noises that interfered with singing of hymns" (Stone, 1975, p. 196). Duran, who was one

of the more conservative of the chroniclers, "Warned his readers that should they see an Indian in better costume than the others, dancing a little apart from his companions and muttering unintelligibly they could be sure that the Indians, while pretending to dance at the Christian fiesta, were actually honoring their pagan gods whose fiestas fell near the same date" (Stone, 1975, p. 196). Stone, in her book *At The Sign of Midnight*, shares her findings regarding the first provincial hearing held in 1555 and the perception of Danza,

> In 1555 the First Provincial Council, meeting in Mexico City, ruled that as the Indians are very inclined to dances, areitos, and other ceremonies, they should not be permitted, while dancing, to use banners or ancient masks that cause suspicions, or to sing songs of their ancient rites or histories, unless said songs were first examined by religious persons, or persons who understood the Indian language well. The Evangelical Ministers should see that such songs did not treat of profane things, but of Christian Doctrine. Also, the Indians should not be permitted to dance before dawn, or before High Mass, and when the bell rang for vespers, they should leave off dancing and attend. Should the Indians fail to abide by these rules, the priests in charge should punish them. Furthermore, the Indians were not to be permitted to have processions on the fiesta date of their village or their churches unless the vicar or minister were present. (1975, p. 197)

In the first 20 post-conquest years Danza was changed completely, leaving only syncretized vestiges of the old traditions.

Consensus as to the origin of Danza among Danzantes does not exist. Most Conchero, or religious dancers, only want to go back to the point of forced Christianization, while academics have argued that Danza has come from Guerrero, Tlaxcala, Queretaro, and still others believe Tlaltelolco (Stone, 1975). From the archeological, historical, oral, and cultural records it is impossible to deny the ancient origin of Danza.

The third provincial council in New Spain in 1585 prohibited the wearing of headdresses by the Indians when they danced because they manifested some sort of idolatry (Stone, 1975). Little is known about Danza owing to religious persecution. Most of the Danza knowledge was maintained by agraphic communities and even then only within selected group members. This means that much of this knowledge does not exist in written form, and it is almost impossible to corroborate.

Some information about Danza from the early 1800's was collected by Martha Stone (1975). Stone joined the Concheros (post-conquest dancers) during the 1940's and participated with them for over 25 years gaining the title of Capitana de Comunidad under Capitan General Manuel Luna. She was able to collect respectable ethnographic material by interviewing Captains of Danza from the 1940's to the 1960's.

From her findings, the changes in Mexico paralleled those of the Danza. During the revolutionary movement of 1880's Danza Captains were killed. This caused a great break in the knowledge of Danza. It allowed for many opportunistic dancers to take on the emblems of Danza without having the knowledge. This led Vicente Márquez and Natalia Hidalgo to form the Corporation of Concheros, which only recognized legitimate Danza Captains.

During the Cristero war (1930) danzantes were forbidden to dance. In the 1940's indigenista programs became more liberal. There were national attempts to register Danzantes and to request of them licenses for dancing. This proved ineffective, but it did relax the Conchero's religious hold. Now Captains like Natividad Reyna and Manuel Pineda came out with fantasy dances that strayed away from the usual religious expression. From the 1940's on many changes occurred in Danza, such as the reintroduction of the leg rattles, called ayoyotl, and short outfits. In the 1940's Danza was introduced to the big screen by Manuel Pinedo in an Argentine movie. The Huehuetl, a big hollowed out drum for which people were punished for playing by having their hands cut off, was reintroduced only in the last 30 years. These changes caused great concern among the old traditional Concheros, but it allowed Danza to grow and expand as it appealed more to youth.

In the 1960's the civil rights movement challenged the accepted notions of acculturation, and many individuals of Mexican descent, especially the youth, began to question the imposed colonial structure. Among their concerns was the role the Roman Catholic religion played in the invasion of Mexico. The Catholic form of spirituality was challenged, and many of these individuals began to view Danza Azteca-Chichimeca as an organic indigenous spiritual expression. It was in this form that Danza was introduced into the United States. Florencio Yesca and Andres Segura (Armstrong, 1985) are two individuals acknowledged as having introduced Danza into the United States. While Yesca's presentation of danza was more in a cultural context, Segura presented it in a Conchero or traditional form. Yesca's form is concentrated in the Southern California, San Diego, and Tijuana, while Segura's is more visible in the Texas border region. From these two areas, Danza has expanded to Los Angeles, Sacramento, San Francisco, Oregon, New York, Arizona, New Mexico, and as far as Chicago.

It is impossible to present a complete history of post-conquest Danza owing to the persecution of marginal groups and the nature of Danza itself. However, cultural residual evidence is observed with similarities encountered in modern Danza practices that still exist on this continent. As early as 1894, the Eagle dance was recognized to have similarities with those found in the Mesoamerican Codices. Winged eagle dancers walking and kneeling movements are fashioned like the Mesoamerican gods, with sacrificial symbols, weeping eyes, and severed heads. Other dances were noticed to have masked warriors fighting head to head in the fashion of the Mesoamerican mimetic dances. The Eagle dance is practiced amongst Iroquois, Pawnee Hako, Mid-

western Calumet, and in the south it is known as the Death or Buzzard Cult. These dances have become popular on the Pow Wow circuit.

The open round and serpentine dances are a product of the American continent based on growing corn. Further similarities of dance forms are seen in Peru and Panama. The Incas and the Guaymis had serpentine dances related to the protection of the corn crop from the cold and other elements. In the Tohono O'odham (formerly Papago) Wiikita or prayer stick festival, dancers-singers dance in a circle, carrying images of things wanted in abundance. The Anasazi of the Rio Grande River preserve harvest and corn dances that resemble Mesoamerican hand waving. The famous snake dance of the Hopi in Arizona is similar to the Aztec dance of Atamalqualiztli, where the priest chewed on snakes. The Guatemaltecans also have a ceremony involving snake handling by comedians. The Creek, Seminole, Cherokee, and the Northern Iroquois have a secular dance called the "Stomp" (Kurath & Marti, 1964).

Thus we can still find original dance practices that have survived the conquest. The Voladores de Papantla, the flyers of Papantla, appear in the earliest pre-conquest manuscripts. Kurath and Marti describe a ceremony,

> They climb the pole and sit on a platform at the top while a musician invokes the four points of the compass. On signal, the flyers descend on ropes with thirteen revolutions, dance on the grounds, and recede. Each stage of the ceremony has a special tune, played by one musician and a single reed flute called pito and a small, double-headed drum. At night, everyone celebrates with aguardiente and huapangos to fiddle music, at least in Chila, Puebla. (1964, p. 159).

They continue,

> The concheros, a votive society spread from Guerrero to Guanajuato. The members-by-bow hold private rituals to the four cardinal directions, public processions with banners and floral decorations, invocations with songs in a church, a battle of 'Los Rayados' (recalling the Aztec term for striped ones).... The dance includes males and females from three to sixty. The best male dancers recall Moctezuma's professionals, as they leap or bend back in kneeling position. Despite European elements, such as the stringed concha instrument and some steps, they rightly aver their Aztec heritage. (1964, p. 162)

How is danza executed?

The organizational structure of Danza is much like a military organizatio as can be seen in the organizational chart from Armstrong on page 68 (1985, p. 17). The function of the Capitan General is to conquer groups and have them be under his roundtable or mesa. The captain under him manages over a local territory. The second captain can substitute in the captain's place in case of absence. The sergeants are in charge of specific job functions. The sergeant of

the altar is in charge of preparing the alter in every ceremony so that the altar is well prepared and stocked with the appropriate necessities. The field sergeant is in charge of preparations for going on a march. He selects the people to go on a march, making sure of all their necessities. The capitanas take care of the women. They are organized in the same manner as the sergeants and serve the same functions. Underneath this chain of command are the soldiers and women who are referred to as malinches or maquis (Armstrong, 1985).

Danza Structure
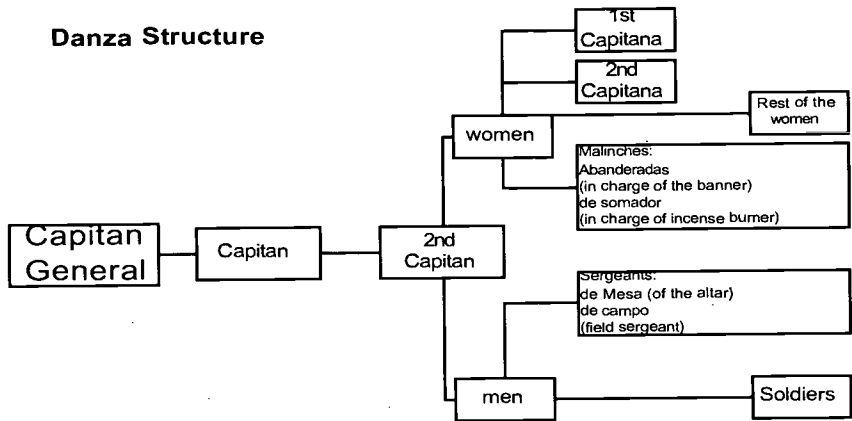
The most important part of a fiesta, march, or ceremony is the vigil. The vigil is customarily held before a dance. Traditionally vigils started at midnight and would go on to the break of dawn when the dances would follow immediately. Currently, the vigils begin at 8 to 9 p.m. and go till about 3 a.m. with a rest period included. The nature of the vigils deal with esoteric aspects of Danza. Towards the end of the vigil individual dancers are given the honor of leading the dancing portion of the ceremony. A first and second Palabra (those who carry the word or obligation) are selected by the sponsor of the ceremony. These individuals lead the two main columns in a serpentine dance known as "Paso de Camino" or marching step. They will lead the columns and ask the four directions for permission to form the circle. Usually, the elders and children position themselves in the inner circle and the rest of the soldiers are left on the outside circle to protect. The third palabra will be in charge of distributing or selecting who will be given the honor of offering a dance. Between these three palabras/words the ceremony is carried to its final stage. The success of the ceremony will depend on their danza leadership abilities. The dance ceremony stage does not end until the three palabras are symbolically returned to the sponsor of the ceremony/fiesta.

Dancers within the Danza circle are graded on the perceived level of "Obligaccion," or how they fulfill a ceremony. Dancers endure and sacrifice their body and energy to see that a ceremony is completed. Prestige does not

fall on those who dance the hardest or fastest but rather on those dancers who dance from the heart, "de Corazon."

These are the traditions and obligations that our ancestors have left us; it is the obligation of every danzante to fulfill the motto of "Union, Conformidad, y Conquista", or Union, Conformity, and Conquest. This is the emblem of every danzante. Wherever one goes one enters into union with their host group. If one has chosen to be there it is based on their own will and with the understanding that they must conform to the rules and structure of that particular Capitan. Therefore each ceremony, march, and engagement is a battle where only conquest is the acceptable conclusion.

What are the requirements for revernacularization?

It was necessary to confirm the ancestral culture, spiritual transformation, and linguacide experienced by those that have inherited Danza Azteca-Chichimeca in addition to the different political phases of Mexico that have had a dramatic effect on the lives of indigenous people and their descendants. Resistance and adaptation have maintained the Náhuatl language in its current state. The lack of appropriate educational structures have caused indigenous people within Mexico and outside to reach different alternatives. Groups such as Grupos Unidos (Danza Azteca Huehueteotl, Danza Azteca Tenochtitlan, and other members of Danza groups from the Los Angeles, California area) have found alternatives; appropriate and innovate new ways of recovering an original culture as Danzantes. Historical truths and imposed circumstances require a profound search for the meaning of Danza through its organic mode of expression. Therefore, Danza should be conducted in its original languages. Náhuatl is one of the recognized languages. Having stated a legitimate right to reclaim such a resource, it is necessary to implement programs and visions that will revernacularize Náhuatl as one of the *lingua francas* of the Danza Azteca-Chichimeca. This vision requires a search for different methods, processes, and models for implementation and success. A framework for such a foundation was introduced by Joshua Fishman (1996). Fishman's foundation begins by expressing the need for vernaculars at the infancy phase within the infant's family. These vernaculars are the first set of psycholinguist constructs received by the infant to begin building his/her world, starting from infancy and up to the age five and before the child is enrolled in any education system.

Schools teach and students are required to learn the prescribed curriculum. The school is programmed and not intergenerational. Mother-tongues are intergenerational and not programmed. The school deals with materials foreign to the indigenous child's environment. Intergenerational groups contain intact seniors who are an immense source of linguistic knowledge. Dr. Fishman further points out that,

> Vernacularization is the opposite of institutionalization. Revernacularization requires not only inter-generation language transmission, but societal change. More than a language is involved. If you

are going to change the language, you have to change the society. That is, informal society must change its way of living during the long stretch from one generation to the next. Schools do not stretch that long, from one generation to the next. Informal role relationships already established in a new language must come to be implanted in the old language, in order for the old language to be transmitted from parents to children. Parents are already speaking the new language; they have to change themselves, and they need a society that is changing, too, for them to transmit it to a newborn as a mother tongue. Informal topics and places already associated with the new language must come to be associated with the old language, if it is to be transmitted via intimacy and in infancy. (1996, p. 193)

Fishman's research has shown him,

that it is possible for small groups of quite atypical individuals to rearrange their lives individually and collectively exactly in this revolutionary way. The more dislocated the language is, the smaller those groups will be. A language that is far gone requires a great deal of idiosyncratic support. (1996, p. 194)

Dislocation causes these groups to depend on themselves entirely, rather than outside support. These groups may not succeed completely in achieving their goals, but in the process they are able to create a community of hope. Language-reversal requires an immense amount of hope. Change must involve informal conversions in status-gain, friendship-gain, and affection-gain.

Grupos Unidos represents a coalition of Danzantes from different education levels and ages, from 2 to 76 years, in Los Angeles, California. Few Danzantes have any college education; the majority have limited education. Spanish is the primary language of most of the Danzantes. Few Danzantes understand the mythical/ historical evolution of Danza. Most of the knowledge is concentrated in a few individuals, usually the captain of the Danza group and other self-educated individuals.

Fishman's prescription can be applied to the Danza Azteca-Chichimeca framework. Many of the current trends within Danza, as expressed within the United States, are focusing on intergenerational intimacy with children. Many of the children of Danzantes are given names in Náhuatl such as Citlalli, Ilhuicamina, Tonatiuh, and the like. The act of dancing is always done in an intergenerational and coed environment. Individuals in Danza would be classified as atypical groups of people that have rearranged their lives completely around Danza. It is estimated that 50 thousand to one million danzantes exists within the United States and Mexico. These groups of people have devoted their lives around Danza. Danzantes travel from one ceremony to another fulfilling their obligations to the Danza. Danza also allows the acquiring of personal benefits such as prestige from one's ability to dance. An extended family

is created through participation in Danza. A Danzantes' ability to execute ceremony and Danza gives them recognizable status within the Danza groups. In this manner Danza fulfills Fishman's prescription for a contextual environment for language renewal.

Fishman further requires that individuals have a consciousness of their cultural loss. About two years ago groups encountered dissatisfaction with the current form of disseminating knowledge within Danza. Grupos Unidos came together and joined to implement classes to close the gap between those individuals who had the knowledge and the novice Danzante. Among these classes were lectures on:

- Nahua history from an indigenous perspective,
- A deeper understanding of Danza steps,
- Creation myths,
- Making and playing indigenous instruments, and
- Classical Náhuatl.

With the ongoing lecture series on Classical Náhuatl being most important. The goals with these classes were to develop appropriate self-education and autonomy as Fishman has suggested. Those involved began a tedious process of research on their history, traditions, myths, and language. The resources used where public libraries, university libraries, and elders from Mexico. The result from the studying was a consensus that for Danzantes to penetrate into an organic understanding of their traditions, it was required that Náhuatl be revernacularized.

An informal survey of Danzantes from Grupos Unidos was done to determine indigenous language membership based on point of origin. It was agreed that Náhuatl was the dominate language. From this a decision needed to be made as to what version of Náhuatl Grupos Unidos would be learning. Researching documentation from scholars like Campbell and Karttunen (1989) and Lockhart (1992) contributed towards determining that Classical Náhuatl (or Náhuatl at the point of European contact) was the root to understanding the modern variations. In fact, Classical Náhuatl is one of the most well documented of indigenous languages from this continent. This element was necessary for a group of people who have been completely disconnected from their indigenous language. Reaching this stage of consciousness established a consensual environment for language renewal necessary to begin implementing the process, model, and pedagogy for revernacularizing of Classical Náhuatl.

Through our research we found many classical methods used to acquire a foreign language. Included were elements such as comprehension, memorization, field theory, word morphology, mnemonic devices, grammar, and dictionary usage. Through a series of lectures that lasted over a period of a year, in 1996, and continue to be given once or twice a month, processes listed previously were used to introduce Danzantes to their original language. Class sizes varied from 12 to 30 people.

A tool that was used extensively was comprehension (Nattinger, 1988). A word list was provided to the student in Náhuatl, English, and Spanish. Every word in the list was explained regarding its meaning and how it was used in a sentence construction. Memorization was a requirement for vocabulary building. Additionally, lists were given where words were paired associates. Implementing the tool of comprehension, the paired associates had sentences presented to provide context and meaning. In the area of Field Theory, as prescribed by German linguist Trier in 1930's, under the assumption that words can be classified by field, we presented students with vocabulary lists with some example field sets (Carter, 1988).

Time adverbs:	Achtopa	first	primero
Quantity:	tepitzi:n	little bit	poquito
Interrogatives	ca:nin	where?	Donde?
Pronouns:	nehhua:tl	I	Yo
Numbers:	o:me	two	dos
Place adverbs:	nica:n	here	aqui
Indefinite pronouns:	Acah	someone	alguien
Negation:	ahmo:	no	no
Animals:	a:zcatl	ant	hormiga
Plants:	xo:chitl	flower	flor
People:	cihtli	grandmother	abuela
Agents:	a:mapo:huani	reader	alguien que lee libros
Places:	calli	house	casa
Things:	cactli	shoe	zapato
Food:	nacatl	meat	carne
Colors:	. nexic	blue-gray	gris
Body parts:	e:huatl	skin	piel

For word morphology a copy of Huitztzilmazatzin's *Schematic Grammar of Classical Náhuatl* was used to present the grammar and word morphology. Whenever possible, loci, or cognitive mappings, were used to help with memorization. Danzas still maintain indigenous names, for example Mayahuel, Tezcatlihpoca, Huitzilopochtli, and Tonantzin, and the meaning of the names were explained.

A model that has been extremely successful for language transmission has been the Asher's (1996) Total Physical Response (TPR) method. The new language is introduced as a series of imperatives that link language with overt actions performed by Danzantes. Danza is a dramatic artform that lends itself to Asher's method. Songs were recovered from Sahagun's Florentine Codex and the Canteres Mexicanos. These songs went through a process of retranslation and were arranged to be sung and danced. Some elements that needed to be considered were current styles of songs being sung today. Most of the music corpus of the Danzantes has been inherited from the Conchero style of singing. This style involves one individual singing a stanza, and the rest of the group responds with the same stanza. This method was used to insure transmission of the songs, and it only required one person to remember the song. This was a common singing practice. The songs recovered where done in the same man-

ner. From this process of reintegrating Náhuatl songs, a song book was produced that was distributed to the Danza Groups. At ceremonies individuals from Grupos Unidos would sing the new Náhuatl songs instead of the old style Conchero songs (alabanzas).

One last tool that was used were dictionaries. As Della Summers (1988) has stated in her essay, "The role of dictionaries in language learning,"

> Dictionaries for language learning have been largely ignored in the wealth of books and articles on language learning by linguists, psychologists, and language teachers. There is a strong insistence that words should not be thought of individually, or 'in isolation', and dictionaries are seen as reinforcing the students' tendency to learn individual words when acquiring a second language. (p. 111)

Dictionaries were used for differentiation of similar words, drawing the attention of readers to similar words, and for examples of usage (see the Appendix for a short bibliography of dictionaries). Most of the dictionaries were no longer in print, and it became necessary to produce our own. Another problem with the dictionaries was that most of them only went one way, Náhuatl to English or Náhuatl to Spanish, with the exception of Molina's dictionary, which also had Spanish to Náhuatl. We produced three dictionaries that where focused on usage: Náhuatl to English (16,917 words), English to Náhuatl (15,758 words), and Spanish to Náhuatl (2,221 words). These dictionaries contained cross-referenced words that exist in published dictionaries. Another important difference is that our dictionaries are geared towards word production versus word analysis.

Traditionally most language reversal projects have met with the problem of not being able to reach enough people and then stagnating. Danza Azteca-Chichimeca solves this problem with its inter-connectivity. Danzantes travel all the way from San Francisco, California, to Mexico City. In this manner the structure of Danza lends itself extremely well to the dissemination of information, goods, and current dress styles. Grupos Unidos have been using this inherent quality of Danza to disseminate songs, grammar books, self-produced dictionaries, and exercises north to San Francisco California, east to Texas, and south into Mexico.

Conclusion

Early on, requirements were set for reacquiring a lost culture, spirituality, and language. Historical events form the foundation and reassure the rightfulness in reclaiming an original cultural expression. There has been a disconnection from an original language through the imposition of a conqueror's language that many continue to espouse through ignorance and conditioning. An external spirituality continues to be defended that does not address connectiveness to the land. Again, ignorance perpetuates the minimization of an organic culture, spirituality, and the lack of a truthful historical record. It is

necessary to move from the realm of mimicking to the realm of expressing a deep understanding of an organic culture. This will only be possible through the revernacularization of original languages. As it was pointed out in the 1995 Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium by Joshua Fishman (1996), critical mass is the true measure of a successful language reversal program. While Grupos Unidos is unable to claim numerically the success of their programs, outside groups have recognized the validity of their programs. The indicators used to measure success are demonstrated when other groups have learned and sung the songs that were introduced a year before. It is impossible to restore Náhuatl as a full blown language, but at least we can hope for some measurable functional bilingualism. An attempt is being made to build a community of hope through Danza circles, to become strong, to continue to resist, to continue to appropriate, and to innovate. These qualities along with the structures that exist within the Danza will allow for hope to see the vision to fruition.

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KinderApache Song and Dance Project

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This paper presents the results of the evaluation of the KinderApache Song and Dance Project (KASDP) that was piloted in a kindergarten class at John F. Kennedy Day School in Cedar Creek on the White Mountain Apache Reservation. The report illustrates the issues involved both in the implementation and the assessment of the project. The following outcomes were observed: the children gained knowledge of and pride in their culture, the children began to sing the songs they had learned spontaneously, at least one child began to use the Apache language outside the classroom, and the image of the school as a focal point of the community was reinforced.

In the Winter 1995 special issue of the *Bilingual Research Journal* devoted to language maintenance among various American Indian groups, the former president of the Navajo Nation Peterson Zah is quoted as saying:

> It is a priority of the Navajo Nation President and a dream of the Navajo Division of Diné (Navajo) Education to some day take control of their own education. It is the mission of the Division of Education to assure that all Navajo people have the opportunity to be educated, and to be able to carry on the work of building the Navajo Nation. Navajo young people need to be proud that they are Navajo and hold respect for the heritage, land, and people to which they belong. They need to be able to build strength from their culture, language, and history, and have faith in their own potential. (Begay et. al., 1995, pp. 136-137)

This is in face of a dramatic decline in use of Navajo since the mid-1950's. Between 1980 and 1990 the proportion of English-only speakers, age 5 and older, on the Navajo reservation doubled from 7.2 to 15 percent (Crawford, 1995). The percentage of young children who are Navajo speakers has fallen from 95% in 1969 to 52% in 1993. In a special program introduced at Fort Defiance Elementary in 1986, the researchers found that "only a third of incoming kindergartners had even passive knowledge of Navajo. Less that a tenth of the five-year-olds were reasonably competent speakers of Navajo" (Holm & Holm, 1995).

The developments on the Navajo Reservation are typical for the decline of American Indian languages in the last few decades. In all of Canada, "only 13% of children ages 5-14 speak their indigenous languages" (Freeman et al., 1995, p. 41). Nonetheless it is the expressed policy of the United States and a number of tribal governments to arrest this language shift. The Native Ameri-

can Languages Act of 1990 states, "The status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages" (as quoted in Reyhner & Tennant, 1995, p. 285). As the quote from the former president of the Navajo Nation illustrates, in addition, there is a strong pedagogical aspect to the issue of language maintenance, namely increasing the self-esteem of the indigenous student population. One reason for this is summarized by Jordan in describing the history of the KEEP/Rough Rock collaboration: "Good education is made better when cultural knowledge is used to inform the selection and development of educational practice" (1995, p. 97). Another reason is the sense of culture conveyed by the language. A Mohawk speaker noted that Mohawk teaches "'the core of the culture,' respect and thanksgiving...through the language one learns that what one does affects oneself and everyone else, reinforcing a sense of being connected" (Freeman et al., 1995, p. 63).

A survey of bilingual education programs among Native American populations in Canada concludes that "the continuing sense of family and community [is] the primary route for indigenous language learning" (Freeman et al., 1995, p. 46). But this is also a potential problem area in revitalizing a language in a state of decline as "finding Aboriginal language instructors has sometimes been a problem... Limited availability has meant that classes may not be offered as readily as desired" (Freeman, et al., p. 57-58).

Based on one of the author's experiences working in teacher-training programs in Portugal and Hungary, the sense of culture and community is most strongly expressed in the sharing of folk songs. The number of folks songs that students and teachers know is phenomenal and songfests can continue until the last person drops. This was also an avenue for sharing cultures; i.e. singing English folk songs is an integral part of the English as a Foreign Language (EFL) community.

Zepeda, who has done research on the Tohono O'odham of Southern Arizona, writes how oral story-telling traditions are transmitted to the written English works of the children. A special place is allotted for songs that are considered as "'flowers for the ears.' Songs are stimulating and enjoyable in the oral medium in the same way that objects and experiences are stimulating to other human senses" (Zepeda, 1995, p. 7).

The proposal to introduce song and dance in the Kindergarten in the native language at John F. Kennedy (JFK) Day School could help foster a sense of community and pride in the culture and greater awareness of traditional values, in addition to serving as a handy language-learning device. A parent survey indicates that there is strong community support for such a project, and a process of careful preparation was involved in choosing the songs and the dances.

Project implementation

Unfortunately, the problem of finding elders who are competent in the language, familiar with the traditions and available hampered the timely imple-

mentation of the project. As of the first week in November 1996, when the project was to have been reaching its conclusion, a medicine man had still not been found. In addition two key persons in the project, the kindergarten class teacher and the Apache teacher aide, left at the beginning of the school year, along with three other staff members. The Apache teacher aide was especially critical to the success of the project, and it seems that the school's financial constraints also played a role in the inability to replace her.

This supports a point made by the investigators of the successful Rough Rock Elementary School bilingual program on the Navajo Reservation: "none of the changes described here is possible without the presence of a stable core of local bilingual teachers" (Begay et al., 1995, p. 133). They go on to say that a necessary condition for facilitating change is that "there must be consistency and longevity of local program personnel and staff development opportunities, along with a firm commitment to program goals" (Begay et al., p. 135). We do not think the evidence from this paper supports this as a necessary condition: they are simply factors that were at hand or developed at Rough Rock. But the situation at JFK illustrates that the same conditions that plague the community also strike back at attempts to nurture a culture conducive to fostering change and building self-esteem.

Research design

We were of the opinion that an evaluation of the project should measure its success in terms of enthusiasm generated and success in mastering the skills taught. As the kindergarten teacher stressed in a meeting on December 6, 1996, at JFK school, the children were expected to coordinate three separate skills: simultaneously, singing, dancing, and beating a rhythm. Their success at doing this could best be evaluated by the kindergarten teacher and through video-tapes. In the December meeting we asked about a focus group discussion with parents and teachers (i.e. the kindergarten teacher and the Apache song and dance instructor). All present supported this concept. From the focus group, we planned to obtain data that bore on the two issues highlighted above: enthusiasm of the children and their success at mastering the skills. We agreed that the focus group was to be audio-taped and the tape used as a basis to compare notes taken during the discussion.

Results and discussion

The data analysis included analyzing the qualitative notes and the tabulated data. The video presented two main parts: extracts of a day-long field trip of the kindergarten class escorted by the bilingual and kindergarten teachers and led by a community elder knowledgeable in traditional Apache culture, and three hours of dance and song instruction. Three major themes of cultural transmission, pupil involvement, and skill mastery emerged from the analysis of the qualitative notes and the tabulated data collected during the viewing of the video, demonstrating the extent of the relevance of the program in maintaining native Apache culture.

The high amount of cultural content transmitted during the field trip was the main feature in the interaction between the Apache elder and the kindergartners. The children were exposed to traditional cultural practices, such as the building of a cairn for devotional purposes, and heard about the history of the sacred path where the cairn was going to be built. The elder also picked and showed plants traditionally used for healing purposes and demonstrated how to make a traditional drumstick for the song and dance program, and the bilingual teacher showed how the grinding stone was employed in past times by Apache groups. Throughout the trip, the elder and the bilingual teacher spoke in Apache and addressed objects and practices with their Apache names.

The elder was able to keep the attention of the children with a gentle and natural way of speaking and interacting. He pointed to traditional gender rules in the different practices ("girls used to grind"), and he also emphasized the need for "not being in a hurry" when making a drumstick and pointed at the beauty of the drumstick's shape. In addition, the elder created a sense of continuity between present and past history through his narrative of the sacred path.

During the second part of the video, a majority of the children were dressed up in traditional clothes and demonstrated their awareness of the importance of the attire (e.g., a girl kept adjusting her dress in a very caring way) for the singing and dance rehearsal that took place in the gym. Some boys appeared to be very conscious of their good skills in mastering the Crown Dance. In one of the classroom instruction sessions, they were showing off their dance steps, while during the gym rehearsal they modeled the steps for less-skilled boys.

The second theme that emerged from the video was the high level of involvement of the children throughout the field trip and song and dance instruction. All of the children demonstrated their enjoyment of the activity by participating in a very cooperative and sociable manner, always smiling and well behaved.

Finally the third theme, the mastery of the various skills involved (i.e., dancing, singing, and beating the drumsticks) in the instruction was evident. It was observed that the general mastery of the dances and songs was a function of the difficulty of the overall task and of the pedagogical/instructional practices. In general, the more complicated the task, the less likely the children were able to master it.

Specifically, when the children were given the opportunity to master one skill at a time, they achieved a higher proficiency. When the teacher had the children sit in the formation of a choir in order to only sing, they all participated and achieved a high level of skill mastery. Similarly, the children seemed to accomplish the tasks more skillfully when the teacher divided them into different groups with separate tasks (i.e., a group played the drums while another danced around) in turn-taking fashion and often varied the songs and dances. In this way, the children also tended to stay on task for a longer period of time.

On the other hand, when the task was compounded by asking the students to perform the three skills at the same time, their level of skill mastery lessened

and one task overshadowed the others. In general, the singing was the most demanding task for the children to accomplish, and in the final rehearsal the children all danced and beat the drumsticks but failed to sing more than the first verse.

Final performance and focus group

The setting for the final performance and focus group discussion was the gymnasium at JFK Elementary in Cedar Creek. A potluck dinner was held for parents and grandparents. The program evaluators, the Apache bilingual program coordinator and her husband, a first-grade Native American teacher, eight of the 17 children in the class (all dressed up, most traditionally), the principal, the kindergarten teacher, and the school counselor also attended.

The Apache bilingual program coordinator sang and played the drum for the dances. The children were extremely well behaved. They sang with gusto, especially an Apache version of Old McDonald. During the performance, many parents were taking pictures. After the break, the children ended the performance with a circle dance where the three boys were sitting in a circle and the girls dancing around them. All the girls but one would step back and dance in a line while the remaining girl continued to dance around the boys until she tapped one on the head, who would then get up and dance around with her arm-in-arm before sitting down again.

The kindergarten teacher started off the focus group discussion, after the initial period of silence, by conveying his still very favorable impressions of the field trip. At first there was very little response, but gradually the parents opened up to the evaluators and started responding to each other. We were very careful not to comment on their observations but just to facilitate the discussion. When asked, those present were 100% in support of program (14 present). One participant said, and others showed their agreement, that they would like the children to read and write in Apache (According to the Apache bilingual program coordinator, only 12 people know how to read and write Apache; the orthography was approved by the tribal council in the 70's). The issue of potential language conflict arose. There seemed to be widespread agreement that learning (at least some) Apache would not impede students' English acquisition.

One person commented that she did not feel it would be a problem if the children learned the native plants in Apache; this would not hinder their development in English. Another woman added that she was sorry she did not find out from her mother and grandmother the names of the plants. The Apache bilingual program coordinator interjected that during the field trip a little girl said she would show the kindergarten teacher a plant that is used to make a medicinal tea with. When asked if the program should be extended, everyone nodded agreement. A grandmother expressed concern about the dances conveying non-Christian religion as she would like her grandchildren to be brought up as Christians. The Apache bilingual program coordinator, who said a prayer to start the potluck and who another participant observed had sung Christian

hymns in Apache, spoke softly and at some length of the distinction between learning the songs and dance and the religious issue. The KASDP grant writer, a former teacher at JFK, ended the session by describing how she had watched the sense of Apache identity growing in the children and suggesting that arrangements should be made for the parents to watch the videotapes.

Other views from project participants

Concerning the impact on language skills, the kindergarten teacher remarked in the meeting on December 6 that "he is starting to hear Apache words from the children and starting to learn some himself. Also the children sometimes spontaneously break out into song and dance." During our final visit, the kindergarten teacher once again informed us that the children often start spontaneously singing some of the songs they have learned when engaged in other tasks. This is a quote from the focus group discussion:

> I think the project was very important for them as Apache children who didn't know very much about their culture…They are singing those songs now in the classroom as much as they sing "Mary Had a Little Lamb."…It just feels right to me.

During the focus group discussion, the kindergarten teacher repeated his very positive impressions of the early field trip that he had mentioned in our conversation from November:

> It was a wonderful day for me and for the children. It was informative and interesting…The medicine man showed the vegetation and what it was used for. He would take a few steps in any direction and show 10 different plants. He managed to keep the children's attention even at the age of 5.

The Apache song and dance instructor noted in our December meeting that "the songs were picked up easily by the children but retention was more difficult for those pupils who were not being raised in an Apache-speaking home."

Religious controversy

In a conversation in November 1996 the grant writer informed us that two parents did not agree about the implementation of the project because of their religious beliefs. One child was pulled from the class for this reason. He was happy that the great majority of the parents had agreed to their children's participation. In our January meeting, the school psychologist also discussed the religious controversy surrounding the project. She said:

> Children get confused because of religious conflict. Once, last year, an eighth grader brought a pamphlet from the…Church in which they

showed Heaven and Hell—the Crown Dancers were at the gates of Hell.

She was concerned about the impact of the pamphlet on the self-esteem of the child.

Summary
This brief description of the KASDP provided here documents the diffi-culties in implementation as well as the positive impact of the project on the children, the school, and the community. The impediments, many endemic to a project of this nature, pay tribute to the success of the project by testing the ideas that it embodies in the practicalities of actual school life. The children, school staff, and community all responded positively. The children were in-volved, enjoyed themselves, and took an obvious pride in their culture. Parents were supportive as shown in their initial agreement to the project, the dressing up of the children for the videotaped performance in December, attendance at the final performance, and the remarks shared with the focus-group facilitators. Some of those impediments were high staff turnover in the school, school bud-get constraints, difficulty in finding a facilitator, the lack of pedagogical exper-tise on the part of the facilitator, and the religious controversy in the commu-nity concerning traditional Apache dance.

We think that it is quite likely that the project had the positive impact on self-esteem desired. For that really to be measured, similar projects need to be implemented throughout the curriculum. There is widespread support for an extension of the project, and we can only hope that funds can be found to ac-complish this.

Any extension of the project would be helped by building in a staff-devel-opment component to train facilitators and to assist the regular classroom in-structor in integrating such projects into the curriculum. For other facilitators we would recommend keeping in mind that the less difficult a task is, the greater the mastery by the children. Group work can easily be used. The children seemed to be on task when divided into several groups, with each group engaged in a separate activity. This is aided by the fact that the children are very social, as was strikingly seen during the break periods. Individual prompting also allowed the facilitator to monitor which of the children were actually learning the songs. In individual groups some boys modeled the dancing for others. This kind of peer support can be encouraged.

The value of the program extends beyond the positive effects seen on the children. As we have seen in the focus group, the school can become a center for an intergenerational meeting where community members can discuss issues involved in the maintenance of their culture. When the Bilingual Program Co-ordinator responded to the religious concerns of some of the parents and grand-parents, the focus group session became a forum for reflection. As Fishman writes, we cannot rely only on the school for cultural transmission. However,

the school can be a focal point for this discussion, provided there is a strong, supportive community:

> these institutions should foster the language as links with the <u>outside</u> world, with the informal interactions that constitute the bulk of life, the crux of intergenerational mother-tongue transmission. (Fishman, 1996, p. 194)

Note: The authors would like to thank the White Mountain Apache Tribe and the principal and staff of John F. Kennedy Day School in Cedar Creek for inviting us into their community. A special thank to Michia Guy-Childs and Bonnie Lewis for their passion and persistence.

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School-Community-University Collaborations:
The American Indian Language Development Institute

Teresa L. McCarty, Lucille J. Watahomigie,
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In considering what can be done to reverse language shift, many look to schools as primary resources. But school-based language renewal programs also have been criticized for transferring responsibility for mother tongue transmission from its necessary domains— the family and community—to a secondary or tertiary institution. In this paper, we present one model for connecting school, community, and university resources to strengthen indigenous languages: the American Indian Language Development Institute. In 18 years of operation, AILDI has: 1) raised consciousness about the linguistic and cultural stakes at risk; 2) facilitated the development of indigenous literatures and a cadre of native-speaking teachers; and 3) influenced federal policy through a grassroots network of indigenous language advocates. Here, we look at the program's development, provide recommendations for developing similar institutes, and suggest specific strategies for strengthening indigenous languages in the contexts of community, home, and school.

In the summer of 1978, 18 parents and elders representing Digueño, Havasupai, Hualapai, Mohave, and Yavapai language communities traveled to San Diego State University for the first Yuman Language Institute. There they worked with academic linguists and bilingual educators who shared their interest in the literate forms of Yuman languages and a commitment to use linguistic knowledge to improve curriculum and practice in Indian schools. What has come to be known as the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) began with this small group and participants' desire to "learn to read and write my language" (Salas, 1982, p. 36). Their efforts ultimately would reach far beyond the Yuman language family to influence indigenous language education throughout the United States, Canada, and Latin America.

Conceived by Lucille Watahomigie (Hualapai), director of the nationally recognized Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Program (see Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1987; 1992), linguist Leanne Hinton, and the late John Rouillard (Sioux) of San Diego State University, the institute trained 18 native speakers of the five Yuman languages. The only program requirement, Hinton et al. (1982, p. 22) write, was that participants be native speakers interested in working with their respective languages. The focus of the first institute was "Historical/Comparative Linguistics: Syntax and Orthography of Yuman Languages" (see Table 1).

Table 1. AILDI Chronology

Year	Location	Theme	No. of Participants	Indigenous Languages Represented
1978	San Diego State University, CA	Historical/Comparative Linguistics; Yuman Languages	18	Digueño, Havasupai, Hualapai, Mohave, Yavapai
1979	Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff	Orthography Development, Phonetics and Phonology; Curriculum Development	50	Havasupai, Hualapai, Mohave, Yavapai, Yavapai, O'odham*
1980	SW Polytechnic Institute, Albuquerque, NM	Spoken and Written Languages in Cultural Contexts	37	Havasupai, Hualapai, Maricopa, Mohave, Yavapai, O'odham
1981	*[No institute held]*			
1982	Arizona State University, Tempe	Lexicography; Dictionary-Making	37	Havasupai, Hualapai, O'odham, Northern Ute, Shoshone
1983	Gila River Reservation, Sacaton, AZ	Historical Linguistics and Language Change	47	Western Apache, Havasupai, Hualapai, O'odham, Shoshone, Northern Ute, Yaqui
1984	Arizona State University, Tempe	Language Use, Language Assessment, and Language Policy	47	Havasupai, Hualapai, O'odham, Shoshone, Northern Ute, Yaqui, Yavapai
1985	Arizona State University, Tempe	Language Policy, Language Assessment, Bilingual/ESL Endorsement	27	Western Apache, Arapaho, Havasupai, Hualapai, Kickapoo, Navajo, Tohono O'odham, Shoshone, Yaqui, Yavapai
1986	Arizona State University, Tempe	Bilingual/Bicultural and ESL Materials Development; Tribal History and Government	22	Western Apache, Arapaho, Havasupai, Hualapai, Navajo, Penobscot, Yaqui
1987	Arizona State University, Tempe	Bilingual/ESL Endorsement	55	Western Apache, Arapaho, Havasupai, Hualapai, Kickapoo, Lakota, Navajo, Shoshone, Tohono O'odham, Yavapai
1988	Arizona State University, Tempe	Cooperative Learning in Indian Education	82	Western Apache, Arapaho, Chemehuevi, Havasupai, Hualapai, Lakota, Navajo, Shoshone, Tohono O'odham

* Unless otherwise indicated, O'odham includes Tohono O'odham (formerly Papago) and Pima or Akimel O'odham.

Table 1. AILDI Chronology, Cont'd.

Year	Location	Theme	No. of Participants	Indigenous Languages Represented
1989-A	Arizona State University, Tempe	Building Children's Literacy Through Native Languages	108	Western Apache, Havasupai, Hualapai, Hopi, Navajo, Tohono O'odham
1989-B**	University of Arizona, Tucson	Languages and Literatures of the U.S. Southwest	16	Hualapai, Navajo, Yaqui
1990	University of Arizona, Tucson	Literature, Literacy, and Biliteracy	134	Western Apache, Blackfoot, Havasupai, Hualapai, Mesquakie, Navajo, Pima, Sarcee, Tohono O'odham, Yaqui
1991	University of Arizona, Tucson	Indian Education: Perspectives on the Past, Planning for the Future	140	Western Apache, Bununu (Taiwan), Havasupai, Hualapai, Navajo, Tohono O'odham, Yaqui, Cheyenne, Cree
1992	[No institute held]			
1993	University of Arizona, Tucson	Indigenous Languages in a Global Perspective—Resources, Research, and Renewal	37	Western Apache, Havasupai, Navajo, Hopi, Tohono O'odham, Pima, Southern Ute
1994	University of Arizona, Tucson	Literacy and Literatures in Indigenous Languages	68	Western Apache, Athabascan, Blackfeet, Dakota, Hualapai, Havasupai, Kaska, Maricopa, Navajo, Northern Tutchone, Tlingit, Menominee, Muskogee, Sioux, Ute, Sahaptin/Yakima, Upper Tanana
1995	University of Arizona, Tucson	Tradition in Technology: Weaving the Future of Indigenous Languages	103	Western Apache, Cherokee, Cree, Dakota, Havasupai, Hualapai, Hopi, Iroquois, Navajo, Tohono O'odham, Sahaptin, Cheyenne, Maliseet, Menominee, Ojibway, Paiute, Ute, Maricopa, Tuscarora
1996	University of Arizona, Tucson	The Politics of Indigenous Languages, Literatures, and Education: National and Grassroots Strategies for Language Maintenance	104	Apache, Cheyenne, Dakota, Hopi, Maliseet, Menominee, Navajo, Paiute, Quichua, Tewa, Tohono O'odham, Tuscarora, Yakima/Sahaptin, Yaqui

** In 1989, two institutes were held; the institute at the University of Arizona was offered in conjunction with the Linguistic Society of America and Modern Language Association Summer Institute.

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The following year, joined by the late Milo Kalecteca (Hopi), director of the Bilingual Education Service Center at Arizona State University (ASU), and linguists Ofelia Zepeda (Tohono O'odham) and Akira Y. Yamamoto, the institute teamed academic linguists with 50 native speakers in an intensive four-week training program. During that time institute participants examined their languages, developed practical writing systems, designed curriculum, and created native language teaching materials. The focus of this second institute, which included Tohono O'odham (formerly Papago) and Akimel O'odham (Pima), was "Orthography, Phonetics, Phonology, and Curriculum Development" (see Table 1).

Since its inception in San Diego, the institute has been hosted by Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Southwest Polytechnic Institute in Albuquerque, ASU in Tempe, and the University of Arizona in Tucson. Prior to 1990, AILDI faculty had to renegotiate institute summer sites each year. Since 1990, however, AILDI has been permanently housed at the University of Arizona.

Over the years, the number and diversity of participants and language groups have grown; in 1996, the institute enrolled 116 participants representing language groups throughout the United States and Canada and from Venezuela and Brazil. Altogether, the institute has prepared over 1,000 parents and school-based educators to work as researchers, curriculum developers, and advocates for the conservation and development of indigenous languages and cultures. Most participants are native speakers of an indigenous language, but AILDI has never turned away any applicant. Today, it is open to all who are interested in the maintenance of indigenous languages and the application of linguistic and cultural knowledge to classroom practice.

Institute goals and pedagogy

> *I used to wonder why the students would just sit there when the teacher gave them all these verbal directions. I know now that it was because they did not understand. I used to wonder why, when the teacher would ask the student to write a story about a city or an unfamiliar place, they would only write one or two sentences... They were only trying to tell us that there was not anything of meaning to them. This will give you an idea of what I've learned at the institute.*
> —Bilingual teacher assistant and AILDI participant

AILDI's overarching goal is to incorporate linguistic and cultural knowledge into curriculum in ways that democratize schooling for indigenous students and support the retention of their languages and cultures. The statistics on Indian students' school performance are well documented; they are significantly overrepresented in low-ability, skill-and-drill tracks, and experience the highest school dropout rates in the nation (U.S. Department of Education, 1991). Equally well documented are the immediate causes underlying these outcomes: curriculum "presented from a purely Western (European) perspective," low

educator expectations, loss of "the wisdom of the older generations," and a "lack of opportunity for parents and communities to develop a real sense of participation" (U.S. Department of Education 1991, pp. 7-8). Our hope is that through their involvement in the institute, participants will return to their home communities with the knowledge, skills, and support necessary to challenge the English-only, deficit-driven pedagogies that have characterized Indian education and debilitated indigenous students academically. Just as important, we seek to heighten awareness of the preciousness of indigenous mother tongues and assist participants in their struggle to maintain their languages and cultures. Finally, we aim to prepare academic professionals such as ourselves to engage in mutually beneficial research and teaching activities in indigenous communities.

With these goals in mind, the AILDI holds this basic view of language and culture teaching:

> Language is not taught by mere word lists and grammatical drills. And native literature is not fully appreciated by pupils if it is presented in translation. Language and literature can be taught most effectively by teachers who are native speakers of the language and are trained to teach in elementary and secondary schools with language materials and literature produced by native speakers. (Watahomigie & Yamamoto 1992, p. 12)

Hence, AILDI emphasizes bilingual/bicultural education within a whole language paradigm (Goodman, 1986; Fox, 1992), experiential and interactive teaching strategies, alternative assessment such as literacy portfolios (Tiemey et al., 1991), and more generally what Cummins (1989, 1992) has called "empowerment" pedagogies. Institute participants engage in collaborative research, dialogue, critique, and bilingual materials development—the same types of learning processes in which they might engage their own learners at home. "My learning experiences at AILDI were very relevant to what is happening in *real* classrooms," one participant reports; "I learned skills that I can use in whatever I may do in the future."

Sharing and cooperative work are central to institute coursework. A recent participant recalls "sharing our creative writing in class, laughing and crying....We had fun learning together." Frequently participants from the same school or language group work on joint projects. When funds have permitted, elders have been invited to work with participants from their communities on language teaching projects. Participants also observe, practice, and coach each other in microteaching learning centers (discussed below), a forum for piloting the methods and materials developed over the course of four weeks.

In sum, AILDI has adapted Cummins' (1989, 1992) framework of fourfold empowerment:

1. *An additive/enrichment approach*: Schooling for indigenous children should add to and enrich—not replace—the cultural and linguistic resources children bring to school.
2. *Local education control*: Indigenous communities have great knowledge of their language and culture which should be the foundation of children's learning in school. The community should have input and control over the school curriculum.
3. *Interactive and experiential language learning*: The content and organization of instruction should motivate students to use language naturally and creatively in meaningful contexts, enabling children to inquire, critique, and generate their own knowledge.
4. *Advocacy-oriented assessment*: Assessment should be holistic and authentic, allowing children to display their full array of bilingual strengths, rather than justifying deficit labels and remedial "treatments."

Figure 1 below illustrates these pedagogical concepts.

Figure 1: AILDI Empowerment Pedagogies

Identity Affirmation
Language and Culture Maintenance
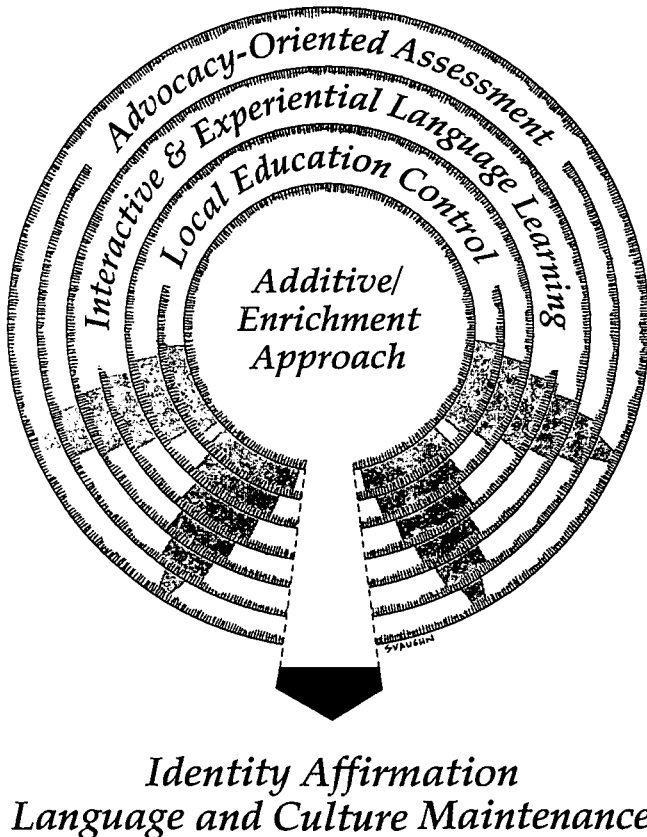
Organizing institute experiences

> *I've learned that I have many skills, and it made me proud to be an Indian.*
> —Bilingual teacher and AILDI participant

AILDI is a learning-teaching environment in which participants can affirm their identities and their power to act as change agents within their home communities. This occurs within a four-week summer residential experience in which participants attend classes, work individually and in small groups on curriculum and linguistics projects, critique existing curricula, and develop new texts (thematic units, autobiographical and biographical literature, poetry, dictionaries, and children's storybooks) that they can use in their classrooms. Each year a theme is selected around which coursework and guest speaker sessions are organized (see Table 1). Participants choose from a suite of related linguistics and educational methods courses, enrolling for a total of six semester hours. Classes run from approximately 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. Monday through Friday, and are complemented by special evening sessions featuring speakers and topics related to the theme. A sample list of courses is given below:

Weaving the Future of Indigenous Languages
1995 AILDI COURSES (All 3 Semester Credits)

LING/AINS 102: Linguistics for Native American Communities.
LING/AINS 500: Linguistics for Non-Majors.
LING 495A/595A: Navajo Grammar.
AINS 476X: Creative Writing in Indigenous Languages & English.
LRC 501: Language & Culture in Indian Education.
LRC 428/528: Bilingual Curriculum Development.
LRC 415/515: Media in Reading Language Arts (Computers &
    Media in Indian Bilingual Settings).
LRC 499/595D: Applications of Language & Literacy: Math &
    Science in Indian Bilingual Classrooms.
TTE 497P/597P: Parents as Partners in Indian Education.

One AILDI hallmark is microteaching, literally "lessons in miniature" by participants at the culmination of the institute. Microteaching is an opportunity for participants to engage as both learners and teachers within a collegial environment. Individually or in teams, participants present a language learning activity based on their curriculum projects; participants are encouraged to conduct their demonstrations in their native language. Several microteaching centers operate concurrently, with individuals or teams demonstrating two consecutive times. This allows participants to refine their practice following peer feedback from the first demonstration and enables all participants to observe a larger number of centers. If funds and time permit, AILDI faculty and staff

videotape the demonstrations. The videotapes are used for subsequent consultations with participants to review the strengths of their lessons and strategies for improvement.

Microteaching lasts a full two days. It is one of the most powerful learning experiences in the institute—a celebration of participants' work and a hands-on opportunity to exchange a multitude of language teaching ideas. "I am a visual learner," one teacher-participant states in a reflection on the benefits of microteaching. Another says that from microteaching, "I was able to pick up ideas from other teachers."

AILDI also facilitates the credentialing and endorsement of participating educators. All AILDI courses apply toward university degree programs and bilingual and English-as-a-second-language endorsements. Degree advisement workshops and individual advisement are scheduled each week. "I like the one-on-one meeting," a participant recently remarked; "I was very able to ask questions and state some concerns." In addition, post-institute advisement and periodic on-site courses taught by AILDI faculty enable AILDI participants to work toward their teaching and graduate degrees during the regular academic year.

AILDI is characterized by sharing and communal learning. Microteaching and other small- and large-group activities, including after-class gatherings, all aim to create a community of co-learners and co-teachers. "The collaboration of other nations is tremendously resourceful," an AILDI participant writes, adding: "Bonding with other Indian educators is my greatest strength to advocate language and culture maintenance." The building of collegial relationships is enhanced by the fact that participants and guest faculty share housing in one of several apartment complexes or dormitories. When institute enrollment was still relatively low, faculty members conducted evening tutorials at the dormitories to assist participants in their linguistic and curriculum projects. Today, such conferencing occurs directly after class at the university. Participants also are encouraged to bring their children, spouses, and other family members to the institute. Family-style housing near the campus is arranged for this purpose.

Institutionalizing AILDI

To implement a bilingual program, we first have to have funding and administrative support, then community support.'
—Bilingual teacher and AILDI participant

As this participant suggests, the keys to institutionalizing any program are adequate funding and an acknowledged "place" for the program within the host institution and the larger community. AILDI has always enjoyed strong support from tribes and indigenous communities, who have contributed to participants' attendance through tribal and school-based grants. However, paying for staff, faculty, guest speakers, promotional literature, teaching materials, and other basic operations requires a stable financial base and an institutional home. This

has been a major challenge for AILDI and its faculty. A brief review of AILDI's history illustrates those challenges and how they have been addressed.

The original Yuman Language Institute was funded by a National Endowment for the Humanities grant to San Diego State University obtained by Watahomigie, Hinton, and Rouillard. As the institute evolved to include additional language groups, it became the centerpiece of a federal Title VII (Bilingual Education Act) grant for parent training administered through the Title VII-funded Bilingual Education Service Center (BESC) at Arizona State University in Tempe. Institute faculty included the service center staff as well as AILDI's original faculty. In 1982, the U.S. Congress reauthorized Title VII, transforming the BESC into the National Indian Bilingual Center (NIBC), which served American Indian bilingual programs nationwide. NIBC continued to support AILDI and 16 regional institutes until the NIBC contract was eliminated in 1986 by a subsequent Congressional reauthorization. For several years thereafter AILDI was administered by the Arizona Department of Education and funded by federal grants obtained by that agency. While this allowed the institute to continue to offer courses at Arizona State University, AILDI's administration by an external agency created serious management difficulties and mitigated against the program's institutionalization within the university.

Throughout the years, continuity in AILDI's curriculum, pedagogy, and goals has been assured by the presence of a core faculty that included cofounders Watahomigie and Yamamoto, along with Ofelia Zepeda of the University of Arizona and Teresa McCarty, who worked both at NIBC and the Arizona Department of Education. In 1989, Zepeda and McCarty became colleagues at the University of Arizona in Tucson. With long-standing interests in institutionalizing the institute, they assumed responsibility for co-directing AILDI, joining the resources of their respective departments and colleges to sponsor the 1990 institute. AILDI has since been housed in the Department of Language, Reading and Culture within the College of Education, receiving support from that department as well as from American Indian Studies, Linguistics, the Graduate College, and the Office of Undergraduate Student Affairs.

During this time, AILDI enrollments continued to rise (see Table 1), demonstrating the need for the program and participants' enthusiasm for its new location. University administrators voiced their approval of the institute, and the heads of the cosponsoring departments and vice president for graduate studies actively assisted Zepeda and McCarty in obtaining funds and graduate assistants to coordinate participant registration and housing. The Graduate College dean cited AILDI as one of the university's "showcase" programs, and in 1993 it was recognized in a national study by the U.S. Department of Education as one of 10 exemplary programs serving teachers of language minority students (Leighton et al., 1995). Nonetheless, lacking office space, operational monies, and sustained clerical and administrative help, and dependent on funds for participant stipends that had to be renegotiated with diverse university offices each year, the program struggled to survive. These difficulties led to the cancellation of the 1992 institute.

The situation grew more desperate until pressure by AILDI's co-directors and their department heads secured $25,000 in university funds for a full-time program coordinator. The hiring in 1993 of AILDI coordinator Karen Francis-Begay and the provision of an office and equipment within the Department of Language, Reading and Culture, breathed new life into the program. In 1995, an opportunity arose to apply for permanent state funds. That year, 17 years after the institute began, AILDI was awarded a permanent annual budget of $75,000. This was indeed cause for celebration.

The current budget supports the coordinator, a part-time secretary, supplies and operations, some participant stipends, and year-round community outreach, recruitment, and retention activities. We continue to seek additional funds each year for participant stipends and guest speakers. However, AILDI at last has secured a financial base and a "place" within its host university.

Institute impacts

Speaking two languages is better than one....As I go back home, I want to work with program directors, teachers, and my community to let them know bilingual education works and how important it is.
                        —Teacher assistant and AILDI participant

AILDI's most immediate impacts can be readily observed in indigenous schools, classrooms, and communities. Previously unwritten languages have been committed to writing and in some cases standardized. As institute participants have returned to their home communities, they have refined and published their summer projects, creating a small but growing indigenous literature. "Writing in my own language to create lessons for classroom use" is a typical participant response to questions about the most useful aspects of their AILDI experience. The numerous materials developed in Hualapai, Havasupai, Tohono O'odham, Akimel O'odham, Western Apache, and Navajo are but a few examples of the ways in which institute coursework has been transformed into locally relevant curricula (see Figure 2). Even more important, AILDI has been an integral force in the credentialing and endorsement of native-speaking teachers, many of whom have assumed administrative and other leadership positions within their local schools.

All of this has the potential to bring indigenous students' experiences directly into the classroom, building on their linguistic and cultural resources instead of treating those as deficits, and engaging students in using their experiences to learn. While no comprehensive study has been undertaken to document the extent to which this has occurred, a 1988-89 Arizona Department of Education study of Arizona participants is worth noting. The study followed 25 Indian and non- Indian AILDI participants from four reservation schools for one year (McCarty, 1993). Data included observational records and videotapes of classroom interactions, teachers' logs, student writing samples and achievement records, and participants' responses to written questionnaires. At the con-

Figure 2. Examples of Curriculum Materials Developed by AILDI Participants

HUALAPAI
GWADI

HUALAPAI
SPUDI

Hualapai Gwadi, Hualapai Spudi
("Hualapai Cradleboards")

ADOBE SINGS

AN ANTHOLOGY OF POEMS BY
PIMA INDIAN CHILDREN

ENLARGED EDITION

Edited By
Mick Fedullo

Translated Into Pima By
Henrietta Pablo

Adobe Sings: An Anthology of
Poems by Pima Indian Children

Nyu Hwalbay Yivch Yu
("I Am a Hualapai")

HÓZHÓÓJÍ HANE'
(BLESSINGWAY)

Hózhóójí Hane'
("Navajo Blessingway")

95   109

clusion of the academic year, the study reported "dramatic improvements in students' oral and written language development" associated with cooperative learning strategies developed at the institute, greater involvement by parents and grandparents in children's literacy and biliteracy experiences, and a willingness by teachers to relinquish English-dominated basal readers and workbooks for locally meaningful materials (McCarty, 1993, p. 91). In one teacher's words, "the training finally gave me the courage to throw out the workbooks and get students involved in real reading and writing" (McCarty, 1993, p. 91). This teacher's rewards were great: Student attendance improved, the quality and quantity of her students' writing increased, and one student "on the verge of dropping out," remained to complete the school year (McCarty & Zepeda, 1990, p. 4).

These local-level changes occurred simultaneously with larger tribal and national policy developments. During institutes centered on language policies (see Table 1), AILDI participants from several communities generated tribal language policies. Within a few years, this led to the adoption of formal policies for Tohono O'odham, Northern Ute, and Pascua Yaqui proclaiming those languages as official within their respective communities. These and other codes and policies for Navajo and Northern Cheyenne advocate bilingual/bicultural education and call on schools to act "as a vehicle for the language, whether it is restoring, retaining, or maintaining it" (Zepeda, 1990, p. 249).

At the national level, AILDI participants and attendees at the 1987 Native American Language Issues (NALI) conference held in conjunction with AILDI, drafted a resolution addressing the endangered state of indigenous U.S. languages and the need for federal support for their maintenance and perpetuation. The resolution was sent to key federal-level decision makers, including Senator Daniel Inouye, then head of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs. In 1988, Inouye succeeded in introducing the Native American Languages Act based on this resolution. Signed into law in 1990 by President Bush, the Act declares the U.S. government's policy to "preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (Public Law 101-477, Sect. 104[1]). The Native American Languages Act has propelled some of the boldest new initiatives in indigenous language revitalization (see, e.g., Hinton, 1994; McCarty & Zepeda, in press).

Finally, AILDI has served as a model for the recruitment and retention of indigenous students into the university and for revisioning how universities "do" teacher education. AILDI is the only program of its kind on campus, and the only program in the state to offer an approved curriculum for bilingual and ESL endorsements in American Indian languages. On a larger scale, it is the only American Indian language program to provide a total multicultural, multilingual immersion experience. "I had a wonderful experience [at the institute]," an alumnus writes, "largely because of the other participants." She continues: "I knew that the immersion with people of other cultures would enrich me and it truly did—even more than I could have guessed."

These qualities and AILDI's direct relevance to tribal community needs make it a natural vehicle for Indian student recruitment. "AILDI is more focused on our instructional needs," one participant states; "other [programs] become too general." Another states: "This is more of a 'friendly' experience." Still others add: "This institute is more relevant to my background...AILDI stands above any bilingual training!" Such positive experiences lead many participants to continue their professional development in undergraduate and graduate degree programs. In its first four summers at the University of Arizona, AILDI enrolled 162 undergraduates, most of whom were Indian teacher assistants. Of these, 12 or seven percent have matriculated in education degree programs and four have graduated. During the same period, the institute enrolled 181 graduate students; 35 have matriculated and 15 have graduated with master's degrees. Several of the latter now are pursuing education specialist and doctoral degrees.

It is perhaps for all these reasons that AILDI has been adapted and replicated in Indian communities throughout the U.S. Between 1983 and 1986, credit-bearing institutes based on the AILDI model were held for Northern Ute, Ojibwe, Navajo, Lakota, Cherokee, Osage, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Cree, Northern Plains, Western Apache, Arapaho, Shoshone, Tewa, Zuni, and Keresan language groups (Swisher & Ledlow, 1986). More recently, Yamamoto and his colleagues initiated the Oklahoma Native American Language Institute (ONALDI) to address Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Creek, Kickapoo, Omaha, Potawatomi, Sauk-Fox, Shawana, and Euchee language education concerns. "The strength of the institute model," Swisher and Ledlow (1986, p. 63) note, "is that it presents academically sophisticated concepts to educational practitioners who ordinarily might not have received such training. This is critical to American Indian bilingual projects, who necessarily develop their own curricula."

AILDI and indigenous language maintenance

It's scary how important language is....If I only had someone from my school to help me, this is what I would do: Make a curriculum to benefit the students from kindergarten to eighth grade, speak just in my native language to the kindergartners, and repeat this system every year until the kindergarten children are in the eighth grade.
—Bilingual teacher and AILDI participant

Over the years AILDI has increased the value of the linguistic and cultural capital brought to school by indigenous students through its facilitation of curricula, programs, and personnel able to make use of that capital. Just as important, AILDI has helped transform indigenous linguistic and cultural resources into *political* capital. Recognition of the importance of indigenous languages and cultures more than validates them; it increases their value and the power of those who control those resources. By creating curricula and programs to articulate local resources with local schools and by simultaneously preparing and

credentialing local educators, AILDI has in fact empowered its alumni in their school systems. Moreover, AILDI has reinforced the collective power of its alumni by building a network of indigenous educators committed to a shared philosophy for indigenous language maintenance. These educators not only have strengthened threatened languages and built more effective school programs, they have influenced federal policy toward these goals. A prime example of this is the Native American Languages Act.

The teacher's statement above, however, suggests the limits of that power. Just as sustained funding and administrative support have been difficult for AILDI faculty to secure, such support and control over local curricula remain elusive for many AILDI participants. Hence, AILDI's influence on indigenous mother tongue maintenance is indirect and constrained by local circumstances. Key to language maintenance, Fishman (1991; 1996) insists, is intergenerational language transmission—the natural communicative processes in the home, family, and community through which succeeding generations replenish their speakers. Such processes are difficult for outside institutions such as schools and university programs to create.

Nevertheless, AILDI has been a catalyst in reinforcing these processes by placing an overt moral and academic value on heritage languages and assisting practitioners in establishing new contexts and genres for native language use. "I would like to be an informed advocate for bilingual education," an alumnus states, "and convince fellow teachers, administrators, the school board, parents, and community members about the need for our language revitalization." Another says: "I will be an inspiration and educator of language maintenance for my students."

While AILDI cannot "save" endangered indigenous languages, it has mobilized local efforts to stabilize them. "I'd like to have my grandchildren learn our tribal language," a Hualapai elder recently told us, "because if they don't...nobody will ever speak Indian again." This elder presents an urgent charge. AILDI has played a critical role in addressing that responsibility, but it cannot act alone. Ultimately it is local stakeholders—AILDI alumni and their communities—who must identify and consciously shelter those domains where indigenous languages remain unchallenged by the language of wider communication. In most communities served by AILDI, these language planning efforts have only begun.

Lessons learned

What have we learned from 18 years of involvement with the American Indian Language Development Institute? In this section we reflect on what our experiences have taught us, in the hope that this information will be useful to others engaged in similar work.

Lesson 1: The need for focus and commitment. AILDI began not with the ambition to be all things to all language groups, but with community-specific goals for indigenous language and literacy development and a shared commitment to reforming local education practices. Though the institute now serves a

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much larger constituency, it remains anchored to the needs of indigenous communities and educational personnel. This focus guides the development and delivery of AILDI's curriculum and contributes to the successful integration of linguistics and methods courses and their consistency over time. We have added new courses as participants' interest in particular topics has evolved; courses on parent involvement, creative writing in indigenous languages, and media and computers are examples of this. However, core courses in linguistics and bilingual/bicultural curriculum development are offered each year, and all AILDI participants are assured of a learning experience that enables them to apply linguistic and cultural knowledge from their home communities directly to educational practice.

Coming to understand the experiences and struggles of fellow participants is essential to the AILDI learning experience. At the same time, both participants and faculty recognize the need to concentrate on specific issues and problems within individual language communities. AILDI seeks to strike a balance between this concentration on local language issues and the opportunity to learn from the successes and problems experienced by others. The unique advantage of AILDI, however, clearly derives from the diversity of languages, communities, participants, and faculty it represents.

AILDI also has been characterized by a high degree of staff commitment. This is the virtue of its community-based focus: Because AILDI faculty and staff are either members of indigenous communities or non-Indians with a long history of involvement in those communities, they have high expectations for the communities' children and a vested interest in helping them succeed. A great part of children's school and life success, we believe, is a strong foundation in their language and culture. Yet we recognize that the institutional reforms necessary to build this foundation do not occur simply or overnight. They must be cultivated over time from the community's human and material resources. AILDI and its faculty and staff are dedicated to that long-term process.

Lesson 2. The need for outreach and local follow-up. AILDI is more than a summer program, though that is its center of activity. Languages have been written and high-quality materials developed, however, because AILDI faculty and staff have continued to collaborate with institute participants throughout the school year. Collaboration has entailed site visits by faculty, designing and implementing research projects, telephone consultations on linguistic questions, and co-involvement on materials development. Many participants return to the institute year after year. The personal relationships developed through this extended contact have not only promoted local curriculum reform, but helped establish lasting ties between indigenous educators and AILDI faculty, and, by extension, between indigenous communities and the university. The overall effect has been to generate widespread tribal support for the program and make the university more approachable and "user friendly." This mutually beneficial process has facilitated the certification and endorsement of indigenous educators and helped institutionalize the program within the university.

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Lesson 3: The need for permanent funding and a home base. Like all Indian education programs, AILDI has depended for most of its livelihood on external grants. Such short-term funding forced AILDI faculty to knit together a program each year from disparate financial resources. Instability in funding mitigated against institutionalization, creating a vicious cycle of uncertainty and impermanence.

Through dogged effort, AILDI at last secured a permanent budget and a home. While no recipes exist for achieving such outcomes, we offer this advice: Begin early in communicating the program's goals and organization to individuals in positions to help. We met frequently with deans and department heads to familiarize them with the program, being careful to relate AILDI's goals to the larger university mission. Brief but informative narratives were helpful, as were detailed budgets showing actual and anticipated expenditures and contributions from various departments and university offices. Most university administrators recognized the academic and outreach benefits of the program; when apprised of offers to help by colleagues in other departments, they usually found some funds with which to assist AILDI. We followed every contribution with an invitation to meet and welcome participants on the institute's opening day, and with letters clearly showing whom and how particular administrative funds had helped. In the meantime, we sought and received funds from external sources, including the National Endowment for the Humanities and the Arizona Humanities Council.

These measures served two purposes: They enabled AILDI to survive during its first years at the University of Arizona, and they made key administrators aware of the program and of the extent and urgency of its financial needs. Along the way we were allocated official space within an established department. This enhanced the program's visibility and credibility both within and outside the university. When the Arizona legislature made it possible to apply for permanent funds, AILDI already had a visible university presence, strong tribal support, and powerful advocates within the system to shepherd and promote our funding request.

The keys to institutionalizing AILDI, then, were these: perseverance, communication, a vision of where the program fits within the larger institutional mission, and a firm commitment to program goals.

Lesson 4. The need for administration from the inside-out. Institutionalization would not have occurred without the presence of tenure-eligible faculty within the host institution. For years AILDI remained institutionally marginalized because its faculty were guests from other institutions or were university staff of federally funded (hence, short-term) Indian education programs. Guest faculty continue to serve the institute and provide much of its direction, depth, and breadth. At the same time, administration by two regular faculty members and, since 1993, a permanent full-time coordinator, have been instrumental to AILDI's success. This has made it possible to work on a year-round basis from the inside-out, and to permanently seat the program within the host institution.

Concluding thoughts

The foregoing section highlights the logistical challenges faced by AILDI. Its greatest challenge, however, is more substantive and essential: the life-and-death·struggle for survival of indigenous North American languages and cultures. Uniquely positioned by its community foundation, AILDI is prominent among the field of forces for strengthening indigenous languages and cultures. Yet in the final analysis, their survival is dependent on language choices enacted within native speakers' homes and communities. AILDI can light the path, but its participants must lead the way. Still, when we consider the path without the light, we are reassured of the purpose and the value of AILDI.

In conclusion, we share these suggestions for community-based language restoration work:

1. Talking *about* "what to do" to rescue endangered languages is important, but will not in itself reverse the shift toward English. Begin using the language now—at home, in the community, and everywhere.
2. Don't criticize or ridicule errors.
3. Be a risk-taker; look at your children and learn from them.
4. Learning is fun; don't stifle it by making it overly difficult or boring.
5. Through children, involve the parents; through parents, involve the grandparents. Start small and expand the circle.
6. Internal politics are best set aside for the benefit of the language restoration work at hand.
7. Believe that your language is a gift, as many tribal language policies openly state. If the language is not used and given life by its speakers, they are not fulfilling their responsibility. "Our Creator has created the world for us through language," 1996 AILDI participants and faculty observed; "If we don't speak it, there is no world."
8. This is the time for each person to do her or his part. We, not others, must assume responsibility. The stakes are high—don't wait for someone else to begin.
9. Finally, understand that others share your mission. Together, you can become a powerful team for positive change.

The following poem, composed by AILDI participants, suggests the potential of such teamwork:

We are the enemies of our language
We are speaking another language
We don't engage in our native language
too lazy
denial
ashamed
too busy

assimilated
sacrificed
forsaken.

TEACH OUR OWN CULTURE—
for what?

To ensure we will endure.

NOT TOO LATE.

Mothers are working
Fathers are working
Grandparents in a HUD home
But no native language—all English.

Become friends
Learn to speak the native language
Write, read, and listen.

WALK THE TALK.
JUST DO IT.

Speak, speak, speak, and speak
Surround yourself with the native language
Geographically
Environmentally
Immerse yourself in the native language.

Instill
the child with self-esteem.

Need supportive teachers, administrators, communities,
tribal councils
and
committed native language speakers.

ALL OF US!

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Language Preservation and Human Resources Development
Joyce A. Silverthorne

And whether or not it is clear to you, no doubt the universe is unfolding as it should. — Desiderata

> *Each profession is unique unto itself. This is also true of those of us who work in the field of preserving Native American languages. We are an assortment of individuals who have come to this work either as a central career (linguists), a family heritage (fluent speakers). or a developed passion (language learners). This paper examines the field from the perspective of R. Wayne Pace, Phillip C. Smith, and Gordon E. Mills (1991). They define a profession as having a defined area of competence, an organized and important body of knowledge, identification as a career field, controlled access for competent individuals, principles and practices supported by research, professionals involved in academic programs, a program of continuing education, and graduates who exercise independent judgment. This paper takes each of these areas in turn and examines them for indigenous languages teachers with the view of documenting that they are in a profession worthy of recognition and certification by states and tribes.*

There are many topics in the field of language preservation. Each topic deserves attention in and of itself, such as how is language taught, where is language taught, is ceremonial language included, and can we teach other subjects in this language. This paper addresses the professional preparation of teachers of indigenous languages.

A defined area of competence
The career field component of language education has long been dominated by the people who study language, linguists. Prior to incorporating Native American language in the education of young people, the linguists devoted their lives to studying and making sense of the languages. There is a component of linguistic thought that has devoted itself to the preservation of the more than four hundred Native American languages and dialects that were present in this continent at the time of first European contact. Their work has been invaluable to the people who are today attempting to bring language back into common usage. Many extinct Native American dialects have volumes of information in dictionaries and grammars that were produced by field linguists. The field notes alone are integral pieces to reestablishing the older forms of the languages in their most complete detail. However, linguists have been frus-

trated in their efforts to assist in language preservation. As any student who has taken an introduction to linguistics can testify, the field is dependent on a technical language of its own.

The fluent speakers of language today are from families where the language survived despite direct federal government efforts to eradicate it. Among the Salish and Kootenai languages, the speakers of either language are older than nontraditional college students. At Salish Kootenai College the average student is a single female, twenty-nine years old, with two and a half children. Most of our speakers are from 50 to 80 years old. Today, there are few fluent Salish younger speakers.

Not all fluent speakers want to teach language. It is difficult for anyone to go into a classroom and face 20 to 30 bright energetic students and teach them a language that few of them have heard. One of the teachers of Kootenai language had the experience of a child telling him that he could not be in his class any longer, because his father said he did not want him to learn that language. That teacher is no longer teaching in the public schools, even though the language program he worked in only offered his class once a week for half an hour to kindergarten and first grade students. A negative experience while teaching is common to all of us who teach. To a fluent speaker, it is one more negative in a lifetime of negative attitude against the language of the home. For many, this is unacceptable, and they leave teaching.

The numbers of people who are developing a passion for learning Native American language is growing exponentially. Some, like me, have come to this passion from a realization that language reeducation is an integral part of knowing who we are—identity. When I began taking classes in Salish, it was the fulfillment of a promise casually made when I was in high school. A friend of mine who was fluent said he would teach me if I wanted to learn. I promised him I would, but could not right then. That friend went on to the armed forces, business training, and became director of the Flathead Culture Committee until his death last year. My first class was with him as my teacher. It felt good to fulfill such a long ago promise. As my skill gained, I discovered how good it made me feel in my 'heart of hearts' to begin understanding my heritage language.

My mother was a full-blood—Chippewa, Mohawk, Pottowatamie, and Kickapoo from Kansas—enrolled on the Kickapoo Reservation and my father was Salish and Welsh, enrolled on the Flathead Reservation. Although I have always claimed my enrollment and affinity with my father's reservation, my mixed heritage has always been a source of internal conflict. I was unclear about my heritage and unsure how I fit in on my home reservation. Learning Salish gave me the opportunity to explore my identity, come into contact with the elders, and gain pride in learning to communicate. Salish language provided insight into the culture in ways that books, work, and politics cannot do. In Salish there are no words that are equivalent to "I'm sorry." A fluent speaker would interpret that fact differently than someone who is from the dominant American culture. To a fluent person, it implies that you live without a need to

say "I'm sorry." How different this country would be today had that one fact guided all of us—if we lived in such a way to not need to make apologies.

Language preservation efforts place tremendous pressures on teachers of language. The pressures of setting and students affect who will teach and the skills that are needed. There are people who teach every day and are not called teachers. There are others who are called teachers who are unable to pass their knowledge to more than a few of their students. This is true in all teaching fields, but even more of an issue in Native American language owing to the small numbers of fluent speakers, the task at hand, and the lack of clarity in the field. Native American language teaching combines elements of foreign language methods, English as a second language (ESL), bilingual, and traditional culture teaching styles and methods.

An organized and important body of knowledge

As the director and grant writer for the bilingual department at Salish Kootenai College (SKC), I had a unique perspective into the complexity of the task that language preservation poses. The original bilingual teacher training proposal was a joint effort with the University of Montana and SKC to the Department of Education, Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA). As work progressed, it became apparent the locus of control needed to be within the reservation. With more than misgivings, a grant application was prepared from SKC alone. During the six years of operation under this funding, an Associate of Arts Degree was developed and institutionalized that met the criteria for OBEMLA programs.

There are many facets to community development in a reservation setting, and if languages are to be preserved today, it will require the whole community. Although there have been many classes, the languages have been written, and many elders have worked hard, we have not yet produced a body of newly fluent speakers. Ignoring the controversy over the definition of fluency for the moment, language students are beginning to stay in the language and carry on conversations with each other or a fluent speaker. Only recently are we seeing new speakers who can, after thought, create a sentence of their own; a skill that a two- to three-year old child acquires through loving acceptance of their baby talk by their parents. Even then, there is a need to have a fluent speaker verify its accuracy. Even people who are recognized as fluent can be fearful of saying the "wrong" thing. Within this extensive body of knowledge, there are eleven identified roles to be addressed in the community (Pace, Smith & Mills, 1991, p. 231):

1. Administrator—The administrative role assumes that there is an organization (loosely defined) that will "do" language preservation. For the purpose of this paper, the tribal administration would fill this role. Within the tribe there are two Culture Committees, one Salish and one Kootenai, whose function is to preserve and practice their respective cultures. These entities, with linguistic assistance, have developed writing systems for their languages. They teach and

recommend teachers when requested. Language is only one of many duties that the committees have been assigned.

2. Evaluator—Evaluation of language preservation has not formally occurred. Everyone who is teaching, learning, or watching has an opinion about how well the process is progressing. Several years ago, the bilingual department conducted a language use survey that documented the "self-reported" responses on language use by approximately ten percent (10%) of the voting age tribal member households. The survey indicated a high level of interest in learning language, preferences in materials, classes, and teaching styles. It also indicated a high level of use at the most rudimentary language level that surprised the researchers. There are discussions that would best happen either prior to further evaluation, or as a product of evaluation, to clarify definitions, identify success indicators, and communicate with the various entities involved.

3. HRD Manager—Human resource development management is monitoring progress and interrelationships of the many components and roles in the organization. In language preservation, an informal attempt is made to do the same. There is a need to manage language preservation by centralizing knowledge and information for the various entities involved and monitoring progress. In most cases, language planning has not yet become an intentional effort.

4. Individual Career Development Advisor—Careers in language development exist informally. Preservation is a community process without central coordination at this time. Teachers of language may be formally employed by the tribes, a department of the tribe, the college, a community group, or the public schools. The college, the culture committee, and the education department of the tribe have provided advice to prospective teachers. All too often, advice does not incorporate all aspects of the profession. There is a need to coordinate and standardize career advising procedures for language preservation.

5. Instructor/Facilitator—Instructor/facilitators are needed to teach language to the community in many different settings and at all age levels. The function of instruction is multilevel. Instructor/facilitators are needed to teach the teachers. The teaching of teachers is the crux of the current problem in language preservation. Who will teach? Being a fluent speaker alone does not guarantee a skillful teacher. How will they teach? Numerous teaching methods have been promoted. Unfortunately, each method has been introduced as if it were the "best." When the current method in favor proves to be less than a miraculous turnaround for students, the method gains disfavor and is abandoned. An understanding of the multitude of teaching methods, both contemporary and traditional needs to be gained.

6. Marketer—Language preservation needs marketing skills! Both teachers and learners would benefit from knowing the benefits of dual language skill. In the bilingual education field, Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) are promoted. The distinctions are specific and integral to the recognition of personal and communal benefits of language acquisition. There are standard textbooks available such as Colin Baker's (1993) *Foundations of Bilingual Education*

and Bilingualism that describe efforts at bilingual education worldwide and research works such as Joshua Fishman's (1991) *Reversing Language Shift* that describe efforts to revitalize minority indigenous languages worldwide.

7. Materials Developer—Materials in the native languages for reading and instruction are needed. The process of developing written forms of indigenous languages is immense. Everything from alphabet material to the local news needs to have ongoing development. Students need to see and hear the language in all areas of life, or at least in some well defined areas of life that are important to them. Age and skill appropriate materials are needed.

8. Needs analyst—Formal needs assessments and analyses of the field of language reintroduction could provide valuable direction for each community. Pieces and segments of information and knowledge need to be compiled to assist language preservation efforts from the formal program aspect and the seldom documented traditional aspect. Learner expectations need to be assessed and compared to the goals of language instruction. Frequently, the nonnative language student will surpass the native student in a class. The nonnative student has less fear and more reasonable expectations—less personal baggage.

9. Organizational Change Agent—Language preservation and reintroduction is organizational change and community development for Native Americans. The centuries of cultural genocide and assimilation efforts are in direct conflict with reintroduction of language. One of the appeals of this field to me personally is the belief in the impact of language to our communities. I believe the intentional demise of culture and language can be countered by intentional effort.

10. Program Designer—Given the complexity of language preservation, program designers are needed to strategize efforts, plan training of teachers, plan preservation, initiate research, and advise administrators. The wealth of source information has not been synthesized. Cross-curricular knowledge can be organized to facilitate language preservation efforts in a community.

11. Researcher—Research is needed to better understand the current language dilemma. The field has been woefully neglected for Native Americans. This is ironic considering the volume of social research that is done with these same people. Several years ago, the Tribal Education Committee on the Flathead Reservation proposed a resolution to the Tribal Council requiring all research involving Native American children be submitted for approval prior to use in the local schools. This policy was developed to reduce the high volume of research being done with children that included false or stereotypical questions or conclusions. To conduct language research will require knowledge of the players, the language, and the culture.

The many roles in the field of language preservation have not been identified and addressed well. Owing to the lack of paid positions, a few people have attempted to be all things to all people and have done so with inadequate training. The above mentioned roles will need to be addressed as communities endeavor to bring native language back to full health.

Identified with a career field

Perhaps the greatest benefit of the SKC Bilingual Department was to validate the study of teaching for Native American languages. SKC offered both Salish and Kootenai languages since its founding in the 1970's. Teachers for the classes were chosen from fluent speakers recommended by the culture committees who were willing to come into a classroom. With the inclusion of the degree program, many of the fluent speakers who taught looked to the program to produce people that would ease their burden. As it has become more accepted to learn our native tongues, the demand for teachers escalated. Some teachers were trying to work with everyone from kindergarten to adult and beginner to advanced. The Salish and Kootenai language alphabets were developed in the late 1970's through the culture committees working with linguists.

Many tribes in the Northwest United States are struggling with the same process of preservation and reintroduction, and many of their languages are also newly written. This does not imply that work has only begun. Ethnographers have compiled language information since early European contact. Some of the best sources are from the missionaries in the region. Father Giorda, a Jesuit priest, compiled a dictionary for the Kalispel language around the turn of the century. These obscure documents are difficult to access, and many are no longer in print.

There are various associations that are interested in language issues. The list that follows is not intended to be exhaustive, but will give a sample of the diversity of interest.

- International Native Languages Institute (INLI) [formerly the Native American Languages Issues (NALI) Institute] is an organization of Natives involved in language preservation activities. There is usually an annual conference. The 15th annual institute was held in Mille Lacs, Minnesota, in April, 1996.
- American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) is currently located at the University of Arizona and offers a summer session devoted to classes in how to teach indigenous languages and developing indigenous language curriculum (see McCarty et al., this volume).
- Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposiums (SILS) were sponsored in 1994, 1995, and 1997 at Northern Arizona University to bring together native language educators and activists to share ideas to promote the use of their languages. The proceedings of the first two symposium were published as the monograph *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* (Cantoni, 1996).
- National Indian Education Association (NIEA) is an organization of educators, and language is one of the many fields of education in which they are interested.
- National Association of Bilingual Education (NABE) is an organization of bilingual educators across the nation. Native American language educators represent a small contingent within this orga-

nization. The Winter 1995 issue of their *Bilingual Research Journal* was a special issue on Indigenous Language Education and Literacy.

Various colleges are also involved in varying degrees of language preservation activities. The majority that are working directly with Native American language are in the Southwest—Northern Arizona University, University of New Mexico, and Colorado State University. The Northern tribes in the East, such as the Ojibway, have worked with the University of Minnesota. In the Northwest, the University of Washington has done some work. In Canada, there are the University of British Columbia and the University of Victoria. The work with tribes seems to begin with the Linguistic or Native American Studies departments in a higher education unit. The department that initiates work tends to then determine the kind of work that is done. Too often, it is not an interdepartmental effort to look at the whole situation.

Tribal colleges in the past twenty years have taken a lead role in language education. They are institutions accredited by the same entity that accredits other higher education organizations, and many of them include language classes. Diné College (formerly Navajo Community College) has recently developed a four year teacher preparation program that includes a 21 credit Navajo language speaking/reading/writing/ teaching component. This program gives their graduates an Arizona bilingual teaching endorsement as well as an Arizona teaching certificate. Part of the difficulty in creating such a process, especially for smaller tribes, is the lack of college educated people knowledgeable in language to teach the language and train others to teach. Many tribes, unlike the Navajo, are in the same situation as the Flathead Reservation, which is a confederation of tribes with three dialects of Salish and one of the five dialects of Kootenai.

Salish Kootenai College offered six different Native American languages during the 1995-96 school year—Salish, Kootenai, Blackfoot, Cree, Assiniboine, and Northern Cheyenne. Two of the languages are not taught this year owing to students/teachers completing and moving back home. The four-year programs at the college require two quarters of a tribal language. I believe this is the only higher education entity to have this volume of languages represented. The Saskatchewan Federated College does offer coursework for Native American linguists in Cree language.

There are several linguistic associations that meet to discuss and share information about Native American languages. The International Congress on Salish and Neighboring Languages (ICSNL) has been meeting for thirty-one years. At each meeting there are papers presented and discussed. Larry and Terry Thompson and Dale Kincaid are the linguists who founded the organization and are active in presentations and proceedings. Many other linguists are involved, including all of the linguists that have worked with the Salish and Kootenai from the Flathead Reservation. The work is invaluable, but difficult to access. Linguistic studies need interpretation for the lay person, and even

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some Native American "informants" barely recognize work they helped coauthor when the technical terminology is included. The Society for the Study of Indigenous Languages (SSILA) provides news of other conferences and language groups, summaries of presentations, and professional direction. This organization is sponsored through Victor Golla at Humbolt State University in California.

After passage of the Native American Language Act of 1992, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) through its Administration for Native Americans (ANA) Department has awarded grants to tribes and entities working in language preservation. The efforts have varied widely. As a proposal reader when the program began, I was encouraged that so many efforts were in progress. The demand for people to work in the ANA programs has increased pressure on fluent speakers.

The most important people to be working in language preservation are the elders of the tribes. The eldest speaker of the Salish dialect on the Flathead Reservation is one hundred years old. During his lifetime he has been forbidden to use his first language, learned English, served in the armed forces in World War I, helped to build Kerr Dam on the Flathead River, and is now asked to guide tribal decision-making and language teaching. He now speaks mostly Salish once again with his daughter as interpreter. The tremendous change in attitude toward the use of Native American languages in the last few decades is historical information to language learners, but for many teachers, it is their life experience.

The question is not whether Native American Language Preservation is a field of study or not, it is the segment of the field for which each person is most suited and chooses to address.`

Competent individuals enter the profession

Linguists are highly specialized individuals with formal academic preparation, programs, and associations. They contribute an invaluable service to language preservation over time and in the preparation of historical and language materials.

Fluent speakers gain their skill as children. By the time they consider teaching, they are so familiar with their language that it becomes challenging to explain it to the novice learner. Last year the Montana Board of Public Instruction created a Class 7 Specialist Certificate for Native American Language. Fluent speakers can file their form and fees with the blessing from their tribe to teach their language in the public schools. Each tribe is responsible for establishing criteria by which they recommend speakers. In Montana there are seven reservations with eleven different languages. The range of criteria begins with anyone who is recognized fluent on one reservation to a college degree on another. The difference is in the "health" of the language they will teach. The college degree program is required on the Crow reservation where there are still children who learn the language as their first language before they begin school.

It is difficult for the university philosophy to accommodate the needs of Native American language teachers. For many reasons few fluent speakers have college training to enable them to teach at a university; some do not even have a General Equivalency Diploma (GED). Education has played a major role in the demise of indigenous languages, and in spite of good intentions, it is not likely that older speakers will pursue the formal academic approach. In the best of all worlds, fluent speakers will be able to teach many academic subjects through a Native American language.

Principles and practices supported by research

The various separate elements of foreign language methods, English as a second language (ESL), and bilingual education have extensive historical and research foundations. Organizations such as the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education (NCBE) and the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) have extensive collections of studies available for research and application. Traditional cultural teaching styles and methods are documented in stories and the memories of elders, ethnography, and limited writings. To teach by storytelling is a central tenet of whole language instruction (see for example Routman, 1988). Today's teachers study whole language, but are unaware of Native American story telling. As schools struggle with de-emphasizing competition, the cooperative learning methodology has developed. Traditionally, young Native Americans were instructed in a group by an elder.

Jim Cummins (1989) has worked extensively with language reintroduction in Canada. Joshua Fishman (1991, 1996) has worked with Yiddish. Stephen Krashen (see Krashen & Terrell, 1983) has been instrumental in the distinction between learning and acquiring language. We are able to look to programs that are working. Ireland, Israel, New Zealand, and Hawai'i have paved the path for language preservation. Michael Krauss (1996) of Alaska has done extensive research on Native American languages. All of these examples are rich supporting puzzle pieces that are difficult to access for our elders. It is not a lack of research, but the need to understand and share success that should guide research.

Extensive research is available concerning the academic performance of Native American students in public school. During the past year, the media reported findings that indicate today's boarding schools provide a less than average academic program. What is lacking is an analyses and synthesis of the various fields and methods.

Involvement of professionals in academic programs

Each tribe and language group have people working in language preservation. The complexity of professional positions varies greatly depending on the health of the language. On the one extreme is Diné College offering Navajo language teacher training. On the other extreme is the newspaper report of the death of the last speaker of an Alaskan Native language group a little over a

year ago. Most indigenous language groups are somewhere between these two extremes.

On the Flathead Reservation, classes are offered ranging from an early childhood immersion program to college courses. Ceremonial language is taught in both languages through ceremony. A few families are again attempting to teach infants the Native language at least with English if not in place of English. With radio and television in the homes, it is almost impossible to avoid English usage. The more challenging task is for speakers to keep in the language. The pilot programs in immersion programs last summer demonstrated this difficulty. SKC maintains the bilingual Associate of Arts (A.A.) degree under its current catalog and is offering coursework. The Flathead and Kootenai Culture Committees respectively offer informal courses in their respective languages. Many gatherings utilize more and more language without translation. The Salish choir is active in the Catholic church and at tribal wakes and gatherings. Materials are randomly developed in the public schools, the culture committees, the college, Head Start, and other community groups. The college prepared a computer assisted instructional program utilizing traditional stories, drawing, and voice recordings.

The demand for professionals to work in language preservation is increasing at the same time availability of fluent speakers is decreasing.

A program of continuing education

The Class 7 certificate in Montana is renewable like all other teaching certificates. This means that each Class 7 specialist must take 60 renewal credits within five years of the first certificate to be eligible to renew. The controversy at this time is how they will pursue their renewal credits. The agreement is a unique compromise with the state giving certification without an academic college degree, and the tribes acknowledging the right of the state to certify tribal language teachers to teach in public schools.

The skill of a "traditional" fluent speaker teacher can be validated as contemporary methods that parallel their methods are explained. Most people who assume a teaching role soon realize that children are not the same in some aspects as when they were children. All teachers need to understand the changes and learn skills to address these children. Morris Massey (1979) examines the influences that affect whole generations of people. His work is a thought-provoking look at values, generational programming, and gut-level biases. An example is the thriftiness exhibited by people who survived the "great depression." I believe there are parallel events in Native American history that have impacted generations, such as land allotment, boarding schools, and relocation programs. The current generation is affected by the all-encompassing technological world in which they live. As a teacher, I am grateful when new ideas to reach my students are shared.

Graduates who exercise independent judgment

People who are prepared to intentionally influence language preservation will be challenged by the circumstances in which they are thrust. Proposing language preservation as a profession provides some opportunities not previously available. Synthesis of the various fields of knowledge that impact the effort will validate and challenge the field. As we are prepared to meet the challenge, teachers will need a "bag of tools" for language instruction to meet needs of students of all ages and in many settings. As language revives in our communities, more examples will be available and more challenges will become apparent.

Conclusion

Language preservation and human resource development are parallel professional fields. Human resource development is becoming a field of study and a profession. I believe language preservation is in its infancy, and yet, is battling the looming extinction of rich cultural perspectives carried by the community language. As indigenous language teachers and activists become more knowledgeable in classroom instructional strategies and ways to energize community efforts, they will become more effective. I am honored and excited to have the opportunity to assist in this process of reviving and revitalizing American Indian languages.

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Issues in Language Textbook Development:
The Case of Western Apache
Willem J. de Reuse

Two experimental language learning textbooks were developed in collaboration with Apache speaking scholars from the San Carlos and White Mountain reservations. One was written in the grammar-translation tradition and modeled after Wilson's <u>Conversational Navajo Workbook</u> and Zepeda's <u>Papago Grammar</u>. The other text was a guide to teaching Apache with the Total Physical Response (TPR) method, based on Asher's (1982) teacher's guidebook. Both approaches raised a variety of problems that can be partially solved by a judicious combination of the two approaches. For example, the classificatory handling verbs are best taught by a grammar-translation method, supplemented by TPR style exercises; straightforward syntactic structures (at least in Apache), such as negation, and yes-no questions, can be taught through TPR exercises and supplemented by grammatical explanations. Additionally, native experts should monitor any text to avoid culturally sensitive or politically inappropriate material. Finally, a dialogue between linguists and native experts needs to be established in order to decide how much linguistic terminology can be handled in each particular curriculum.

Let me start with a few general remarks about the development of language textbooks as an effective language renewal practice. We all know intuitively that books have never been efficient and sufficient aids towards language renewal. However, Hebrew would never have been revived as a first language if it was not for generation upon generation of Jewish scholars learning the language from books. Then again, Native American cultures (with the exception of Maya culture) are not book cultures in the way Western culture is and therefore are justified in being suspicious of books as possible instruments of Western Imperialism. But, Native American cultures, as cultures have always done, have successfully adopted and integrated foreign cultural elements to their benefit. Examples would be the pickup truck for more efficient transportation and, more recently, the computer as a possible educational tool. Would it be wise to rely heavily on computer technology for language preservation? The point that I am trying to make is that we can go back and forth arguing about whether textbooks are good tools for language renewal, and we will probably never convince many people that they are useful. What I propose is that we start writing textbooks, knowing full well that they will only be useful to some learners, and only part of the time.

There is no doubt, as has often been said at previous meetings of this Symposium, that the best way towards achieving successful language renewal is to convince parents (and grandparents) to speak the language and nothing but the language to their children. No textbook, no school curriculum program is ever going to replace this. However, if we are going to have second language curricula and second language textbooks, we should want to make them as efficient and attractive as we can.

Three kinds of language textbooks

A few general remarks about the language teaching textbook situation for Native American languages in the United States are in order. It is useful to distinguish between three kinds of texts: there exist 1) textbooks that teach Native speakers something about the grammar of the language, or teach them to read and write, but do not teach the speaking and listening skills necessary for oral communication; 2) second language textbooks that teach the language to speakers of other languages but avoid grammar to some extent; and 3) textbooks that try to do a little bit of both, i.e., they teach the language, but at the same time try to be of interest to Native speakers or linguists by teaching something about the grammar. It is my impression that in the United States, Type 1 textbooks are not very common and often unpublished, while Type 2 and 3 textbooks are more common, Type 2 being more often published than Type 3. Let me illustrate this situation with Navajo textbooks below. References with dates followed by asterisks are unpublished; complete references are given at the end of this paper.

Type 1 textbooks:
    Hale (1970-75)*
    Hale et al. (1977)*
    Platero et al. (1985)
    Faltz (1993)*[1]

Type 2 textbooks:
    Blair et. al. (1969)
    Goossen (1977)
    Goossen (1995)
    Wilson (1969)
    Wilson & Dennison (1978)

Within Type 2, one can further distinguish those texts that provide very little grammatical discussion (Wilson, 1969, Wilson & Dennison, 1978), to those who provide a fair amount of grammar, particularly Goossen (1995), which approaches the amount provided in Type 3 texts. There are probably other Type 2 materials, such as for L.D.S. (Mormon) missionaries, that I am unaware of.

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[1]A special case because it deals with the Navajo verb only.

Type 3 textbooks:
    Haile (1941-1948)
    Pinnow (1974)*[1]
    Willie (1994)*
    Wilson (1995)
    Witherspoon et al. (1985)
    Witherspoon et al. (1986)

The other Native languages of the United States do not have this profusion of materials, even though other languages, such as Lakota, might outdo Navajo in terms of unpublished materials (see my bibliographies, de Reuse 1987, 1990).

    In Arizona, there is something available for all the Uto-Aztecan languages; Hopi has one Type 1 text (Masayesva-Jeanne & Hale, 1976), three Type 3 textbooks, one published (Kalectaca & Langacker, 1978) and two unpublished (Sekaquaptewa & Shaul, 1974-1977; Sekaquaptewa & Hill, 1995); Yaqui has one Type 2 text (Molina, 1995), not counting the beautiful materials produced for young speakers in Sonora, Mexico. O'odham (Pima-Papago) has one Type 1 text (Willenbrink, 1935) and one Type 3 text (Zepeda, 1983), and I suspect there are unpublished materials for the Uto-Aztecan languages of Arizona that I am not aware of. I need more information about the Yuman languages of Arizona.

Western Apache language textbooks

    As first noted by Lewis (1989), the prognosis for the survival of Western Apache is not good. Very few parents speak the language to their preschool children. In San Carlos and Whiteriver, the largest towns on the San Carlos and White Mountain Apache Reservations respectively, kindergarten playgrounds appear to be very much monolingual in English. Even though it is politically incorrect to say so, the Western Apache language is endangered and drastic steps will have to be taken to preserve and renew it. In her own presentation in this volume, Bernadette Adley-SantaMaria, who is a native speaker and wrote a master's thesis on White Mountain Apache language shift, will provide more detail about the present-day sociolinguistic situation among the White Mountain Apache.

    Below are listed textbook materials for Western Apache, not including my own recent work in collaboration with Ms. Adley-SantaMaria.

Type 1 textbooks:
    Goode (1985),* High School level.
    Johnson et al. (n.d.), Kindergarten level.

Both of these are excellent for teaching speakers to read and write as well as something about the grammar, but they would not be appropriate for non-speak-

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[1]In part a German translation of Goosen (1977).

ers. Incidentally, it should be noted that Western Apache, like most other Native languages of the United States, has quite a few short booklets or pamphlets that teach children or adults to read and write. These are not language textbooks, and are not appropriate for non-speakers. A complete list of such materials is:

> Antonio et al. (1983)
> Edgerton & Hill (1958)
> Steele, Smith, & Bunney (n.d.a)
> Steele, Smith, & Bunney (n.d.b)
> White Mountain Apache Culture Center (1972)
> White Mountain Apache Culture Center (1983)
> Wycliffe Bible Translators (n.d.)

Type 2 textbooks:
> Casey et al. (1994), Head Start level.

This last work teaches about seventy-seven words in the context of four simple sentence frames:

> This is a _____.
> Is this a _____?
> No, this is a _____.
> Yes, this is a _____.

Such contents might be appropriate for Head Start, but not for any other purposes.

Type 3 textbooks:
> de Reuse (1994)*

This last work was developed for a University-level class for linguistics students, as well as Navajo and Apache educators, and was used at the American Indian Language Development Institute in June 1994 at the University of Arizona in Tucson. Speakers generally liked it, but it was a somewhat strange mix of very simple conversations with very complex linguistic explanations. It could hardly be called a language teaching instrument.

To conclude, Western Apache might be the only major Native language of the Southwest with no Type 2 textbooks at all for the adult level, and with no Type 3 textbooks for any level.

An introductory White Mountain Apache textbook

Ms. Adley-SantaMaria and I decided to remedy the situation described in the previous paragraph by collaborating on a Type 3 textbook for non-speakers of Western Apache. We decided on a Type 3 textbook for the reasons below:

1. Could be used by non-speakers;
2. Designed for high school and university levels who can benefit from some grammar instruction (Odlin, 1994); and
3. Existence of several successful models of Type 3 textbooks; we used Wilson's *Conversational Navajo Workbook* (1995) and Zepeda's *Papago Grammar* (1983) as models.

The result is our *Ndee biyáti' bígoch'il'aah (Learning Apache): An introductory textbook in the White Mountain Apache language for non-speakers* (de Reuse & Adley-SantaMaria, 1996). In addition to the body of thirty lessons that have been completed, the final version will contain two introductions, one by myself and one by Ms. Adley-SantaMaria, acknowledgments, a pronunciation and spelling section, a glossary, an index, and a paradigms appendix. We used Wilson (1995) as a model for the first 20 Lessons. The lessons are written around grammatical topics (such as locatives and possession) or around communicative topics (such as health and body part terms), and the approach is basically in the grammar-translation tradition. Each lesson has a vocabulary list and extensive grammatical explanation with illustrative sentences. The exercises are predominantly in the shape of sentences to be translated into English. In order to make the work more communicatively relevant, the sentences to be translated are usually in the form of question-response dyads.[4] Our collaboration on this text raised a variety of ideological, practical, and cultural issues.

Ideological issues

While the main purpose of our text is to teach elementary conversational Western Apache with some emphasis on reading and writing, I also wanted it to be used to teach some of the linguistics of Western Apache to Apache students and speakers. In the next paragraphs, I explain the usefulness of linguistics to Apache speakers. Ms. Adley-SantaMaria will also address some of these issues in her own presentation in this volume.

Linguistics is the scientific study of human language. To the layperson, linguistics often seems boring because it bears some resemblance to grammar. Everyone remembers English grammar from their elementary school or high school years, and nobody liked it. The problem with traditional English grammar is that it did not seem to have a point, or maybe the only point was that it told you what was "good" English and what was "bad" English, without really explaining why. Linguistics tries to be a more responsible study of grammar, in three ways. First, it tries to explain why things are the way they are, by trying to discover general rules but recognizing that sometimes an explanation has not (yet) been found. Second, it tries to accurately describe the way people speak, without unduly worrying whether a particular utterance is "correct" or "incorrect." Third, linguistics is not committed to a particular language. Language is a universally human faculty, and linguistics is the study of what all languages have in common and in which direction and to what extent they vary.

There are many educators who might be anxious to find out what they will learn from the linguistics in this text and how it will be useful for their students on the reservation. In my opinion, there are three basic ways in which linguistics can be useful to Native American educators. First, most educators interested in the contents of this text deal with bilingual situations, i.e. situations where both the Native language and English are used. In such situations, one obviously becomes aware of the differences between languages. Part of linguistics is a subfield called contrastive linguistics (sometimes erroneously called comparative linguistics, which should be reserved for the subfield that compares languages in order to determine their common historical origin). Contrastive linguistics compares one or more languages, emphasizing the differences in linguistic structure. It allows us to explain more accurately why certain aspects of English, or of Western Apache, are hard to learn for speakers of other languages. The practical applications to the educator are obvious. Our discussions of Western Apache grammar will in effect be contrastive, since it will be assumed that English grammar is different from it in many ways. I do not know of any works on the contrastive linguistics of Western Apache and English. Ms. Adley-SantaMaria and I had to work on what our understanding of contrastive linguistics was. I would say that we had to explain a detail of Apache grammar really well, because the facts are complicated, and Ms. Adley-SantaMaria would respond, "Why? It's not complicated to me!" Indeed, what is simple and natural to a Native speaker of Apache is not necessarily simple to a Native speaker of English, and vice-versa.

Second, as pointed out by Ken Hale in several papers (n.d., 1972, 1970-1975, 1976), Native American languages form an ideal laboratory for teaching children about scientific inquiry. Native American languages have not been codified in language academies or authoritative textbooks or dictionaries, which means that children do not have preconceived ideas about what the "correct" language is. Like all speakers of a language, Native American children (who speak their own language) do of course have an intuitive, largely unconscious knowledge of the rules of the language. What the teacher can do is dialogue with the children in order to help them discover, little by little, these unconscious rules. This process of discovery by dialogue is, as Hale convincingly points out, similar to the teacher-student dialogue occurring in a physics or chemistry class and just as scientific. The only difference is that no expensive supplies are needed, just a chalkboard and the children's native speaker intuitions. Thus, linguistics can be a tool for teaching the principles of scientific inquiry. In order to use linguistics this way, educators themselves need to know something about the linguistic structure of their languages. Ms. Adley-SantaMaria was not convinced of this need, and I see her point, because it is precisely the children who are rapidly losing their native competence and acquire, at best, a passive knowledge of Apache. A passive knowledge is certainly not as good as an active knowledge for the purpose of discovering unconscious rules.

The third and final motivation for teaching linguistics is to get Native American students interested in the field. It has been pointed out several times (for example in Hale, 1972) that Native American Linguistics has been a Euro-American type of venture. The Euro-American person comes to a reservation, identifies a "vanishing Indian language" to be rescued from "oblivion," describes it, and gets substantial academic recognition for his or her publications. The language is rescued from "oblivion," yes, but only in the form of scholarly books, to be found on the shelves of museums and research libraries. During that time, the language might well suffer conditions of oppression and become extinct among the people who spoke it. It is no surprise, then, that some reservation communities are resentful of linguists, who come in, do their research, leave, and achieve recognition thanks to data provided by members of the community but do not do anything that would benefit that community. Therefore, the more Native Americans gain an understanding of what linguistics can do for their communities, the easier it will be for them to prevent this type of exploitative situation and identify ways in which linguistics can benefit their communities.

Obviously, linguists should be careful of trying too hard to get Native American students interested in linguistics. There will never be as much money in linguistics as there is in law or medicine, and the study of linguistics, like baseball or square-dancing, is definitely a matter of taste. Some love it; some don't. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the field of Native American linguistics will progress substantially if only a few more Native American students develop a taste for it. Educators should be ready to recognize such students when they spring up. Obviously, I encourage Native speakers to become linguists, so that they could go on and develop materials on their own.

I realize that some people might feel there is something politically incorrect about collaborating with a native speaker, rather than let him/her do it by him/herself. Since Ms. Adley-SantaMaria's field is not linguistics, we had to work together. Considering the endangerment of the language, I do not think it is a good idea to wait for an Apache linguist to graduate before writing a textbook. Note also that the only other existing Apache textbook, which is on Jicarilla Apache of New Mexico, was written with a similar sort of collaboration (Wilson & Vigil Martine, 1996).

Practical and cultural issues

On a more practical plane, Ms. Adley-SantaMaria and I had our disagreements about explaining complex morphology without presupposing a lot of linguistic knowledge on the part of the learner; we compromised and will continue doing so. For example, I agreed on not attempting to explain the subject prefixes that must occur in the verb. The morphological and morphophonological facts involved are just too complex. On the other hand, I would still like to keep my discussion of the object prefixes that occur in transitive verbs. The grammar of the object prefixes is still not simple, but they are easier to learn to recognize than the subject prefixes. I prefer this approach to that of Wilson and

Vigil Martine (1996) who do not discuss verb prefixes, except for three passing mentions on pages 35, 87, and 104 and a discussion of distributive plural da(a)- on pages 76 and 108, which must leave the moderately inquisitive learner rather curious.

Our collaboration was absolutely crucial in avoiding structures with culturally sensitive connotations, even though some of these would have been useful for purposes of grammatical illustration. We decided to avoid anything having to do with sex and bodily functions, drug and alcohol abuse, child and spousal abuse, witchcraft, and traditional religious beliefs. Certain details of clan nomenclature were also avoided. Consider the example sentences below:

Hat'íí baa nadaa?
What are you doing?/ What are you busy with?
Shiyoo' baa nashaa.
I am doing my beading.
Doo shaa nadaa da.
Don't bother me.
Naa naghaa.
S/he is bothering you.

All these seem nice examples of the construction with the postposition P-aa and the verb of motion nashaa/nadaa/naghaa. There are two usages to this construction: the object of a postposition P-aa can be a thing, as in the first two sentences or the object of the postposition can be a human being. The usage exemplified in the last two sentences is problematic in that some people might be made uncomfortable by the sexual connotations they attach to it, so we are considering taking it out. However, we do want to retain the usage exemplified by the first two sentences above.

The last ten lessons of the text are conversations on everyday topics with interlinear translations and detailed lexical and grammatical notes inspired by (but not translated from) the section on conversations in Zepeda (1983, pp. 43-154). The conversations in these lessons were originally composed for me by two Apache educators from San Carlos, and then translated into the White Mountain dialect by Ms. Adley-SantaMaria and myself. In so doing we had to make sure the place names were relevant and had to create Apache proper names that are realistic enough, while avoiding references to a real individual.

Finally, it should be noted that I never attempted to create any Apache sentences or conversations by myself for the text, and I am happy I never tried to do that, since I would have been responsible for quite a few linguistic and cultural blunders. I always used sentences given by Ms. Adley-SantaMaria or by other speakers I had worked with earlier. If the sentences came from other speakers, Ms. Adley-SantaMaria would sometimes say, "You can't say it this way!," which just shows how much dialectal and stylistic variation there exists within Western Apache.

A guide to teaching Apache with TPR

Another text I was instrumental in helping produce is Goode (1996), which is not close to final shape. It is a translation of most of the sentences given in Asher's (1982) teacher's guidebook and, when my own commentary is integrated into it, will function as a fairly comprehensive guide to teaching Apache with the Total Physical Response (TPR) method. The sentences were translated into the San Carlos variant of Western Apache by Philip Goode and were also recorded on cassette tape. Some problems already identified are the following.

The TPR method relies heavily, especially in the beginning of a course, on commands. English has a very simple verb form to express commands: it is basically the verb stem. However, for commands, Apache uses an inflected verb form, which has to be inflected for second person singular, dual, or plural. Therefore, the listener will have to hear three different commands and interpret them correctly as singular, dual, or plural, whereas English will have the same verb form, regardless of whether the command is given to one, two, or three or more people. An Apache example is given below:

Hizįį.	Stand up.
Hołsįį.	Stand up (to two people).
Dahołsįį.	Stand up (to three or more people).

The TPR method relies heavily on giving, putting down, and picking up objects, which in Apache are translated by thirteen classificatory handling verbs (not counting verbs of throwing and dropping), a rich and subtle system which would place an unreasonable burden on the beginning learner if it was exclusively taught through TPR. With Witherspoon et al. (1986), I agree that using TPR with classificatory handling verbs is very useful for review and reinforcement, but I would not advise teaching them through TPR only, as this would take almost thirteen times as long as teaching the English equivalents.

Finally, TPR relies heavily on touching and pointing activities, which are often culturally inappropriate for Apaches. Thus, it would be unwise, to use commands such as those below, all translated from Asher (1982):

Miguel, Ana bidan bidankchíid.
Miguel, touch Ana's ears.
José, Rita bigan nánłs'įhdí' bichcįh hits'įh.
Jose, hit Rita on the arm and pinch her nose.
Bits'in bich'į̆' dankchiid.
Point to her head.

Notwithstanding these serious shortcomings, the TPR sentences revealed quite a few interesting and useful constructions which were not covered by the *Ndee biyáti' bígoch'il'aah* text discussed earlier.

Conclusions and recommendations

We suggest that the problems posed by the two preliminary Apache texts we discussed can be partially solved by a judicious combination of the two approaches. For example, the classificatory handling verbs are best taught by a grammar-translation method, supplemented by TPR style exercises. Straightforward syntactic structures (at least in Apache), such as negation and yes-no questions, can be taught through TPR exercises and supplemented by grammatical explanations.

Native experts should monitor any text to avoid culturally sensitive or politically inappropriate material. Finally, a dialogue between linguists and native experts needs to be established, in order to decide how much linguistic terminology can be handled in each particular curriculum.

One criticism I anticipate of this paper is that I am not aware of all the unpublished materials that have been developed, and such unpublished materials might have thought of everything mentioned above. This might well be true and brings us to an important recurring problem. Many educators and textbook developers, notwithstanding a symposium such as this one, still work in too much isolation and are shy of sharing their materials with others, partly for fear that they will be criticized and partly for fear that they will be plagiarized or used for the wrong purposes. But in these times of urgent need for language renewal, the need to share should be more important than fear of criticism, and U.S. copyright laws protect one well against plagiarism. So, sharing unpublished materials, with due caution of course, should be encouraged.

I have one last recommendation for Apache and other Athabaskan textbook developers: use pedagogical materials for Navajo as models, after securing the proper permissions. Navajo is not so close to Apache that you won't have any work left, but it is a lot easier to develop materials departing from Navajo textbooks than it is when you depart from English, Spanish, French, or even Cherokee textbooks. We loosely based our textbook on Wilson (1995) with his permission. Wilson and Vigil Martine (1996) based their Jicarilla Apache textbook on Wilson's textbooks on Navajo (1969, 1978), so this a method that gets results.

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White Mountain Apache Language:
Issues in Language Shift, Textbook Development, and Native Speaker-University Collaboration
Bernadette Adley-SantaMaria

This paper is an overview of topics covered during two presentations at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium from the perspective as a native speaker of an indigenous language and a member of the University of Arizona (UA) academic community in graduate studies. The first section describes my master's thesis on White Mountain Apache language shift, including my recommendations for further research studies on the White Mountain Apache language.[1] The second section is on the panel presentation on "School-Community-University Collaborations in Language Restoration," in which I participated with the University of Arizona's American Indian Language Development Institute faculty. The third part is a commentary on "Issues in language textbook development: the case of Western Apache," a paper by Willem J. de Reuse, UA linguistic anthropologist, on our collaborative grammar book project. Following these is a summary of some language learning methods, ideas, and other information previously described in various works that could be regarded as repetitious and "preaching to the converted," but I agree with Robert W. Rhodes in <u>Nurturing Learning in Native American Students</u> (1994) who states that, "being a little redundant serves to reinforce concepts...Since you will probably have a different mindset at different times, the redundancy may serve a purpose" (p. vi). My native speaker's perspective might, therefore, present and develop some ideas, insight, and possibilities that may prove helpful for our topic of language renewal.

The White Mountain Apache Tribe (WMAT), located in east-central Arizona on 1.6 million acres, is the fourth largest reservation in Arizona with 12,500 tribal members and is the third largest Arizona Indian tribe in population. Nationwide, the WMAT is in the top ten for land area and population of federally-recognized indigenous nations (Adley-SantaMaria, 1997). White Mountain Apache (WMA) is an Athabaskan language; Athabaskan language subgroups are Northern, Pacific Coast, and Southern Athabaskan. Western Apache and Eastern Apache are Southern Athabaskan languages. Eastern Apache varieties

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[1] Bernadette Adley-SantaMaria. (1997). *White Mountain Apache language shift: A perspective on causes, effects, and avenues for change.* Unpublished master's thesis. The University of Arizona, Tucson.

are Chiricahua, Mescalero, Jicarilla, Lipan, Kiowa-Apache, and Navajo. Western Apache includes the WMA, Cibecue, San Carlos, Northern and Southern Tonto, and Yavapai-Apache language varieties (Adley-SantaMaria, 1997). Michael Krauss, president of the Native American Language Center at the University of Alaska and a well-known language expert, places the Western Apache and Navajo languages among those in Category A (indigenous languages still spoken by children) of the threatened language categories (Krauss, 1992).

At face value, Krauss's classification makes the prospects for preserving the WMA language look good, but when one examines the rapidly-changing dynamics of shift to English occurring in these same speech communities, there is cause for concern. That knowledge led me to select my thesis topic last year. The premise for my thesis, "White Mountain Apache Language Shift: A Perspective on Causes, Effects, and Avenues for Change," is that the illumination of linguistic and non-linguistic causal factors that negatively affect transformations in the White Mountain Apache language is a priority, not only to reverse continued language shift to English, but also to preclude holistic changes in White Mountain Apache culture and society.

The theory adopted in my thesis is that language is linked, directly and indirectly, to the content in cultural teachings of indigenous societies in the Americas (Fishman, 1991; Woodbury, 1993). Therefore, language shift to the dominant language by indigenous societies creates not only monolingualism, but also impacts heavily on maintenance of cultural teachings thereby affecting the indigenous peoples holistically. In applying this theory to the White Mountain Apaches specifically, the effects on their people encompass the psychological, social, religious (spirituality beliefs), political, legal, educational, and other areas of life.

Findings from research on the non-linguistic causal factors regarding the erosion and loss of the WMA language are similar to studies done on other tribes (Crawford, 1996; Watahomigie & McCarty, 1997). These include socioeconomic factors, politicization of language, long-term effects of formal schooling, mass media, the advent of technology, and changes in values. Another causal factor among WMAs includes attitudes towards their language (or language ideology) underlying decisions to pass on their language to the younger generations. To gather information about the attitudes, opinions, and beliefs of WMAs and to illuminate the attitudes of educators and church leaders, I used three different evaluative instruments utilizing closed- and open-ended questions: an Apache Language Survey questionnaire for adult WMA volunteer subjects and separate questionnaires for educators and church leaders on the WMA reservation. These questions were designed to elicit information on demographics, tribal affiliation, background, Apache language ability, language transmission, language use by domain, and attitudes on education, religious beliefs, and beliefs about Apache language and culture. Linguistic causal factors include: monolingualism, code-switching, semilingualism, interlanguage, language transfer, use of nonstandard English (Apache-ized English), language policies, and

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linguistic human rights. The foregoing topics were not researched in depth for my thesis; therefore, are briefly mentioned here.

The subjects

About 3,000-4,000 of the total WMA tribal population is school aged, and approximately one-half (6,500) of the total population are adults 18 and over, with about one-third (2,600) of these age 60 and over. I interviewed 41 (68%) females and 19 (32%) males (total: 60) adult WMAs between 18 to 91 years of age from eight of the fifteen communities on the reservation. The average age of respondents was 41 for females and 45 for males. The data by age groups were: 18 to 29 year olds (16=27%); 30 to 49 year olds (26=43%); and 50+ (18=30%). Of the 60 respondents, 40 (67%) claimed full WMA affiliation, 12 (20%) claimed WMA/other tribe, and 8 (13%) claimed mixed heritage, WMA and/or other tribe and non-Indian.

Regarding Apache language ability, most (95%) respondents 40 years of age and over speak Apache, compared to 41% of respondents age 39 and under; 88% of those 30 years and over speak Apache compared to 28% of those under 30. The greatest difference (80%) in Apache language ability was predictably between the oldest and youngest age groups. A surprising finding was the difference (31%) between the 20- and 30-year olds in that the older age group had such a greater language ability than the younger group. More (43%) respond to parents/guardians in Apache only, while fewer (28%) speak to their children/grandchildren in Apache only. Between one-quarter to one-third (28-30%) of the total respondents speak bilingually to both parents/ guardians and children/grandchildren. About one-tenth of respondents speak English only. Some respondents (42%) believe that learning about Apache culture is affected by whether an Apache understands/ speaks their language. Fully 100% of respondents respect Apache language and culture, but changes in values are negatively impacting Apache language preservation.

Impact of missionaries

Responses to my questionnaire revealed that a change in values has occurred as a result of the continuing practices of cultural genocide by Protestant missionaries on the WMA reservation. This is a potentially controversial and sensitive topic but one that should be addressed by insiders of the communities and not by outsiders who may be resented. Many respondents (72%) were taught by their Protestant churches not to attend Apache ceremonies and that traditional Apache spirituality beliefs are wrong or paganistic. Interestingly, only 16% of these respondents taught their children what their churches taught them. One-half (50%) of Protestants and most (83%) Roman Catholics believe that Christian missionaries are incorrect to teach against attendance at Apache ceremonies and spirituality beliefs. The Roman Catholic churches on the WMA reservation currently teach their parishioners to value their culture and Apache spirituality as "gifts from God" and more of those (72%) who were respondents in this study identified themselves as both Roman Catholic and believers

in the traditional Apache spirituality beliefs; none of the Protestant respondents did the same.

Questions on religious affiliation and beliefs were included in this study because I suspected that there were adverse teachings against Apache spirituality beliefs and ceremonies by some Christian fundamentalist churches on the reservation through anecdotal and experiential knowledge. These teachings affect the Apache culture (and thereby, language) negatively and the findings from these types of questions confirmed my suspicions in addition to creating more questions which, I believe, should be addressed by tribal leaders with a more comprehensive survey of the Protestant church teachings on the reservation for assessing and determining the extent of their impact on the WMA language and culture maintenance and with tribal constitutional rights already in place.

Recommendations for further study

Since there is very little data or documented research on the language issues of the WMA Tribe, this small research survey constitutes a necessary beginning. The following are my condensed recommendations for further study. There is a need for:

1. Comprehensive studies to assess intergenerational language transmission.
2. Studies to determine connections between the loss of language/ culture and social problems on the reservation.
3. In-depth analysis to evaluate the adequacy of bilingual/ bicultural curriculum implementation in the educational system of the WMA reservation, and if lacking, to investigate successful community-controlled schools on other reservations that have developed bilingual programs to utilize for models.
4. Compilation of information and solutions to Protestant church teachings to minimize the adverse effects on Apache language/ cultural beliefs.
5. A study to determine language revitalization, maintenance, and preservation programming needs.
6. Development of Apache language materials for use by Apaches.
7. Assistance in and advocacy for an Apache-speaking committee to research/compose a comprehensive tribal language policy to add/ integrate with the section on language in the pending WMAT's Heritage Preservation Ordinance.
8. A feasibility study for establishing a tribal college that could become a center for teacher training, language revitalization and maintenance programs, language materials development, language classes, bilingual/bicultural education classes, and a resource/archives center.

9. Research and compiling useful information on various language learning methods and development of language materials.
10. Advocacy, tribal support, and encouragement for more Apache-speaking students to become educators.

Recommendations such as these can be accomplished by tribes with the technical assistance of language experts and training of their educators by faculties of programs such as the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) of the University of Arizona. The following section describes these types of collaborations.

School-community-university collaborations

The education of Native American youth is one of the major problems facing us in the 21st century. We have suffered historically in the American educational system and it still is problematic. We discuss these issues to generate insight into pressing problems of Indian education and to build consensus for change. The erosion of indigenous community and family structures (thereby the language and cultural teachings) are not isolated problems with singular causes. The common denominator of all the educational problems in regards to native students is that they are systemic problems. They arise from a system of public education that inevitably rests on theories of knowledge in the West based on reductionism, fragmenting complex phenomena into components, and building up specialized knowledge of the parts.

In regard to the theme of "Sharing Effective Language Renewal Practices" for this year's Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, our panel's[1] position on School-Community-University Collaborations in Language Restoration is that while schools cannot be held solely responsible for reversing indigenous language loss, their personnel must be prominent in efforts to maintain and revitalize those languages. The family and home still have the primary responsibility for language transmission to the younger generation in the indigenous communities, but schools are where the children spend a large part of their time and should be a place where language and culture teaching is a natural part of a young person's overall learning process with the involvement of all elements of the community: the family, the school, and the student.

The traditional American educational process is based on competition and individual learning, whereas competition was not stressed in native societies and learning was connected with the common good and interdependence in their holistic societies. The American process, founded on fragmentation and rivalry, starts in elementary school and continues right through university, getting worse and worse the further one "progresses" in higher education. Such an educational process can never lay a solid foundation for understanding interde-

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[1]This panel presented at the Symposium on May 2, 1997, and consisted of Bernadette Adley-SantaMaria, Karen Francis-Begay, Teresa McCarty, Ofelia Zepeda, and Lucille Watahomigie.

pendency and for fostering genuine dialogue that integrates diverse points of view such as the indigenous society's.

Concerns today with public education focus on achievement relative to traditional standards. But the real problem lies with the relevance of the traditional (or Western educational theoretical) standards themselves, especially to the indigenous youth. In their traditional societies, indigenous people educated the youth in holistic ways teaching them that all of life is interconnected. Those teachings fell on the wayside along with many of our cultures and languages—a tragedy of our times. The more we revive and understand the traditional skills, knowledge, and beliefs needed to succeed in an interdependent world, the more one sees the error of thinking that we can focus exclusively on the dominant societal education system and ignore our indigenous ways of teaching of the past.

Some sophisticated educators of the dominant society do not believe in bilingual/bicultural education and do not see the system as an interdependent whole (as many natives do). They see only the pieces—the educational theories, special education, traditional way of education, same age group in a class, and gifted and not-gifted children. Maybe it is simply because the professional educators have spent their whole lives in schools that have never taught the true history of this country and its oppressive practices against indigenous peoples or history as seen from the perspective of the original inhabitants of this country that is not in any school textbook. Maybe, despite their knowledge about learning theory and research, some educators also have the hardest time seeing beyond "the way it's always been done," or understanding other cultures and perspectives of America's history. Some members of the dominant society are actually shocked when told that some of us (Native Americans) do not consider ourselves Americans or a part of the dominant society and that some of us also do not believe ourselves to be a "conquered" people as taught in history texts. Some natives consider themselves spiritual caretakers of this land (no matter who "owns" it now) and keepers of sacred knowledge for all.

In spite of the fact that the majority of United States education has historically been oppressive to Native Americans and that many educators are still not truly educated about Native Americans, the leadership that will be needed must come from those of us (indigenous or non-indigenous) who know the issues—the parents, communities, tribes, schools, educators, and universities collaborating for indigenous language/culture restoration in a sustained and mutually supportive relationship. The goal would be to benefit all children by teaching them culturally-relevant curriculum in schools. Such ideas may seem naively idealistic, but that can be refuted with some contemporary examples of what has been accomplished with such collaborations.

In Arizona, examples include programs such as AILDI and its almost 20 years of training reservation-based educators. After working at the AILDI office at the University of Arizona (UA) for a year as a graduate assistant, I have gained invaluable firsthand experience and suggest that reservation-based educators take advantage of their excellent summer institute. Another example is

the Rough Rock Community School, a Navajo community-controlled school in northeastern Arizona on the Navajo reservation that emphasizes teaching through Navajo language and culture. And another is the Hualapai bilingual/bicultural program at Peach Springs school founded by Lucille Watahomigie (also one of the founders of AILDI) on the Hualapai Reservation in northern Arizona. The next section of this paper is on a project that is also an example of university-native speaker collaboration, although, as a UA doctoral student, I am in the dual positions of being an Apache speaker and a member of the academic community.

Commentary on issues in language textbook development

As described above, collaboration between native speakers (or communities), university personnel, and reservation schools is an important component of planning for indigenous language renewal. The grammar textbook, *Ndee Biyáti' Bígoch'il'aah (Learning Apache): An Introductory Textbook in the White Mountain Apache Language for Non-speakers* (de Reuse & Adley-SantaMaria, 1996) that Willem de Reuse and I worked on is an example of university-native speaker development of teaching material for language revitalization efforts.

The involvement of native speakers is a critical element in this type of collaboration. In his article, "Theoretical Linguistics in Relation to American Indian Communities," Kenneth Hale, a well-known language expert from MIT, stated that,

> It has become increasingly clear in recent years...that many important aspects of linguistic structure are essentially beyond the reach of scholars who are not native speakers of the language they study....[and that] a native speaker's command [of the indigenous language] is critical in the linguistic enterprise. (1976, pp. 35-36)

This observation was made when indigenous language issues were fairly new to the academic community but is still true today. Though not trained in linguistics, I have knowledge from fluency in Apache, Spanish, and English, and from extensive experience working with de Reuse, I am also somewhat self-educated on aspects of linguistics. This section, therefore, is not meant as a critique of my coauthor, but as an example of how we native speakers can share our knowledge and insight into language renewal practices in collaborations with linguists, identifying and finding solutions for problems and assisting in shaping and defining how our languages can be taught and documented accurately for future generations.

Linguists, anthropologists, and other scientists extol methods of scientific inquiry utilizing the Euro-Western philosophical underpinnings of the various disciplines in American academics. Linguistics seemed like anthropology, a field of study that did not have a good reputation among some of us Native Americans because of its connection with scientific inquiry that has exploited indigenous societies and kept us rooted in the past. It seemed as if we native

people were like "bugs" on a microscopic slide for anthropologists (scientists) to examine and "dissect" into our varied parts: kinship patterns, material subsistence, cultural artifacts, marriage obligations, types of shelter, ceremonial life, and so forth, all of the past, as if we are invisible in contemporary society. Some of us have long abhorred the tunnel vision of these disciplines that generally do not consider non-Western societal world views as legitimate. As an undergraduate at the University of Arizona, I attempted an introductory linguistic course but found it vastly boring and dropped it quickly. Now I realize that it might have been helpful, so the need to study linguistics is still an ambiguous subject.

Differences in world view between the scientific disciplines and the indigenous people is one obstacle in collaborations between the two, but practical differences aside from ideological ones also emerged as a result of our work. One is the assumptions about language universals. Language is a universal human ability (Comre, 1989; Yule, 1996), but one should not infer that all languages have similar grammar rules from this. Those who speak English and an indigenous language will readily tell you that they are very dissimilar. Some language experts (Comre, 1989; Greenberg, 1966) do not agree with assumptions about language universals because they disagree with methodological approaches to making such assumptions. One is that there has not been an adequate sample of languages included in making such assertions because they are based on only a few languages researched in depth. I believe indigenous languages have innate grammar rules that defy generalizations and comparison with other world languages.

Speakers of Chinese, Spanish, or other so-called "world languages" have non-speakers who can always find a speech community even into the future that will be available to them if they want to learn their languages, but indigenous languages are unique speech communities. Once our native speakers are gone and the younger generations become completely monolingual in English, the loss of our languages is permanent. The urgency of our mission is another reason I believe we should not wait for linguists to study our grammar rules and document them before we begin revitalizing our languages.

Another obstacle to learning indigenous languages is a lack of pedagogical materials and one of the reasons for that lack is because some native people oppose having their languages written down or recorded. Elizabeth Brandt, professor of anthropology at Arizona State University (Tempe), in "Native American Attitudes Toward Literacy and Recording in the Southwest" discusses attitudes on language that are generalizable to many tribes, including the WMAs. She believes that the aversion to writing and recording our languages is "grounded in religion" (1981, p. 186). That is true to some extent, but "religion" (we call it "way of life") in native societies permeates and is interconnected with all areas of our lives. That is a given.

The reasons for opposition to writing and recording are deep and complex. Many of us do not discuss publicly or to non-indigenous peoples their reasons because their revelation can be dangerous. There are those of us who respect

each other's beliefs and resent the continuous probing by outsiders who want answers and knowledge for curiosity's sake, for exploitation, or for research that does not benefit us. Our wise elders tell us that there are things in this world best left uninvestigated, unsaid, and not revealed. My own feelings on this issue are ambiguous. On the one hand, I do not want our languages exploited and also believe that study of our languages should be done only for our people who want to learn their language and not for the wider audience. On the other hand, writing and video- and audio-recordings of our languages should be done for our tribal archives to be preserved for future generations of Apaches.

When some native people express their opposition to exploitation of their languages, some who regret this type of opposition and wish to study these languages denigrate this opposition as "political correctness." I object to using this new terminology to describe concerns of indigenous peoples who have inherent human rights to use and protect their languages and cultures that predate by centuries, if not millennia, today's ephemeral political labels.

Brandt (1981) also writes that the lack of permanent means of recording Native American language/information or opposition to it allows for "structural amnesia" or "selective forgetting" by native people. This might be true to a certain extent but (also mentioned by Brandt) our creation stories and ritual words are encoded in songs that have not changed for centuries—one way for preservation of our languages. I believe that the real experts at selective forgetting are the authors of the historical books who omit the true historical record of the genocidal and oppressive practices against Native Americans by the government and dominant society. Meantime, the contentious issue of whether to allow our languages to be studied, written, and recorded will not be resolved soon.

With the foregoing foundation of different cultural beliefs and world views that form a basis to my own language philosophy, next are comments on several points of contention that occurred in this project. After long hours, over days or weeks of note-gathering, translation, pronunciation, and compilation of grammar and sample sentences, de Reuse would input the lessons on the computer. Then I checked the rough draft and noted revisions on things I disagreed with or thought should be added/deleted. In this way, points of disagreement were uncovered.

One point of disagreement was that I viewed the Apache language as interconnected with all aspects of the Apache society rather than the minutiae we always focused on. As our work became more complex, I began to articulate to de Reuse that there is more to consider in speaking Apache and began relating some of the beliefs, attitudes, and opinions of Apache speakers about their language (language ideology) that put much more meaning contextually in the syntax and structure of speech. Thus "culturally sensitive connotations" are actually differences in world views between the traditionally-raised indigenous person and the Western-educated non-indigenous person. In my experience, the cross-cultural understanding of our indigenous lifeways by many non-indig-

enous people is lacking no matter how well educated that person is in the formal education system.

Another problem that came up as we worked extensively on WMA verb paradigms for another project was that I did not see why we needed to take verbs apart and analyze them by verb stems, special constructions, subject and object prefixes and affixes, and so forth, because in our language verb stems by themselves make absolutely no sense and we would never think of them in that context. Grammar rules seem innate in Apache speakers for they rarely make mistakes in grammar when they are fluent speakers, even among children. Not all Apaches (even those from the same speech communities) agree on how to say something for there are individual differences between them, but these are stylistic and dialectical variations. Although, I probably exasperated my coauthor at times with my objections on verbs, with this process, I did learn one thing—that Athabaskan languages are well known for their formidable verb morphology. I agree with experts (Fishman, 1991; Hale, 1976; Hinton, 1994b) who state that literacy is not necessary to learn one's heritage language. All the emphasis for this project was on grammar, reading, and writing Apache when computers, dictionaries, grammatical discussions, texts, literacy, or even linguistic (scientific) study of indigenous languages should not be the focus of language learning.

Furthermore, there was confusion on my part on exactly who our audience is. Even after we agreed on a high school and college-level audience, my coauthor would seem to continue aiming at the linguistic academic audience in his grammatical explanations. On the one hand is my view that, although some basic grammar is necessary, the technical linguistic grammatical explanations for this project are too extensive, complex, and unnecessary for the audience (the average young Apache) I envisioned, and on the other hand, de Reuse's inclusion of in-depth grammatical explanations to teach elementary conversational Western Apache seem necessary to him.

Considering the foregoing statements, one might wonder why I became involved in this project. When de Reuse first approached me to do translation work from Western Apache to English, I agreed to participate not expecting remuneration but was later pleasantly surprised to find that his grant funding provides payment for consulting work. Anyone who has been a graduate student knows of the constant need for funds to cover basic living expenses, so one reason was financial. Following this we decided to work on this project but apparently with different expectations.

Preserving indigenous languages for posterity is another reason. Because I had often heard my late maternal grandmother, my parents, and other Apache elders complain that today's Apache youth are not learning their ancestor's language, and therefore, not learning what it means to be Apache, I knew that language and culture loss was becoming an issue among some of our people. Those of us who are native speakers of indigenous languages need to share our expertise and to preserve our languages in any form we can. These forms include pedagogical (instructional) materials, literature in native languages, and

video and audio tapes of native speakers. Although I agree with language experts who argue that literacy and grammatical explanation (linguistics) are not necessary for language acquisition, I saw documentation of our languages as "tools" for the future because of the rapid acceleration of shift to English occurring in Western Apache and other indigenous languages.

For these reasons, I do not believe that it is absolutely essential for native speakers to study linguistics. Although Apache students should be encouraged to seek degrees in linguistics to assist with future technical advice for the WMAT's language preservation efforts, they should first know their language. Some training (in language learning methods, developing teaching materials, and other literature) is necessary to teach the language even if one is a native speaker but that does not require formal higher education or linguistics degree.

Language learning methods, especially if they have been successfully utilized, are important information for tribes to share in their language renewal efforts. There are a variety of educational approaches and methods aimed at language acquisition. These programs include James Asher's (1996) Total Physical Response (TPR) method. This method is based on language acquisition in stages. At first, the instructor ask students to do various physical activities that are modeled by the instructor. Learning a language with this method is similar to learning a first language with the following themes: subconscious picking up, implicit/automatic, informal, use of cues, concrete experiences, active involvement by learner and teacher, non-corrective, praise/reinforcement, involvement of student-centered situational activities, and stresses use of right brain processes with a focus on ideas, meaning, and communication, not grammar or mechanics. This method was used by a San Carlos Apache consultant who also collaborated with de Reuse on a book project (de Reuse & Goode, 1996), but it is sometimes inappropriate in Apache culture if students are asked to touch each other.

Another language teaching method is Communication-Based Instruction (CBI), a five-step lesson planning method based on a view that function (what language is used for) should be emphasized rather than the forms of the language (correct grammatical or phonological structure). Lessons are constructed around oral communication (Supahan, 1995).

The grammar-translation method "treats second, or foreign, language learning like any other academic subject. Long lists of words and a set of grammatical rules have to be memorized, and the written language, rather than the spoken language is emphasized" (Yule, 1996, p. 193). Learners of second languages using this method in schools sometimes achieve high grades in a language class and then find themselves at a loss when it comes to actually using the language.

The Master-Apprentice Language Learning Program (MALLP) was developed by the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival with a goal of creating an immersion experience for one or two language learners with a master speaker trained in the development of communicative competence in a native language. This method includes no use of English or literacy, learning

to ask questions in target language, listening, reminders, use of nonverbal com-
munication, use of pictures/objects, teaching in full sentences, learning about
culture, doing activities together, use of audio and video taping, and use of
social skills (see Hinton 1994a).

Immersion Programs, with many variations in use today, begin with the
basic premise that use of any language other than the target language is to be
discouraged based on the "notion that people can learn second languages simi-
larly to the way in which they learn first languages, through being immersed in
an environment where the language is the dominant one being used" (Hinton,
1994b, p. 19).

Many experts (Dick & McCarty, 1992; Fishman, 1991; Hale, 1976; Hinton,
1994b) agree that the best means of achieving language renewal is for the older
and middle generations of indigenous people to speak to and teach their lan-
guage to the younger generations (one of the definitions of intergenerational
language transmission). De Reuse agrees with that assertion, but the grammar
of Western Apache remains a primary interest of his, which could prove benefi-
cial for the Apache people in the long run because there are so few working on
it.

Hinton states unequivocally that "people almost never learn how to speak
a language fluently when writing and grammar are the focus" and that "to learn
how to speak a language fluently, writing and grammar are not as important as
just listening and talking, talking and listening," although she admits that gram-
matical analysis and literacy in native languages might be useful in the long run
(1994b, pp. 18-19). In applying her reasoning to the WMA speech community,
I agree that the immediate concern should be convincing parents and grandpar-
ents of Apache children to speak to and teach them in their language.

The above descriptions of language learning methods leads into a discus-
sion next of what would be best for the WMAT to use for their language revital-
ization efforts. De Reuse suggests a combination of grammar-translation and
TPR for Western Apache, but I believe that the literacy aspects of our language
can come at a later time when the basics of oral communication in the language
have been accomplished. I agree with Hinton's assertion that,

> reading and writing even gets in the way of learning to speak because
> the words you are going to learn should be recorded in your mind
> according to sound, not according to some visual system....If you need
> reminders of what you are learning, use recordings. (1991, p. 35)

I suggest that a combination of CBI, MALLP, and immersion methods
would probably work best for the WMA language learners. Taking myself as an
example, I learned Spanish and English as my second and third languages by
immersion and communicative ways and the reading and written forms came
later. I recently learned to read and write my first language that I had spoken
fluently all my life because I sensed the complexities involved that have now
been verified through experience. By these negative comments, I do not mean

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to discourage others from attempting it and would encourage other native speakers to become literate in their languages because it is interesting, an advantage, and useful for creative writing and reading (and understanding) papers and books written by anthropologists and others earlier this century who gathered information from native informants. I recommend that native language learners utilize immersion and communicative approaches as primary means of language acquisition and to enhance language renewal.

Summary

Research on my thesis topic and composition of my master's thesis has opened my eyes as a native speaker to the complexity and importance of language renewal efforts for our people. I have learned that there is controversy on language-learning and linguistic theoretical methodologies because various disciplines involved in the study of language have opposing views and arguments. What is most often forgotten is the perspective of those of us who are native speakers who should be helping shape the inquiry on issues of indigenous language revival.

The results of the questions on language ideology from a small segment of my tribe revealed that they value their language and culture and that there are many causal factors for the erosion and loss of their language and a rapid shift to English. Therefore, I have proposed that holistic changes are necessary for Apaches to reverse the effects of language shift although some of these factors are beyond their control. This study also revealed that more research and study on various language issues are crucial for the WMAT's initiation of language revitalization, maintenance, and preservation program planning.

We have established that school-university-community (tribal) collaboration in language restoration are important components to enhance and support the efforts of tribes to preserve their languages and cultures. The systemic problems of traditional education in this country is a major problem that adversely affects Native Americans everywhere. Reservation-wide solutions "to fix" things from tribal governments are crucial for the future of all. However, the types of collaboration in bilingual/bicultural education for our communities described in this paper should be expanded and continued.

Most native people have lived in both worlds successfully; they understand and respect other cultures and sometimes take the best from both worlds. Dominant society members can choose to do the same. In these collaborations with non-indigenous linguists, educators, researchers, language experts, and others, native people need culturally-sensitive outsiders who do not have the tunnel vision created by Western education and who understand and value our different cultures.

Note: In the spirit of continued "sharing of effective language renewal practices," Ms. Adley-SantaMaria (White Mountain Apache), a University of Arizona doctoral student, welcomes comments (negative or positive), suggestions,

and information on these topics and dissertation research on intergenerational language transmission. These may be sent to her at: American Indian Studies Program, UA, Harvill Bldg., Rm 430, Tucson, AZ 85721.

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Science Explorers Translation Project

Dolores Jacobs

This paper describes a pilot project of Los Alamos National Laboratory to translate science education curriculum developed by Argonne National Laboratory into Navajo and funded by the Life Sciences Division of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA), who asked for a project to be conducted that involved Native Americans. It describes the pilot research for the proposed project, the manner in which the project was designed and is being implemented, and the project results.

The Life Sciences Division of NASA has sponsored a number of programs for Native Americans. NASA's overall education interest lays in the dissemination of information and materials about space flight and new materials developed at Argonne National Laboratory that could be featured in a project that targeted Native Americans. The materials developed by Argonne were part of the Science Explorers Program, a program series sponsored by the US Department of Energy and developed in collaboration with Bill Kurtis for broadcast over the Public Broadcasting System (PBS). The program series was designed to encourage minority pre-college students to consider careers in science, as well as to choose more math and science classes in junior and senior high school. The program has served well over 100,000 students.

Up to now, the minority students targeted by this science program have been mostly African American and Hispanic attending urban schools. Lack of funding and interest in providing any portion of the video or accompanying teacher's guide in an American Indian language limited the possibility of extending this program to Native American students, especially those living in geographically remote areas.

In the past Los Alamos and Argonne have collaborated on a number of science education programs, notably, the National Teacher Enhancement Project—a project that sought to develop the professional and science knowledge skills of elementary teachers. The scope of this project was based on the excellent track record of the Science Education team for conducting K-12 science, mathematics, engineering, and technology education programs. Los Alamos contributes resources for conducting these programs for students and teachers in an effort to broaden the nation's pool of qualified personnel and to promote public understanding and appreciation of science. Its programs are local as well as national, but our special emphasis is the northern New Mexico region, with its rural geography and high minority populations. Our programs place a special emphasis on including minorities and women in an effort to help them achieve equal representation in scientific fields.

One regional underserved population that Los Alamos strives to reach is the Native American. For Los Alamos this means the diverse population in the Four Corners Area composed of New Mexico, Arizona, Utah, and Colorado, with particular emphasis on the Navajo Nation, the eight northern Pueblos, and the Mescalero Apache in southern New Mexico. Los Alamos National Laboratory has developed special interest in and capability for developing programs and products that address the needs of Native Americans, including recognition of the special constraints for science education in those cultures. This provided us with the motivation for conducting the work described in this paper.

Our pilot project consisted of developing a video, "In Search of a Killer Virus," and teacher's guide on the 1993 hantavirus outbreak in the Four Corners area. The video presents a medical mystery and tells the story of how the virus was identified and treated. The focus of the story is the medical community, both regionally and nationally, how their methods contributed to the eventual understanding of the environmental and physiological reasons for the outbreak, and what the impact was on the community culturally, socially, and economically. The video contains geographical footage of the beautiful landscape in the Gallup/Shiprock areas and interviews with people from the community, doctors and researchers from the medical centers and Centers for Disease Control, political figures, and glimpses of cultural activities in the Navajo Nation.

The teacher guide contains activities for students to do in their classrooms. Its focus is not for the students to discover the cause of the mystery deaths, but instead for the students to work through and understand the process of discovering the cause. The activities lead students through an investigation illustrating the real issues that scientists face. Students receive information in forms such as medical charts and reports, similar to other scientists. The activities also emphasize group work that is modeled after the approach taken by the people in many areas who had to work together to solve the mystery of the disease.

Site selection

Los Alamos chose the Navajo community for several reasons. First, the video focuses on the Four Corners area as the scene of the crisis. The Laboratory works on an informal basis with the Navajo Nation and its entities, responding to requests for technical assistance in a variety of areas, and this relationship provides us with an opportunity to conduct a unique project that can serve a community not being served in the same way by other Laboratories. Second, among our criteria for conducting the work is the need for broad dissemination of the translated material. We sought a language that could be written and had a formal alphabet. We felt that the many language differences among the pueblos would require development of several versions of the work and would reach only very small populations. This created an equity issue for us in trying to conduct a manageable project where very little funding could have a broad impact. Currently, the pueblos have formal agreements with Los Alamos through signed Memorandums of Understanding (MOU's) for resources and

technical assistance based on defined needs that exist as a result of the pueblos' proximity to the Laboratory.

Some statistics estimate the number of people who speak fluent Navajo in the Navajo Nation at about one third of the population. These statistics were taken from the studies conducted with primary school age children by linguists Paul Platero and Wayne Holm. We have learned that the Navajo Nation is growing increasingly concerned that its students are losing their ability to speak their native language. Teachers of these students are currently involved in translating curriculum into the Navajo language for more effective use in the classroom. We are particularly aware of the work being done through Headstart and in the health field. Through our experience working with schools and individuals in the Navajo Nation through other programs, we are developing an understanding of the needs of the Navajo students and their teachers. Our decision to translate the work into Navajo was based on those factors.

Project design

This project provides a model for how to conduct the work described and can be applied wherever there are resources and motivation to accomplish the work. The project is constructed around the following elements:

- Content provided by the New Explorers video episode "In Search of a Killer Virus;"
- Activities provided by the Teacher Guide of Activities created to accompany the video; and
- An interactive multimedia product featuring translated text, voice, and graphics

The development of a translated version of those three elements comprises the basis for the products. Each element complements the others in a classroom setting where the teacher facilitates the lessons. One element will be a Navajo interpretation of the teacher guide in written form to accompany the English version, and both will be used together in the classroom. A second element will be the creation of a Navajo language voice track for the video to accompany the guide. The third element will be an interactive multimedia product that utilizes Hyperstudio authoring software to create a "stack" of translated content. The content is the basis of the curriculum guide used for science instruction of Native American students in grades 7-10.

Recruitment

The work began through discussions with an advisory group of teachers from the public schools in the Navajo Nation. The purpose of the discussions was to establish an approach for reaching individuals inside and outside the community who had the skills required to become members of a translation team. The development team would include teachers, scientists, and a science education expert who possess a combination of the following four characteris-

tics: expertise with curriculum development and classroom teaching, familiarity with Navajo students and their culture, fluency and literacy in Navajo and can translate the language, and education technology expertise (using a computer).

We placed advertisements for translators in the *Navajo Times* and *Gallup Independent* newspapers announcing the project and inviting applications. Selections were made from applicants who were classroom teachers, science education specialists, education supervisors, and language specialists with experience in K-12 education. Elementary teachers were encouraged to apply, but preference was given to middle and high school science teachers who met the criteria, primarily because the teacher guide and video were geared toward those audiences. Ultimately the team involved five individuals. Two are teachers in the public schools, and one is a linguist working on a Ph.D. One team member is a patient advocate and translates medical procedures. One is a farmer and businessman whose interests lay in working with language and projects for Navajo youth.

Implementation

Team members had to be willing to attend training sessions at Los Alamos National Laboratory in the use of the teacher guide and video and in the use of Hyperstudio software. They had to commit to working on the translation an equivalent of three weeks, or 120 hours, with much of the work to be done on their own and turned in on a regular schedule. They also had to commit to meeting at least once each month in Gallup for a consensus workshop. The entire team reviewed the work they did and agreed on the best, most reasonable Navajo language interpretation of the English work.

The team members received several benefits from their work on this project. Each member received a stipend and travel expenses for the work and a copy of the New Explorers video and teacher guide for their own use. To complete the project each member received a gift of a computer outfitted with necessary software, including a modem, from excess Laboratory equipment. An agreement was made between each team member and the school of their choice that the computers would be given to the schools to be used by teachers in their classrooms when the translation is done. The computer gift was arranged through MOU's between the school districts and the Laboratory. In addition, each member received an account through the Laboratory to communicate with me and with one another via e-mail. Team members were trained in the use of all their equipment as well as in the use of the software. They were offered technical assistance through the Laboratory in case they had problems during the project.

The project actually began in late August, 1996. The timeline for the work was adjusted because work could not begin until the funding actually arrived. This work proved to be challenging in many respects. The first challenge was bringing together a team of diverse people from various locations across the Navajo Nation. We elected to meet on Saturdays because it was the best day for everyone to be there since one of the teachers could not meet during the week.

Saturday, however, created a problem for the patient advocate because Saturday sessions with patients had to be rescheduled for a busy Friday. For one member, the issue was just commuting the distance to Gallup from deep within the reservation. Travel created special transportation problems for her. Further problems arose as a result of the team members' inability to connect through their modems to the Laboratory account. The lack of a telephone line to the home was another problem for one team member.

An ongoing challenge was the translation work itself. One significant aspect of this work was reaching consensus about the interpretation. The translation team chose to design the interpreted version as a companion guide written in Navajo to complement the English version, rather than annotating the English version or translating only segments of the guide. They wanted to make the interpreted version very usable for classroom teachers while maximizing the impact of the activities for the students. The team addressed issues of how much to interpret—all or only some parts—and they concluded that the only sections that would not be translated were the sections with instructions for the teachers. All student activities and process explanations were translated into Navajo. The linguist tended to write longer, more complex sentences. The team members who are teachers strongly believed that the phrasing should be short phrases, more informal, to match the way students and teachers interact in the classroom. Much discussion resulted in consensus over these issues; however, because the theme of the teacher guide and video takes primarily a scientific perspective, the patient advocate and his particular style of interpretation became a standard for the group. This worked well because we wanted to keep the material scientifically accurate while gearing it toward a lay audience. Using interpretations of medical vocabulary and explanations for lay people allowed us to maintain a consistent tone to the interpretation.

The team proved to be diverse in other ways, as well. Some members preferred to do their translation using the traditional method—pen and paper. They varied in their level of expertise and motivation in using the computer, preferring to write first and later transfer the work onto the computer to save on a disk. An impact on the team members caused by using a computer and learning how to create work in Clarisworks and Hyperstudio was that their proficiency grew very rapidly and individuals reported increased enjoyment in doing the tedious work of translating.

The video and guide presented certain interesting design problems that created a cultural challenge to the team's ability to work with the original material. An example of this is the pervasive theme of death that appears in the teacher guide. There are pictures of skulls and a death figure marking certain sections in the English version. Another section features an activity that contains a chart describing students who have received gifts. The teachers on the team felt that the activity holds little interest for Navajo students and was more of a generic urban example. The team felt that a more culturally appropriate example should be used, and they chose to redo the activity entirely for the

translated version. The team wrote into the companion guide opportunities to discuss these differences in the classroom whenever appropriate.

Pilot phase and evaluation

The translated products will be piloted in the schools of approximately five teachers. Teachers who participate will receive computers with the appropriate software to run Clarisworks and Hyperstudio. We intend to have the students actually develop their own Hyperstudio versions of the activities and to be able to add graphics, photos, and voice to their customized versions. This will be the one area where the technology and the curriculum will merge to become an interactive experience for the students. Teachers will use the materials with their students and provide us with feedback on the usefulness of those materials. They will conduct class sessions using both the English version and the Navajo versions, side by side. Here are some things we hope to learn about the translated version:

- Is there consistent use of terminology and usage?
- Does the interpretation remain science oriented?
- Is the mystery of the story preserved?
- Is there interest in the mystery approach to solving problems?
- Does the interpretation correct wrong information? examples: map of Navajo Nation and knowledge of hogan
- Does the interpretation correct misconceptions of culture?
- Is the work pitched to a level appropriate for mid and high school students?
- Is the design well organized and usable?
- How important is a translated version of the video to using the guide? How useful?

We will informally evaluate the material according to these categories: quality of the translation, cultural issues, learning points, and the equivalence between the written text and the video and voice script. Of particular interest is whether the translated text provides the intended student involvement in the lessons. Which lessons generated the most interest in the students and why? Which lessons did the students find the most difficult and why? The informal evaluation will utilize questionnaires and classroom observations, with the feedback used only to prepare a final version of the translation and not to judge student performance.

Conclusion

As a means for interesting students in scientific fields, particularly medicine or laboratory research, the team felt that the subject of the video is both appropriate and controversial. Hantavirus certainly is not a neutral topic, and for that reason, it has generated wide debate among the translation team members. The debate revealed points of contention across all areas of the subject,

from culture to education, and presented us with ways to be creative in order to overcome some of the barriers we faced. One barrier was the diverse ways in which the team members were educated, and therefore, how they interpreted some terms and concepts. Some were products of BIA schools, others public schools, and some Christian schools. It also mattered what part of the Reservation they were from, as to how they interpreted particular details. To speak of barriers, I would be suggesting that there were insurmountable issues to contend with, but this team of diverse Navajos was very collaborative. They shared their interpretations as readily as they took turns reciting the blessing before our noon meals together. The key was the commitment everyone felt toward accomplishing the task, as well as the fraternity of being together to do worthwhile and needed work.

As a model for conducting other projects of this type, I would recommend that sufficient funding be sought to reasonably accomplish such a project. In all, there were areas where additional funding would have allowed us the freedom to extend work sessions, to give people more time to complete their work before such sessions, to offer more training, to put more equipment into the schools so that the students would have the benefit of experiencing the use of technology as they worked on this project, and to provide follow-up in the classrooms for the project.

In all, this project holds great potential for 1) contributing to Los Alamos' and Argonne's ability to encourage Native Americans to consider careers in science through the use of the Science Explorers program; 2) providing resources to the Navajo Nation for the development of their science programs through the effective utilization of their native language skills, and 3) investing in product development that ultimately may generate resources and program sustainability for the Laboratories as well as the Navajo schools. Above all, despite the lack of resources, we found many ways to embellish the work to make it more meaningful so that it can provide a richer experience for students.

Incorporating Technology
into a Hawaiian Language Curriculum

Makalapua Kaʻawa and Emily Hawkins

This paper describes Hawaiian language courses developed at the University of Hawaiʻi at Manoa that incorporate computer technology in the teaching of Hawaiian language.

The history of public education in Hawaiʻi extends back to the time of the Hawaiian monarchy. Public education at that time was conducted and administered in Hawaiian to a populace that had one of the highest levels of fluency in its native language. In 1896, however, the use of Hawaiian as a language of the classroom was banned by law. What followed was the near extinction of the language until 1978 when a constitutional amendment and related legislation established both English and Hawaiian as official languages of the State of Hawaiʻi. Until 1986 when the restriction against Hawaiian as an instructional language in public schools was removed by the legislature, it could only be taught as a "foreign language" and thus the strides made in learning it were limited. In 1990 Congress passed the Native American Languages Act in recognition that language is "critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people." These two moves have been instrumental in the reestablishment of Hawaiian as a language that has a greater chance of surviving the threat that global English holds over all native languages.

The ʻAha Punana Leo started preschools in 1984 and the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program (HLIP) was established in 1987 for the purpose of revitalizing the Hawaiian speaking community and providing an opportunity for Hawaiians to receive an education in their native language. Each year it has continued on to the next grade level with the Board of Education in 1992 giving consent to continuing the HLIP through twelfth grade. Its effect on the community and other Hawaiian language programs is remarkable. Communities throughout the State continue to call for the opening of new immersion sites by the Department of Education. Enrollment in public school Hawaiian language immersion programs has grown from 40 students in two schools in 1987 to 1,208 students in eleven schools in 1996, along with 174 students in eight Hawaiian language preschools. More than 3,500 students are in non-immersion Hawaiian language programs in grades K-12 and more than 3,000 in community college and university programs. Enrollment in Hawaiian language classes on the nine campuses of the University of Hawaiʻi system has jumped from 800 in 1985 to more than 2,000 in 1997. Both of the baccalaureate degree granting sites at Hilo and Manoa have been unable to keep up with the demand for classes and services. Hawaiian as a second language programs in both Ha-

waiian public and private high schools have shown this same growth with over 2,500 students now taking Hawaiian classes.

Hawaiian is now frequently heard in gatherings of the Hawaiian community: at birthday parties, concerts, and sporting events to name a few places. It is becoming possible to write checks in Hawaiian, buy goods in a large store, and order food at a restaurant with a Hawaiian speaking person. Revitalization is evident to observers both within and outside the Hawaiian community.

The role of the University of Hawai'i

The University of Hawai'i is committed to extending Hawaiian language education, especially the full development of Hawaiian immersion in the educational system. The Hawai'i Department of Education expects the University to be the primary agency to guide and assist all educational programs. In that effort the University trains the teachers, conducts evaluations of the programs, prepares materials in various subjects and numerous reading textbooks, conducts classes for inservice teachers, and coordinates many activities with the schools. We are also providing language training to many students who will never become teachers but will become parents, friends, and relatives to children who can now grow up speaking Hawaiian. Our commitments to teaching Hawaiian include:

- provide pre-service and inservice training
- develop curriculum
- train curriculum developers
- provide expertise in language policy issues
- develop proficiency guidelines and measures
- supply a continuing source of Hawaiian speakers
- provide venues for use of the language

Technology is simply one of the tools with which we involve students and community members in learning and using Hawaiian in their daily lives. It is also a link with the culture that surrounds most of us today and which is so attractive to the younger generations. What we are presenting in this paper is the utilization of technology that has been developed or implemented at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa. Technology has the potential to:

- document and promote culture and native speech
- help to revitalize language
- promote the status of the language as a viable medium of communication
- expand and strengthen Hawaiian language communities by creating an audience and purpose for writing in Hawaiian
- make Hawaiian language resources available beyond educational institutions

- expedite production and distribution of relevant, quality Hawaiian language materials and resources
- provide opportunities to create multimedia projects
- excite learners to become motivated, engaged in the learning process and producers in the target language. Aspects of multi-modal capability include integrated text, sound, and graphics which are suitable for a range of learner types
- increase student-student communication and collaboration
- enhance and expand instructional strategies
- build upon/enhance existing and effective pedagogy
- promote literacy skills
- promote computer literacy. Computers add to the study of Hawaiian, and computer skills that are learned transfer to other courses and aspects of students' lives. In order to maximize computer literacy, a hands-on training component is built into the curriculum.

Brief description of software/technologies

The Hawai'i Interactive Television System (HITS) provides four channels of video and audio communication among the major Hawaiian islands for distance learning. In addition electronic-mail is being used for communication. The Daedalus Integrated Writing Environment (DIWE 1.3) software promotes interactive written discourse in a student centered learning environment, including "real-time" group/class discussion, and WRITE/RESPOND/INVENT stand-alone software encourages the writing process, with invent, prewrite, compose, and revise prompts. Activities are communicative in nature and stress fluency, rather than "correct" use of patterns. Students also use Adobe Pagemill (2.0) authoring software program for the World Wide Web, which easily builds and previews texts, images, sounds, tables, animation, and links.

Hawaiian 201/202

Haw 201/202 is a writing intensive intermediate level course in Hawaiian offered at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa with regular once-a-week computer lab sessions. Technology-mediated activities in the course include:

a. e-mail (Eudora): Class lists are formed with weekly communication among class members is required, ongoing collaboration on exploring cultural and contemporary issues and ongoing practice of **analula** (new grammatical patterns) is desirable.

b. Daedalus: weekly computer lab sessions to "discuss" topics and issues of interest. The first few weeks activities are designed to get acquainted, therefore discussions focus on asking and responding to questions about family, interests, favorite places, food, music, pastimes, songs/musical groups, travel, movies, and so forth. Current and controversial topics and issues include sovereignty, raising university tuition, racism (on campus and in Hawai'i), tourism, use of Hawai'i Creole English (pidgin) in

schools and in community, gun control, water and land usage/rights, elections, comparison of classes, campuses, college experiences, Hawaiian language education, gambling, and so forth. During the entire class period, students are encouraged to write as much as possible, to ask (especially to clarify ideas) and respond to questions, and to include as many classmates as possible in discussions. Smaller conferences are possible for more in-depth discussion.

Sample assignments in Haw 201/202 include:

- Describe your favorite place as colorfully as possible without telling its name and exact location. Respond to your classmates questions and inquire about their places.
- As the newly elected mayor of Honolulu, what are three major changes that you'll immediately make? Respond to your classmates ideas and be sure to defend your own proposals.
- Should a new four year university be built in West Oʻahu? Defend your position and attempt to persuade those who have a different position.

c. Semester projects: Students research a Hawaiian topic of interest with a minimum of three drafts, including a detailed outline, bibliography, and three to four typed pages of text with graphics. Using Pagemill, students design projects to be posted on the WWW. Oral presentations share projects with the class, where feedback is expected and revisions may take place prior to final grading. Haw 201 students' comments (12/96) include "We 're learning to communicate in our own language and we have to do it well. It's not a matter of just slapping some text on the page" and "Hawaiian communication has always focused on beauty…The web allows for a spirituality, a beauty, to be conveyed as part of the message—it's not just naked ugly text."

Hawaiian 301/302, 397, and 470

Hawaiian 301/302 (HITS) is an advanced level Hawaiian language course for three credits that meets once a week for three hours. Enrollment includes twenty-four students on four islands, 22 are Hawaiian immersion teachers. Class takes place at Manoa, with students meeting at HITS sites on their respective islands. The offering of this course on HITS is very important as otherwise there are no opportunities available for advanced language study on neighbor islands. Islands can see and hear each other, with the exception of Molokaʻi, who has only telephone for oral communication. Supplemental use of video, cassettes, Elmo, and the computer. Teacher's comments regarding drawbacks of distance learning this past two semesters are: insufficient equipment and training, difficult to provide assistance to students, lessons are sent back and

forth through mail, e-mail, fax, telephone, and computer. The university has supplied 3 hours/week on an 1-800 number in order to assist students.

Hawaiian 397 is a new course has been proposed for Spring 1998. It is a computer-mediated Communication. The purpose of HAW 316 is to integrate training in technology and literacy with Hawaiian language learning, focusing on composition and communication using computer technologies. A service-learning component project will be incorporated into the course where students will provide technology training off-campus to the Hawaiian language community, including students, parents, and/or teachers of the Punana Leo and the Hawaiian Department of Education Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i (Hawaiian Language Immersion Program).

Interactive multimedia projects include:

- E Ola Mau Ka 'Olelo Hawai'i—using Authorware Project documents various aspects of the Hawaiian language, including legislation, use in schools, opinions, status, and so forth from the early 1800s through 1996. Videos of native speakers, artwork of immersion children, archival newspaper articles and photos, and audio are integrated into a canoe voyage through time in which students interactively choose what is needed to supply their voyage.
- Ka Leo Hawai'i—using Hypermedia Digitize audio from radio programs with native speakers. Interactive lessons with sound and graphics will be created.
- Technology intensive course—planned for 1997-98, this is a University of Hawai'i Manoa project supported by the President's Educational Improvement Fund to establish and refine standards and develop training for new designation of "technology intensive course" for 100-200 level writing intensive courses. Hawaiian 202 will be taught Spring 1998.

A Uniform Resource Locator (URL) for websites is included here for an introductory tour to Hawaiian language and Hawaiian-related resources on the World Wide Web. These websites include:

> http://www.lll.hawaii.edu/programs/haawina/na_manu
> > *A comprehensive unit on Hawai'i's birds developed for the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program.*
> http://www.lll.hawaii.edu/web/haw470
> > *Curriculum projects developed for the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program by students in Hawaiian 470 Immersion Curriculum Development Course (Fall 1996)*
> http://www.lll.hawaii.edu/web/haw201
> > *Semester projects produced by intermediate level Hawaiian language students (Fall 1996)*

http://www.olelo.hawaii.edu/OP/APL/story.html
> *This 'Aha Punana Leo site provides a timeline showing the history of Hawaiian language.*

http://www.olelo.hawaii.edu/
> Kualono, *The Hawaiian Language Center at University of Hawai'i at Hilo. A number of Hawaiian language documents are on-line through this site, including a dictionary and newspaper articles. You have the option to read either in English or Hawaiian.*

http://www.planet.Hawaii.com/~oha/olelo.html
> *This site has an article about 1996 being the Year of the Hawaiian Language.*

http://aloha.net/nation/hawaii-nation.html *Nation of Hawai'i homepage provides information of this sovereignty group, their community in Waimanalo, and also many things: language, politics, environment, music.*

http://www-ala.doc.ic.ac.uk/rap/Ethnologue/eth.cgi.USA/ *This site contains listings for indigenous languages worldwide, including demographic/geographic/statistical information.*

Hawaiian 470 (Writing Intensive) Ho'omohala Ha'awina Kaiapuni (Hawaiian Immersion Curriculum Development) (3 credits) Semester projects are the development of thematic, multimedia curriculum units designed for the Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i (Hawaiian Language Immersion Program). Students are advanced level Hawaiian language students preparing for a career in Hawaiian immersion education. Applying Howard Gardner's Multiple Intelligence Theory, students identify specific learner outcomes for each of the intelligences (linguistic, logical-mathematical, spatial, bodily-kinesthetic, musical, interpersonal, and intrapersonal) within a framework that integrates content and skills within required content areas (language arts, math, science, social studies, art, music, etc.). Resources, lessons, and activities are collected, translated, reformatted, and/or created. Starting with Fall 1996, most of the materials (those which are most appropriate) are put on WWW with the use of Pagemill 2.0. Please visit our first attempt at <http://www.lll.hawaii.edu/web/ haw470>.

Other projects

Na Manu is a web-enhanced version of materials that were prepared for the Hawai'i Department of Education on some of the birds found in Hawai'i, particularly native ones. The web allows the inclusion of bird calls and video clips, as well as the accompaniment of relevant songs. Please visit this site at <http://www.lll.hawaii.edu/programs/haawina/ na_manu>.

Ku'i Ka Lono is a Hawaiian language newspaper project involving the Hawaiian immersion children, grades 6-10, at Kula Kaiapuni 'o Anuenue, Palolo, O'ahu. Funding by the 'Aha Punana Leo provided a Power Macintosh, university release time for a coordinator, and ten hours per week of student help. Students chose topics to report on, write numerous drafts, edit and revise each

other's work, and input their stories into the computer. Photos are taken using either a regular or digital camera and are scanned into a computer. Graphics are selected and layout and design are completed by a growing team of students using Pagemaker 6.0. Three issues have been produced this past year. Plans are to put the issues on the World Wide Web (WWW) this summer.

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It Really Works:
Cultural Communication Proficiency
Ruth Bennett, Editor

It Really Works

Cultural Communication Proficiency

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LESSON PLANS AND ACTIVITY SHEETS

Dundi Ne:sing'?
> Lesson Plan
> Activity Sheets

Dixwe:di 'Unt'e:n?
> Lesson Plan
> Activity Sheet

Xa:xowilwa:tl'
> Lesson Plan
> Activity Sheet

Hupa Animal Bingo Game Set
> Bingo Card (sample)
> Flash Card (sample)
> Caller's Card

CREDITS

The Center for Indian Community Development
HUMBOLDT STATE UNIVERSITY

Since it was established in 1966, the Center for Indian Community Development, has designed and implemented innovative projects to meet fundamental community needs. Supported by a line item in the California State University budget, the Center's primary mission is to channel the resources of Humboldt State University to the diverse communities of Northern California, particularly the Native American Communities. The Center has been instrumental in increasing interest in Indian culture, history and language, especially as they relate to elementary and secondary education. In addition, the Center has assisted the development of several local non-profit agencies by contributing small subsidies, providing in-kind support services and preparing funding proposals.

For 20 years, the Center's major project has been the American Indian Language and Literature Program, which coordinates the work of linguists, curriculum specialists, teachers, students and community members in an effort to document and reinforce traditional Indian cultures of the area. The program provides linguistic documentation, curriculum development, teacher supervision and other technical support (including linguistic documentation and archiving) services required to preserve the languages of Northern California tribes. It presently sponsors classes in the Hupa, Yurok, Tolowa and Karuk languages at various sites in Humboldt, Del Norte and Siskiyou Counties.

As part of the campus community, the Center for Indian Community Development works with professors in the Ethnic Studies, Anthropology and Native American Studies departments in development and implementation of the Center's American Indian Language and Literature Program. This joint effort has significantly enhanced linguistic documentation, archiving and curriculum development activities.

The production of lessons, dictionaries, word-lists, collections of stories, cassette tapes, videos, and other materials useful to the language education is an important function of the Language Program. Several projects have been undertaken over the years; a series of lessons in Hupa have been developed around cassette tapes and will be suitable for high school and adult classes. Similar materials will be produced for Karuk, Yurok as courses on these languages are introduced. Practical dictionaries have been created for Karuk, Hupa, and Tolowa. Language "Pocketbooks" have been created for Karuk, Hupa and, Tolowa.

Collection of new information on Northwest California Indian Languages is also a high priority of the Language Program. These languages are rapidly losing fluent traditional speakers, and unless data is collected now it will be impossible to prepare fully accurate and comprehensive teaching materials. Furthermore, future efforts in language recovery as well as the general humanistic study of traditional Northwest California culture will need to rely on documentation gathered in this generation. Obtaining accurate and extensive data on an Indian language requires a number of highly specialized skills, primarily those of linguists and lexicographers. CICD plans to contract the services of trained professionals in these fields, both to gather and process materials directly and — more importantly — to train assistants from the Indian community to supplement and continue the work.

In addition to meeting needs for cultural and educational programs, the Center is increasingly involved in business, economic, environmental, and social development activities. To develop greater participation in the free enterprise system, and consequently, we have identifies three world; to acquire the capital needed to start, buy out, expand, or " save" business through purchases of tangible business assets (land, buildings, equipment, inventory, etc.) and the provision of essential working capital; and to identify market opportunities and procure sales contacts that will ensure successful participation and long-term survival in the free enterprise system.

Ideally, assistance is provided to Indian tribes and community based organizations, both of which represent constituent communities, if the business employs members of tribes or other Indian groups; the business generates income to a tribe or other Indian group; or the business generates business for / purchases goods or services from other Indian-owned business. The Center for Indian Community Development is here to support the needs of Tribal Development, and continues to grow with their constituent communities.

It Really Works!
Native American Cultural Communication Proficiency and A Hupa Story

BY DR. RUTH BENNETT
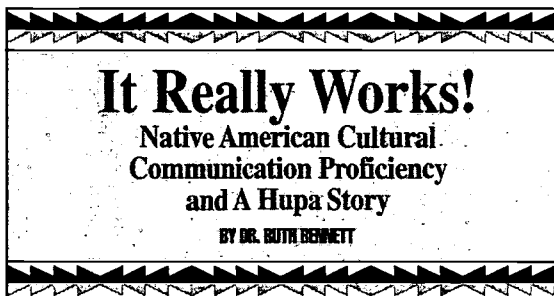
Language can make people do things. Have you ever noticed how a warning, "Don't do that," will typically produce a response, "Why not?" in the one who was warned, perhaps prompting them to go ahead and try exactly what they were told not to do?

If so, you have witnessed the power of language. Language is communication. Someone saying, "Don't do that," can produce the intended response or move someone to another action. In both cases, there is a relationship between language and action.

I. First Principle: Native American Students Learn by Doing

Native American Cultural Communication Proficiency involves communication and action. It is built on the principle that students have to get out and do things. Students learn language through experience, through expressing feelings and ideas. They learn if what they say has consequences and what the consequences are, when they are actually communicating. They act out their words, they use actions to reinforce their words, and they communicate with body language. This emphasis on doing is at the heart of the Total Physical Response method, developed by James Asher for second languages.

The Hupa Language Program also combines techniques from various other methods, such as Total Physical Response. It also takes from Cooperative Learning, its emphasis on learning within peer groups.

To practice this method, a group of students can get together and put on a scene from a traditional Hupa story. I will demonstrate:

In this story, Xa:xowilwa:tł', a mother tells her young daughter, "Don't dig the Indian potatoes when two of the stalks grow together."

Haya:ł mine:jixomił	And then, after a while,
'A:ch'ondehsne'	She thought
"Dixwe:diman, 'a:whiłch'ide:ne'	"Why, did she tell me,
"Do:'a:t'ing'!' "	'Don't do it!' "

The girl proceeds to dig up a baby, who follows her back to the house, and for years after, and who has the name of Xa:xowilwa:tł', He-Was-Dug-Up."

When a group of students gets together, learns lines, and puts on a puppet play, they begin with key lines from the first scene, as in the above example, and they proceed from there. As they shape the scenes and practice their dialogue, they are cooperating with each other and learning by doing. Moreover, they succeed or fail as a group, so that the outcomes effect everyone on the team, not just one person.

II.   Second Principle: Native American Students Learn in Ways Compatible with Their Culture

The second principle, is that learning inside the classroom be compatible with what the students experience in their communities. The puppet play Xa:xowilwa:tł' is derived from a traditional Hupa story. Although puppetry is a modern adaptation of the story, the story is an ancient Hupa practice. Since the Hupa people developed their language, storytelling has been the traditional way of passing knowledge, i.e., language and culture, to younger generations.

Students learn the story, and they learn some Hupa words. Learning Hupa words is necessary so that they can tell part of the story in the Hupa language. Depending upon their level of proficiency, they learn character's names in Hupa, expressions in Hupa, or sequences of dialogue in Hupa.

Using a Native American language is a big step for Cooperative Learning groups. They work together to produce a play, helping each other accomplish a group goal, and learning in the process of doing the project.

Cooperative learning, teamwork in action, is compatible with patterns of Native American (and other) children's play in their out-of-school environments, and when moved into the classroom, can increase achievement.Research on Native American children has shown that peer team learning can increase test scores on reading comprehension.
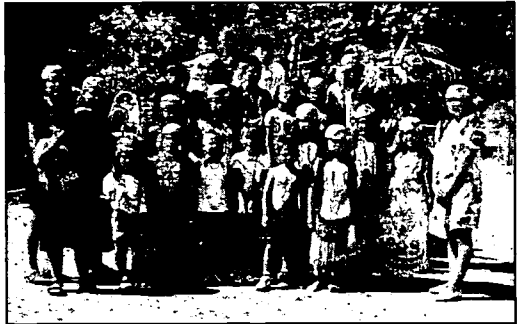
III. Third Principle: Native American Students Learn in Stages

That students are at different levels of proficiency leads into the principle that students need to be introduced to lessons in stages. This idea has been developed in a method called, Communication-Based Instruction. In learning increasingly more difficult material, through this method, students advance step-by-step from one level to another. Students may begin with listening before they actually produce language themselves.

A student moves step by step through a process, gradually taking on a greater role in responding. A series of lessons typically begin with a teacher presenting something that requires a yes or no response. A series will end with the student producing words, phrases, and longer units of language themselves.

In sum, Cultural Communication Profiency draws on three different methods: Total Physical Response, Cooperative Learning, and Communication-Based Instruction. An integrative approach such as this has been urged in a recent national conference on indigenous languages and is at the heart of research and cirriculum developed at the Center for Indian Comunity Development.

Philosophy

Creating a relationship between language and experience reflects John Dewey's educational philosophy, and the idea that language is communication. language develops under conditions of living, generally those of resistance and conflict. The relationship between language and experience can be played out in the classroom in a variety of ways, with students observing, thinking, and then getting what they need, using language. Lessons are task-centered, with achievement being individual or based upon group rewards.

Experience, as defined in the classroom, can refer to:

1) the teacher's experience — how the lesson is shaped to express the objectives the teacher wants to ac-
  complish
2) the student's experience — how achievement can be expressed through elicited responses and self-ex-
  pression
3) the tribe's experience — how language relates to the values of the tribal community whose language is
  being passed on

We aim for Cultural Communication Proficiency, and as we practice, we increase our skills. Lessons on the story of Xa:xowilwa:tɬ' (He Was Dug Up), the story of Cha'ałɬ Miłk'idiɬdin (Frog's Love Medicine) Dundi Ne:sing'? (Who Is it?), Hayah 'Inda' (Stand There), Hayde Me'ist, Native Language Bingo, and other lessons have been developed, tried out, revised, and are currently being used. Native Language instruction for Califor-nia and other Native American tribes are developed through a model whereby lessons are developed in one Native American language, and then adapted to others.

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Lesson Plan
for *Dundi Ne:sing'?*

Materials:

Teacher shows pictures for six Hupa words for relatives. Within Hupa culture, relative names have cultural significance because the family is the most important social unit:

xwunchwing	his/her mother
xwhiwhxiy	his/her son
	(woman speaking)
xwiya:ch'e'	his/her daughter
	(woman speaking)
xota'	his/her father
xwitse'	his/her daughter
	(man speaking)
xwiwhxiy	his/her son
	(man speaking)

Front row: Tasha Norton, Minnie McWilliams, Jill Sherman, Lila Kebric, Anna Kebric, (Melody's daughter, hidden), girl, Calvin Carpenter. Back row: Gina Campbell, Wendy Ferris, Jackie Martins, Gordon Bussell, Melody Carpenter, Joseph Rafael, Marcellene Norton, Andre Kebric.
Photo by Ruth Bennett

Objectives:

Cultural:
Learn Hupa words for six Hupa relative names,

Communication:
Act out Questions and Answers relating to five Hupa relative names,

Proficiency:
Students increase Hupa language production,

Oral: Students pronounce names and correctly identify six relative names,
Written: Students recognize written forms for names and write names correctly.

Activity:

Teacher engages in Question and Answer Sequence with students.

At each stage, there is a teacher question that relates to each of the Hupa vocabulary words. Stages are:

I. Comprehensible Input (yes-no questions)

T: Hayde xwunchwing. *(pointing to photo of mother)*

T: Hayde xwunchwing 'ung? *(pointing to photo of mother)*

S: Diye.

T: Hayde xwiwhxiy'. *(pointing to photo of mother's son, father's son)*

T: Hayde xwiwhxiy' 'ung? *(pointing to photo of mother's son, father's son)*

S: Diye.

T: Hayde xwiya:ch'e'   *(pointing to photo of mother's daughter)*

T: Hayde xwiya:ch'e' 'ung? *(pointing to photo of mother's daughter)*

S   Diye.

T: Hayde xota' *(pointing to photo of father)*

T: Hayde xota' 'ung? *(pointing to photo of father)*

S: Diye.

T: Hayde xwitse:' *(pointing to photo of father's daughter)*

T: Hayde xwitse:' 'ung? *(pointing to photo of father's daughter. ?)*

S: Diye.

Teaching Indigenous Languages

II. Guided Practice (either-or questions)

T: Hayde xwunchwing? Hayde xwichwo? *(pointing to picture of mother)*

S: Whunchwing.

T: Hayde xwunchwing? Hayde xota'? *(pointing to picture of father)*

S: Xota'

T: Hayde xota'? Hayde xwitse:' *(pointing to picture of father's daughter)*

S: Xwitse:'

T: Hayde xwiwhxiy'? Hayde xota'? *(pointing to picture of mother's son and father's son)*

S: Xwiwhxiy'.

III. Independent Practice (student supplies vocabulary term)

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde?   *(points to photo of mother)*

S: Xwunchwing.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde?   *(points to photo of father)*

S: Xota'.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde?   *(points to photo of mother's son and father's son)*

S: Xwiwhxiy'.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde?   *(points to photo of mother's daughter)*

S: Xwiya:ch'e'.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde?   *(points to photo of father's daughter)*

S: Xotse:'.

IV.   Challenge (student responds to new elicitation)

Teacher introduces family tree for Hupa relative names and students find answers to fill in appropriate relative names.

Expansion

Students tell relative names from *Dundi Ne:sing'?* book and select one relative to write a sentence or story about.

Activity Sheets
for *Dundi Ne:sing'?*

Dundi Ne:sing'?   **Dundi Ne:sing'?**

his daughter

her father

his mother   her son

her daughter   her mother

his father   his son

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My Grandchild (My Daughter's Child)

My Younger Brother

My Older Brother

My Grandmother (My Mother's Mother)

My Older Sister

My Younger Sister

My Grandfather (My Father's Father)

My Grandchild (My Son's Child)

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My Father

My Aunt (Mother's Sister)

My Mother

Family Tree Activity Sheet

Lesson Plan
for Dixwe:di 'Unt'e:n?

Materials:

Teacher brings objects and/or pictures for four Hupa vocabulary words that describe activities of cultural significance:

Ch' itehs'e'n	(S)he is looking
'A:k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we'	They are reading
Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay	They are listening *(it went into my head)*
Me'iłwul	They are drumming

Objectives:

Cultural:
Learn Hupa words for four Hupa cultural activities,

Communication:
Act out Questions and Answers relating to four Hupa cultural activities,

Proficiency:
Students increase Hupa language production,

Oral: Students say an appropriate verb form for four Hupa cultural activities when shown a photograph of the activity,

Written: Students write an appropriate verb form for four Hupa cultural activities through identification on an activity sheet.
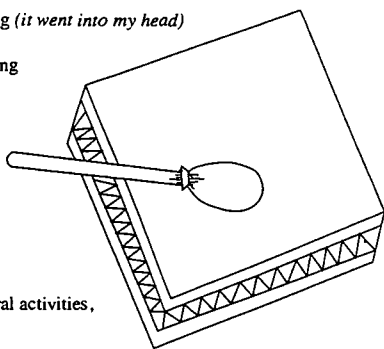
Activity:

Teacher engages in a Four Stage Question and Answer Sequence with students

At each stage, there is a teacher question that related to each of the Hupa vocabulary words. Stages are:

I. Comprehensible Input (yes-no questions)

T: Hayde Herman Sherman.Me'iłwuł (he is drumming)

(*shows photo of Herman Sherman dumming*)
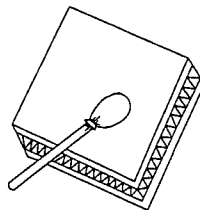
T: Hayde Herman Sherman.Me'iłwuł 'ung? (Is he drumming?)

S: Diye.

T: Hayde James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter. 'A:'k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we.

(*shows photo of James Jackson and Calvin Carpenter reading*)

T: Hayde James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter. 'A:'k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we 'ung?

S: Diye.

T: Hayde Wendy Ferris. Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay.

(*shows photo of Wendy Ferris listening*)

T: Hayde Wendy Ferris. Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay 'ung?

S: Diye.

T: Hayde Elsie Ricklefs. Ch'itehs'e'n.

(*shows photo of Elsie Ricklefs looking*)

T: Hayde Elsie Ricklefs. Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay 'ung?

S: Daw.

II.   Guided Practice (either-or questions)

T: Hayde Herman Sherman. Me'iɬwuɬ 'ung? *(Is he drumming?)*

Ch'itehs'e'n 'ung? (Is he looking)

(shows photo of Herman Sherman drumming)

S: Me'iɬwuɬ.

T: Hayde James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter. Me'iɬwuɬ 'ung?   'A:'k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we 'ung?

(shows photo of James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter reading)

S: 'A:'k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we.

T: Hayde Wendy Ferris.   Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay 'ung? 'A:'k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we 'ung?

(shows photo of Wendy Ferris listening)

S: Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay.

T: Hayde Elsie Ricklefs. Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay 'ung? Ch'itehs'e'n 'ung?

(shows photo of Elsie Ricklefs looking)

S: Ch'itehs'e'n.

III.   Independent Practice (student supplies vocabulary term)

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde k'iwinya'nya:n 'aya:t'e:n?

(shows picture of James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter reading)

S: 'A:'k'iwilaw ch'o:ya:we.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde k'iwinya'nya:n 'a't'e:n?

(shows picture of Elsie Ricklefs looking)

S: Ch'itehs'e'n.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde k'iwinya'nya:n 'a't'e:n?

     (shows picture of Wendy Ferris listening)

S: Xwe:da'ay yehch'iwinyay.

T: Diydi 'ena:n hayde k'iwinya'nya:n 'a't'e:n?

     (shows picture of Herman Sherman drumming)

S: Me'iɬwuɬ.

Challenge (student responds to new elicitation)

T: Ninyahwh

S: (comes closer to teacher)

T: 'Olchwit me'iɬwuɬ

S: (points to photo of Herman Sherman drumming)

T: Yung'awh me'iłwuł.

S: (picks up photo of Herman Sherman drumming)

T: Whiwung'awh ch'itehs'e'n.

S: (hands photo of Elsie Ricklefs looking)

T: No:nung'awh

S: (student puts down photo of Elsie Ricklefs looking)

T: Ma'a:nch'itehs'e'n k'itiłtsił (throw it out the window)

S: (student laughs)
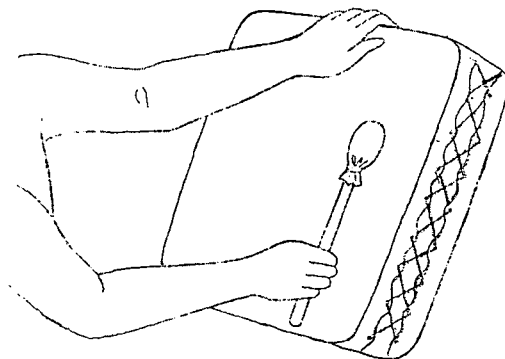
Expansion:
        Students read Dixwe:di 'Unt'e:n? section in book, creating their own Guided Practice examples, utilizing other forms, as given in Hupa Terms in this book section.

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6 IT REALLY WORKS! NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURAL COMMUNICATION PROFICIENCY

Activity Sheets
for Dixwe:di 'A't'e:n?

Dixwe:di 'A:ya't'e:n?

Herman Sherman and Matthew Douglas Chavez

Dixwe:di 'A't'e:n?

Wendy Ferris

He is drumming	He is listening	She is listening

James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter

Elsie Ricklefs

They are reading	She is looking

Teaching Indigenous Languages

Xa:xowilwa:tɬ'
A Lesson Plan for Understanding
a Northern California Story

At the Center for Indian Community Development, we have implemented a cultural communication profi-
ciency language that utilizes ethnographic research.This type of research seeks a cultural context. Introducing a
context increases the meaning of words and phrases in the Hupa language so that students can comunicate mes-
sages. Communicating messages builds confidence. Self-confidence is an important goal of a methodology that
focuses on communication because students are more likely to attempt to use language if they believe they have the
ability. This applies to all modes of language-learning, to speaking, listening, reading, and writing.

Lessons that Work

Self-confidence is related to the way that students are asked to learn new language. In a a book, *Methods
that Work*, Jon Oller has stressed two areas of importance in teaching language to Native American students, the
use of stories and activities.[1] With puppet plays, traditional stories can be turned into a group activity. Not only do
lessons require students to take action, they can work together cooperatively. This encourages an environment
where all can learn:

> *C*ooperative learning aims to reestablish the values
> of cooperation... an accepting, cooperative atmo-
> sphere, free of cross-comparisons. In cooperative learning,
> all can succeed because each has something unique to con-
> tribute to the enterprise... Cooperative learning implies full
> participation of both teacher and student and the interaction
> of student and student.[2]

[1] (Jon Oller, Methods that Work: Ideas for Literacy and Language Teachers (2ⁿᵈ ed) Heinle and Heinle. Boston. MS. 1993)
[2] (Wilga Rivers. Communicating Naturally in a Second Language. Cambridge University Press. NY. 1983. p. 78)

Cultural Communication for Native American Students

Cooperative learning has been found to be more successful with Native American children than lecture-based approaches because their learning styles have been found to favor teamwork, and student-controlled cooperative projects over an environment where individuals compete for the attention of the teacher.[3] These methods are successful for the reason that they adapt classroom modes of instruction to modes of communication that prevail in Native American communities.[4]

Developing Language Proficiency that Prepares Students for Standarized Testing

Finally, puppet plays of traditional stories introduce a literature-based curriculum. There is reason to introduce literature into the curriculum, as there is recent research that students who are taught with a literature-based approach perform better on reading comprehension tests.[5] The rationale is that since literature is composed of longer units of discourse than words, and represents various levels of organization, reading stories require a greater attention to the material, resulting in better performance when comprehension is being tested.

Applications at Grade Levels

This lesson has a variety of applications at various grade levels, aiming to build language skills, communication skills, and increase self-confidence. In the earliest years, students get practice in pre-reading skills, such as developing attention span. Storytelling with puppets allows for practice with hand-eye coordination, as students manipulate the puppets themselves. As students progress through the grades, what is expected becomes more complex. In Kindergarten through grade 2, they may be able to learn the names of characters, and some of the actions. At this age, when they retell the story, they are likely to fill in with actions from their own experience when they can't remember the plot. In grade 3 through grade 5, however, they have the language skills to retell the traditional story. By junior high school, students can be introduced to storyteller's strategies to understand how stories communicate meaning. High school students can compare stories and discover how language communicates culture.

This lesson is an example of the cultural communication proficiency method. The lesson uses the native languages and stories that have been collected from elders. It incorporates linguistic documentation and archiving activities within a teachable form so that tribal communities can have a lesson ready to use. Objectives for the story adapted from the stated objectives for curriculum by the Klamath-Trinity School District on the Hupa Indian Reservation and the state of California.

[3] *Susan U. Philips. Participant Structures and Communicative Competence: Warm Springs Children in Community and Classroom, in Cazden, C., et al., eds. Functions of Language in the Classroom, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, 1972, p. 382.*
[4] *Ibid., p. 393.*
[5] *Krashen, Steven. Every Person a Reader: An Alternative to the Californian Task Force Report on Reading. Language Education Associates, Culver City, Ca., 1996, p. 12.*

Teaching Indigenous Languages

Cultural Background

Hupa is spoken on the Hoopa Indian Reservation. Hupa is an Athabaskan language of Northwestern California. The Hupa language is closely allied with Chilula and Whilkut, and to a lesser extent with other California Athabaskan languages. The Hupa shared a lifestyle of family-centered subsistence utilizing the natural resources of their environment, and world-renewal ceremonial dances.

The Hoopa Indian Reservation spans approximately 144 square miles in northeast Humboldt County along the Trinity River. San Francisco lies 300 miles southwest, Eureka, 64 miles west. The boundaries of the reservation were established by Executive order on June 23, 1876, pursuant to the Congressional Act of April 3, 1864. Nature in this area offers acorn, salmon, and deer for food, a variety of plants for medicinal purposes, houses made of cedar planks, ceremonial regalia of hides, feathers, seeds, and shells, and basketry.
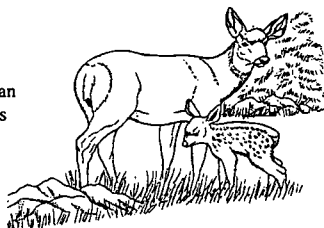
The Hupa historically lived along the shores of the Trinity River. The reservation, which covers about half of their traditional territory, contains several ancient village sites, three reconstructed sites. The ancient village sites are where ceremonial dances are held. The villages were the center of a culture that included literature, art, and music.
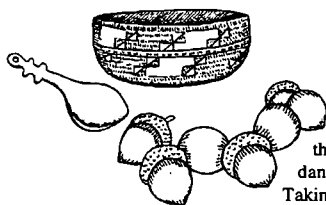
Takimiłding, the village at the "center of the world" for the Hupa, is the location of the Jump Dance, held every two years in late summer. This dance coincides with the White Deerskin Dance, also a world renewal dance. Takimiłding, on the downriver side of the valley, and Me'dilding on the upriver side were the two most prominant villages. Brush dances are still held at both sites.

Xa'xowilwa:tł' is a story from Diyshta:ng'a:ding, now a reconstructed Hupa village, located at the uppermost point on the Trinity River as it enters the Hoopa Valley. The storyteller from Diyshta:ng'a:ding who told this story said that his mother's family had told it as long the Hupa lived there.

Cultural Context

The cultural context is the traditional story of the Hupa, that includes characters from an earlier epoch in pre-history. These characters are the k'ixinay, spirits who inhabited the world before human beings. Although k'ixinay possess superhuman qualities, in many ways, their lives reflected a Hupa lifestyle.

Hupa stories combine the ordinary with the extra-ordinary. The story of Xa:xowilwa:tł' features domestic life in a family that consists of a grandmother, mother, and a son born from an Indian potato. Nurtured by his grandmother, Xa:xowilwa:tł' grows unusually fast, and learns to hunt. He follows his mother when she goes to pick acorns. At the acorn grove he meets two young women. When he goes to their home, their father directs him to shoot a condor covered with dentalia, catch salmon-covered with dentalia, and to play a stick game where thunder, moon, panther, and other players are competing. After winning at these events, he marries the two young women. They are the morning and the evening star, and all three are here today, having been transformed from k'ixinay to their present state.

Materials:

Puppets can be made from *papier mache*, socks, paper bags, or felt. They can first be designed on paper using grocery bags or wrapping paper, and then transformed to the other media. The most simple puppets are two-dimensional, with two pieces of material sewn together. More advanced students can create three-dimensional puppets, starting with shaping the heads and then building on the other parts of the body.

Photo by Jill Fletcher

Language Arts Objectives:

Pre-School
(1) That students listen to at least one action in a story
(2) That students have puppet characters do an action

Grades K-2
(1) That students identify the characters of Xa:xowilwa:tl'
(2) That students know their Hupa names

Grades 3-5
(1), (2) above, and
(3) That students retell the plot of Xa:xowilwa:tl'
(4) That students describe actions in the Hupa language

Grades 6-8
(1), (2), (3), (4) and
(5) That students can apply the motifeme sequence in Xa:xowilwa:tl' to identify episodes in the plot

Grades 9-12
(1), (2), (3), (4), (5) and
(6) That students identify metaphors in Xa:xowilwa:tl'
(7) That students can describe the content of metaphors

Framework Areas and Concepts:

Language Arts:

Pre-School:
Developing attention span
Practicing hand-eye coordination

Grades K-2:
Using word identification strategies
Showing an awareness of a character in a story

Grades 3-5:
Reading stories
Knowing a plot of a story

James Jackson, Calvin Carpenter

Grades 6-8:
Developing further understanding of a story
Reading familiar and unfamiliar text with skill

Grades 9-12:
Reading and applying narrative strategies to a story
Interpreting literary concepts

Activities:

Pre-School
Teacher tells one episode in the story,
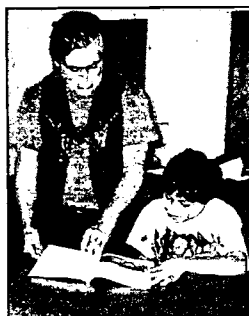
Gordon and Isaac Bussell

(1) Teacher gathers children in a circle, and introduces story: "Let's all sit on the rug because I am going to tell you an old story."
(2) Teacher tells the names of the characters:
This is k'ehłtsa:n (two girls)
This is Xa:xowilwa:tł' (He Was Dug Up)
This is k'ist'aychwing (bluejay)
(3) Teacher tells about when Xa:xowilwa:tł' goes to the acorn grove, meets the nahxe k'ehłtsa:n, and k'ist'aywing offers to help them pick acorns.
(4) Teacher gives puppets to students so that they can retell the episode. Students take turns with the puppets.

Grades K-2
Teacher reads story to students
(1) Teacher gathers children into a circle and introduces story: "This story is a very old story from our ancestors at Diyshta:ng'a:ding."

(2) Teacher reads story or parts of story, depending upon scheduling needs and attention span of students. After story is read, teacher asks students to identify the village where the story came from: "Who can tell us where the village of Diyshta:ng'a:ding is?" Teacher shows students map of Hoopa Valley and points to Diyshta:ng'a:ding.

(3) Teacher asks students, "Who are some of the people in the story?" Teacher has students identify the following characters:

    Xa:xowilwa:tł'
    k'ilexich
    q'unch'wilchwil
    xo'isday
    kehłtsa:n
    xwunchwing
    xwichwo
    tsamehst'lo:n nahxe
    yaxwota'
    Stick Game Players: minimiłe:diliw, xontehłtaw, xoljeh, xołtsaytaw, ke:niwh, de'ch'iqa:l, and mikyo:w

Grades 3-5
Students take turns reading story
(1) Teacher asks students to get out their books: "Now we are going to read Xa:xowilwa:tł'. This story is a very old story from our ancestors at Diyshta:ng'a:ding.
We are going to share this story by reading it in turns."
(2) Students take turns reading paragraphs.
(3) After story is read, teacher asks students to identify the village where the story came from: "Who can tell us where the village of Diyshta:ng'a:ding is?"
Teacher shows students map of Hoopa Valley and points to Diyshta:ng'a:ding.
(4) Teacher then asks, "Who is the story about?" When a student names a character, the teacher asks, "What did (s)he do in the story?" The teacher can select a student if there are no volunteers.

Grades 6-8
Students create mini-dramas from sections of story
(1) Teacher asks students to get out their books: "Now we are going to read Xa:xowilwa:tł'. This story is a very old story from our ancestors at Diyshta:ng'a:ding. Who wants to read first?" If there are no volunteers then the teacher calls on a student.
(2) Students take turns reading episodes.
(3) After story is read, teacher asks students to identify the village where the story came from: "Who can tell us where the village of Diyshta:ng'a:ding is?"
Teacher shows students map of Hoopa Valley and points to Diyshta:ng'a:ding.
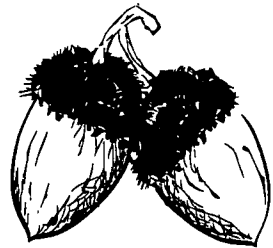
(4) Teacher then asks, "Who is the story about and what happened?" The teacher asks for volunteers or calls on students.

(5) Teacher then tells students:

"Now we will turn to the page where motifemes are described." After that page is read, the teacher says "Now we will break out into six groups, and each group will discuss what motifemes describe one of the following episodes:

Episode		*Motifeme*
I	He Is Dug Up	Interdiction-Violation-Consequence
II	He Grows Up	Attempted Escape/Pursuit
III	He Talks to His Mother	Task/ Task Accomplished
IV	He Shoots the Condor covered with Dentalia and Catches the Dentalia Covered Salmon	Task/ Task Accomplished
V	He Plays a Stick Game	Task/ Task Accomplished
VI	He Marries	Task/ Task Accomplished/Creation Motif

Grades 9-12
Objectives:
Cultural:	Retell a traditional Hupa story
Communication:	Dramatize a story of Hupa words, creating scenes from the various episodes
Proficiency:	Students increase Hupa language production at four stages or levels
Oral:	Saying vocabulary, expressions, dialogue, story performance
Written:	Recognizing and producing written symbols for vocabulary, expressions, dialogue, story performance

Stages: Dramatize Story

Xa:xowilwa:tł' has six episodes;
I	He Is Dug Up
II	He Grows Up
III	He Talks to His Mother
IV	He Shoots the Condor covered with Dentalia and Catches the Dentalia Covered Salmon
V	He Plays a Stick Game
VI	He Marries

For the purpose of giving groups more or less an equal part of the episode IV can be divided into two parts and episode V combined with episode VI.

Teacher divides the class into groups to each work on one of the episodes. Depending upon the proficiency of the students, students can incorporate Hupa words, expression, and dialogue into their stories.

Performance: Act Out Story

Groups put on the plays for each other, working in the Hupa language according to their level of proficiency. They incorporate the Hupa language in a series of stages, building on one level to the next level of increasing difficulty.

Stage 1: Each group has a Hupa word or two to remember
Group 1: Hay kehłtsa:n , the girl Hay xwanchwing, the mother
Group 2: Hay xwichwo, the grandmother Hay mije'e:din, the child
Group 3: Hay kehłtsa:n nahxe, the two young woman, hay q'anch'iwilwhwil, the young man
Group 4: Hay k'iwangxoya:n, the old man, hay k'iya:wh minahxole:n, the condor
Group 5: Hay k'iwangxoya:n, the old man, hay ło:q', the salmon
Group 6: Hay xontehłtaw the coyote Xa:xowilwa:tł' He Was Dug Up

Stage 2 : Each group uses a Hupa sentence or two from the story
Group 1: Hay xwunchwing, the mother
        Do:'unt'e:n, don't do it! Hay kehłtsa:n , the girl,
        dixwe:diman, axolch'ide:ne', do:'unt'e:n? why did she tell me, don't do it
Group 2: Hay xwichwo sa'xa:wh mito', the grandmother (made) acom soup
        Hay mije'e:din ch'itehłchwe:n, the child was growing.
Group 3: Hay kehłtsa:n nahxe, hay q'unch'wilchwil, yaxohehł'e'n, the two young woman looked
        at the young man
Group 4: Hay k'iwangxoya:n, , hay k'iya:wh minahxole:n, yisxunde' 'a:xolch'ide:ne', the old man
        said to shoot the condor the next morning
Group 5: Hay k'iwangxoya:n 'a:xolch'ide:ne', hay ło:q' me'diwhchwin," the old man said, "I am
        hungry for salmon."
Group 6: Hay xontehłtaw, hay xoljeh, ch'e:ya'winde:tł'. The coyote and the skunk, a lot of them
        came.
        Xa:xowilwa:tł' 'ist'ik. He-Was-Dug-Up was pretty slim.

Stage 3: Students work out a sequence of sentences in the Hupa language to recite when displaying puppets.The story then proceeds in English.

Group 1: Hay xwunchwing, the mother, Do:'a:ting', don't do it! Hay kehłtsa:n, the girl,
        dixwe:diman, axolch'ide:ne', do:'unt'e:n? why did she tell me, don't do it?
        Haya:l ch'e:'indiqot', and then, a baby tumbled from under the earth.
Group 2 : Hay xwichwo sa'xa:wh mito' ach'ischwe'n, the grandmother made acorn
        soup
        Hay mije'e:din ch'itehłchwe:n, the child was growing.
        Hay xoji ts'ilting 'ach'ischwe'n, she made him a bow and arrow.
        De:noholyidaq ch'itehsyay, he climbed up the ridges of the
        hills to the northeast of the Hoopa Valley.
Group 3: Hay kehłtsa:n nahxe, hay q'unch'wilchwil, yaxonehł'e'n,
        the two young woman looked at the young man.
        Ch'ixene:wh hay xwichwo. He talked to his grandmother.
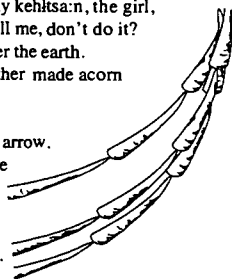
Group 4:   Hay k'iwangxoya:n, hay k'iya:wh minahxole:n, yisxunde' 'a:xolch'ide:ne', the old man said to shoot the condor the next morning.
Haya:l ch'idiwinchwit, and then he shot it.

Group 5:   Hay k'iwangxoya:n 'a:xolch'ide:ne', hay lo:q' me'diwhchwin," the old man said, "I am hungry for salmon."
Hay q'unch'wilchwil ch'ixene:wh, "Se:sehlwinte." The young man said, "I will kill the salmon."
Nahdiyaw ch'ischwe:n, he was making money.

Group 6:   Hay xontehltaw, hay xoljeh, ch'e:ya'winde:tl'. The coyote and the skunk, a lot of them came.
Xa:xowilwa:tl' 'ist'ik. He-Was-Dug-Up was pretty slim.
K'exoltsa:s. He flopped him.
Ch'ilchwe'n, He made it.
Hayah no:nt'ik. That's the end of it.

Stage 4 - Students select an episode to perform in the Hupa language

Activity: Puppet Drama

1) Introduce characters: players hold up each puppet character and say its Hupa name twice,

2) Players recite dialogue in Hupa, translating and switching to English as needed.

I. He Is Dug Up

Xolch'ixolik: Kehltsa:n k'iwinya'nya:n ch'iqal. (An Indian girl was out walking.)

Xoji yinehtaw xak'iwhe'. (She was digging for Indian potatoes.)

_____

Xwunchwing: Do:'unt'e:n. (Don't do it.)

K'ehltsa:n: Dixwe:diman? (Why?)

Xwunchwing: Do:'unt'e:n, nahx 'ilch'ing' (Don't do it, two bulbs laying together.)

K'ehltsa:n: Hayde: nahx 'ilch'ing'. (These are two bulbs laying together.)   'Angya Xa:xowilwa:tl. (Lo and behold, it's Xa:xowilwa:tl'.)

K'ehltsa:n: Xontahch'ing' yehna:dahdiwhla:t. (I am going to run into the house.)

_____

K'ehltsa:n: No:nuntse. (Shut the door!)

II. He Grows Up
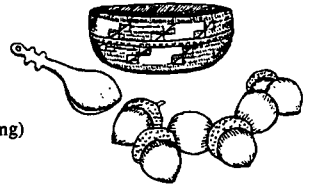
Xwichwo: Hayde sa'xa:wh mito'. (This is acorn soup juice.)

K'ile:xich (Xwitsoy) : Whichwo whiwhchwil (Grandmother, I am growing)

Xwichwo: Hayde xoji ts'iłting'ch. (This is a little bow and arrow.)

K'ilexich (Xwitsoy): Xoji ts'iłting'ch ts'isgyas. (The little bow and arrow broke.)

Xwichwo: Hayde xoji ts'iłting' tse: wilchwe'n. (This is a bigger bow and arrow, made of stone.
Do:ts'isgyahste (It won't break.)

K'ilexich (Xwitsoy): Tse:q'iya:ng'ay se:sehłwe:n. (I killed a squirrel.)

K'ilexich (Xwitsoy): Dandide' hay xwunchwing xoneye:whte? (When is my mother going to talk to me?

Xwunchwing: Te:se:yate haya:ch'ing'. (I am going up there.)

Xołch'ixolik: Hay xwunchwing me'ist ch'iwił'a' (The mother had a pestle.) Widwa:t sehłchwinte. (She
is going to make acorn flour.)

K'ilexich (Xwitsoy): De:nohołyidaq te:se:yate. (I'll go to the ridges of the hills to the northeast of the
Hoopa Valley.)

Hayde k'iwinya'n xoji nikyaw. (These are really big acorns.)

K'ilexich (Xwiwhxiy'): Hay mixa:ch'e' te:se:yate. (I'll go off on that stump.)
Ne:se:date (I will sit down)   Hay mixa:ch'e' whimił whilchwil (That stump is growing with me.)   Dotah
whunchwing xoneye:whte. (Maybe my mother will talk to me.)

K'ist'aychwing: Heyung (k'ehłtsa:n xoch'ing') (Hello [to girls])

K'ehłtsa:n ła' : K'yadawhmete. (I'm going to gather acorns)

K'ist'aychwing: Nich'owhne. (I'll help you). (Throws acorns down on ground)

K'ehłtsa:n ła': Ijibeh! (I'm scared.)

K'ehłtsa:n nahx: Hay-yo:w q'unch'wilchwil. (There is a young man.) Hay xoxwe k'inende:n. K'inende:n
sile'n. (Something is shining on him. He shines so bright.)

K'ehłtsa:n la', *k'ehłtsa:n nahx:* Ye'inyawh nintsah. (Come in, sit down.)

Q'unch'wilchwil: Xa'. (All right.)

Xołch'ixolik: Xa:xowilwa:tł' ch'islinte. (He will become Xa:xowilwa:tł'.)

III. He Talks To His Mother

K'ist'aychwing: Nohch'ing' nanamił hay k'iwinya:n. (Throw down some acorns for us.)

Q'unch'wilchwil: K'ist'aychwing dixwe:di 'unt'e:n? (Bluejay, what are you doing?)

K'ist'aychwing: Na'ałtał. (They're dancing.)

Q'unch'wilwil: Xontahch'ing' te:se:yate. (I'm going home.)

K'ehłtsa:n la', *k'ehłtsa:n nahx:* Nate:se:dełte. (We're going back home.)

K'ist'aychwing: Sa'ohding. (Go off together then.)

Q'unch'wilchwil: Whunchwing, ky'a:da:yne'. (Mother, I've been picking acorns.)

Whichwo, ky'a:da:yne' (Grandmother, I've been picking acorns.)

Yehch'iwinyate, hay whunchwing, yehch'iwinyate, hay whichwo. (Come up with me, mother, come up with me grandmother, to their house.) De:je:nis hay mixach'e te:se:yate. (Today, I will go on that stump.)

Xwichwo: Xa! (All right.)

Q'unch'wilchwil: Q'aytimił wh'ilchwe. (Pack up a basket for me.)

IV. He Shoots the Condor Covered with Dentalia and Catches the Dentalia-Covered Salmon

K'iwangxoya:n: Ye'ohdił. Hay q'unch'wilchwil, nahxe whitse:'. (Come in, young man, my two daughters.)

Q'unch'wilchwil: Heyung, dixwe:di whung 'ant'e? (Hello, how are you?)

K'iwangxoya:n: Niwho:n. Yisxunde' k'iya:whminahxole:n xo:ning'its. (Tomorrow, you will try to shoot the condor.) 'Aht'indin miq'it xwek'iwiłxat nehwan nahdiyaw-mił. (Everywhere on it, it is covered with money.

Xontehłtaw: Ky'owh'itste. (I'll shoot it.)

K'iwangxoya:n: Do:dinchwit. (You didn't shoot it.)

Xoljeh: Hayde xontehłtaw. (That's coyote)

Q'unch'wilchwil: K'iya:whminahxole:n se:sehłwinte. (I will kill the condor.)

K'iwangxoya:n: Xa'. Ło:q' ch'isehłwinte. (All right. I will kill the salmon.) Ch'isehłwe:n. (He killed it.) Xontahding ye'inyawh-me'. (Go on in the house.) Miłkyo:xet 'iłchwe. (You're making money.)

Q'unch'wilchwil: Hayde ningxa ch'inehwan nahdiyaw. (This is the best dentalia.)

K'iwangxoya:n: Ło:q' me'diwhchwin. (I am hungry for salmon.)

Qunch'wilchwil: Ło:q' se:sehłwinte. (I will kill the salmon.)

K'iwangxoya:n: Nahdiyaw 'iłchwinte. (You will make Indian money.)

Qunch'wilchwil: Ne:se:date. (I'll sit down and wait.)

K'iwangxoya:n: Ło:q' me'diwhchwin. (I am hungry for salmon.)

Qunch'wilchwil: Tse'me:n, 'Aht'ingq'a'ante ło:q'. (All kinds of salmon are swimming into the net!)

Hay k'ixaq' te'iwme:n. (The net is filled up.)

K'iwangxoya:n: Nahdiyaw 'ichwe. (You're making Indian money.)
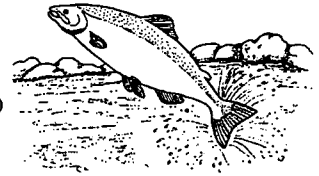
V. He Plays the Stick Game

K'iwangxoya:n: K'itesingqachte. (You're going to play stick game.) Ch'e'anohde:tł'. (Go out to play.)

Tenkichteł. (The Stick Game will begin.)

Michwa:n'tułta:n: Dundi hay yadimil? (Who's going to hold the tossel?)

Xontehłtaw: Xa'! Nisah me:yłtunte. (All right! I'll hold on to your mouth.)

Michwa:n'tułta:n: Hay Xontehłtaw. (It's that Coyote.)

Xołch'ixolik: Xołxe'iłwa:tł'. (Fox threw Coyote down.)

Mikyo:w: K'e:ts'ah-xowhsin. (I'm difficult to defeat.)

Mindich: Xa'. Nich'ing' se:loyte. (All right, I'll play stick game against you.)

Xołch'ixolik: Mindich Mikyo:w k'exołtsa:s. (Lynx flopped Grizzly Bear.)

K'e:niwh: Whiwung tiwhte. (I am strong.)

Mina'xwe: Nich'ing' se:loyte. (All right, I'll play stick game against you.)

Xołch'ixolik: Mina'xwe K'e:niwh xołxe'iłwa:tł'. (Raccoon threw Thunder down.)

K'e:niwh: K'e:niwh. (makes sound of thunder) K'e:we:niwh. (Roar of Thunder.)

Xołch'ixolik: K'e:niwh de:je:nis. (It thunders yet today.)

Xołtsaytaw: Whiwung tiwhte. (I am strong.)

Ninis'a:nme'a:diniłchwit-hił.: Nich'ing' se:loyte. (All right, I'll play stick game against you.)

Xołch'ixolik: Xołtsaytaw ninis'a:nme'adiniłchwit-hił k'exołtsa:s. (Lion flopped Earthquake.)

De'ch'iqa:l: Xolisch xa' na:whay. (I'm a fast runner.)

Mining'miłe:diliw: Me:yłt'unte. (I'll stick on to you.)

De'ch'iqa:l: Whiłk'iłkit xok'ets. (He is catching me with his claws.)

Mining'miłe:diliw: Xoning' łiqay. (His face is white.)

Xołch'ixolik: Xoning' łiqay de:je:nis, De'ch'iqa:l. (Moon's face is white today.)

Xa:xowilwa:tł':   Dundi nich'ing siloyte? (Who are you going to play against?)

Mining'miłe:diliw: Xolisch dahch'idiwhła:t. (I am a fast runner.)

Xa:xowilwa:tł': Ning'e:n' te:se:yo:te. (I'll chase after you.) na:niwhiłkit-ming. (I'll catch you.)

 Xa:xowilwa:tł': Xoning mintiwh'its. (I'm pulling at his face.) Me:xwe:yltsa:s. (I flopped him.)

Xołch'ixolik: Mining'miłedillw, 'aholye Mining'miłe:diliw de:je:nis. (Panther, he is called He-fights-with-his-face today.)

K'iwangxoyan: Xa:xowilwa:tł' ch'indimile. (Xa:xowilwa:tł' scored a goal.) Xa:xowilwa:tł' ch'iłchwe'n. (Xa:xowilwa:tł' made it!.)

VI. He Marries

Xołch'ixolik: Ch'ening'qachte de:je:nis. (They will be play stick game today.)

Xa:xowilwa:tł': Hay-yo:w nawhdiyate. (I am going back there.) Nahxe tsa:mehstł'o:n, q'ina. (The two women, too.)

Xa:xowilwa:tł': Nohwung na:tesohdełte. (You go back with us.)

Xołch'ixolik: Yade:ł'tse, (They are living there yet). Wilwiłdung Xa:singa:wh, Xatł'edang' Xa:singa:wh, (The Evening Star and the Morning Star, those two women.)

Hayah no:nt'ik. (That's the end of it.)

For the purpose of giving groups more or less an equal part of the episode IV can be divided into two parts and episode V combined with episode VI.

Teacher divides the class into groups to each work on one of the episodes. Each group creates their own version of the episode, adding or changing actions if they wish to accomplish their message.

Expansion: Comparing Two Tribe's Versions of He Was Dug Up

Students have copies of Xa:xowilwa:tł' and other tribe's versions of He Was Dug Up, such as Wana'tchuł'aiyuwek from the Wiyot tribe.

(1) Teacher asks students to get out their books and students volunteer to read Xa:xowilwa:tł'. "This story is a very old story from our ancestors at Diyshta:ng'a:ding. "

Teacher asks students to form a group with two or three other students

(1) They read the Wana'tchuł'aiyuwek story to each other. Students read the story out loud, or silently within their group.

(2) Teacher brings the groups together for a discussion of similarities and differences between the two stories. For example, both include the episode where there are two girls in an acorn grove, but the two episodes are handled differently. In Xa:xowilwa:tł' the two girls can't look at him because he is so bright. In Wana'tchuł'aiyuwek, his uncle Linnet precedes him to the acorn grove, and describes his good looks to the two girls. In the first example, the storyteller is making a metaphor in his description that connects Xa:xowilwa:tł' with the sun and looks ahead to the Creation Motifeme at the end of the story; in the second, he is describing one character through the behavior of another, and Linnet's description of his nephew is also a reflection on his own reticence to become involved with the two girls himself.

(3) Teacher discusses the concepts of the characterization of He-Was-Dug-Up, and of the metaphors with the students:
In Xa:xowilwa:tł', the description of him is metaphorical, he is being described like the sun. In addi-tion, his name is a metaphor: He-Was-Dug-Up is a metaphorical description of a birth. Also, in the Hupa language, it is common for names to be descriptive: the names of chracters describe actions that are typical of their behavior. Eg. Xa:xowilwa:tł', minimiłe:diliw, xontehłtaw, xoljeh, xołtsaytaw, ke:niwh, de'ch'iqa:l

(4) The teacher discusses how the incidents in the acorn grove in the two story are different, and how these differences reflect differences between storytellers, and to the extent that these storytellers reflect their tribes, the differences in tribal cultures. Wana'tchuł'aiyuwek shows more restraint, Xa:xowilwa:tł' more visual imagery.

(5) The teacher discusses how this practice of naming shows how meaning is communicated in Hupa culture. She presents this as an example of cultural, or communal meaning, and asks them to think about names in American culture, and the different ways that they communicate something about American culture.

(6) Students have the opportunity to discuss their own cultures as reflected in their home backgrounds. Teacher asks if any languages other than English are spoken in the home, and if so, how that changes the communication in the home. Students can talk about subjects discussed in the other language, and not in English, such as wanting to go and visit, or things that happened in this country long ago when the people lived there. Students can compare these stories with the traditional Native American story, for cultural differences and similarities.

(7) Students study map of the Hoopa Valley Village Sites where the story took place, and learn Hoopa Valley village names.

Hoopa Valley

Hun'

Trinity River

Tł'oh wungq'it
Bald Hill
Dahsita:neq'it

Beaver Creek
Niltuquluy
"Black Oak Summit"

Mill Creek

Me'isdiłding niliŋ'eh

Misq'it niliŋ'eh

Xonsahding (9-11)

Dahk'isxa:nq'it
Tsilunding
"*playing place*"

K'inchwiwhq'it

Ch'e'indiqot'ding (12)

Tse:mit'ah niliŋ'eh

Misq'it

Tse:mit'ah "*rock pocket*"

Hostler Creek

Ch'e'ldin niliŋ'eh

Misq'it-mima:nch'ing
"*on the opposite side from Misq'it*"

Socktish Creek

Ta'k'imiłding (14-20)

Tse:wina:lding (6-10)

Tołq'a'ts'ding

**Hoopa Valley
Village Sites
as of 1850**

Me'dilding (22-28)

Diyshta:ng'a:ding niliŋ'eh

Supply Creek

Xowungq'it (14)

Tish Tang Creek

Tołq'a'ts'ding niliŋ'eh

Diyshta:ng'a:ding (9-13)

N

Campbell Creek

Diyshta:ng'a:ding yima:n niliŋ'eh

Miy-me
"*in where the rain rock is*"

Xaslinding
(6-9)
(one mile south)

Rain Rock

Taken from:
1. Map –Unknown source.
2. Number of houses – Baumhoff, Martin A., California Athabascan Groups, UCAR 16, No. 5 (1958).
3. Locations of village/house sites –Goddard, Earle Life and Culture of the Hupa UCPAAE 1, No. 1 (1903), Unknown source.
revised 3/1997

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Resources

Hupa elders. For groups of students, elders can be invited into classrooms to tell stories. For individual students, a student can arrange to visit an elder at home.

Book: Dr. Ruth Bennett, *He Was Dug Up: A Guide to Understanding a Northern California Story*, Center for Indian Community Development, in preparation.

Hoopa Valley Tribe, Johnson O'Malley K-12 Program

Klamath-Trinity Unified School District, Indian Education Program.

David Peter, Xa:xowilwa:tl' Storyteller

Lesson Plan
for Hupa Bingo Game

Materials:

Teacher brings Bingo game set, cover sheet, instructions, consisting of fifty Bingo cards, Bingo tokens (each with the picture and name of an animal), twenty flashcards (one for each animal), and caller's recording card, and prizes.

Objectives:

1) *Cultural:*   Identify twenty animals known in Hupa culture

2) *Communication:*   Play Hupa Bingo game relating to twenty Hupa animals

3) *Proficiency:*
     Oral: Students increase Hupa language production to say the words for twenty animals
     Written: Students recognize twenty Hupa animal names from their written forms
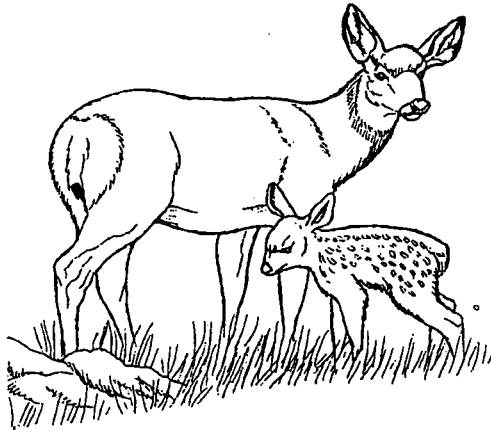
Activity:

The teacher introduces the activity at the stage appropriate to the students, beginning at Stage 1 for beginning learners.

Stage 1

- Teacher explains to students how bingo game is played. The first person to fill up a row, vertically or horizontally, wins.

- Teacher calls for bingo game.

- Teacher holds up flashcards with animal names and pronounces each animal twice in the Hupa language

- Teacher distributes Bingo cards

- Teacher draws token from bag and calls animal name, pronouncing each name twice.

- Student who is first to get a row, vertical or horizontal, wins. A student who thinks they have won calls, "Na:ne:la." (I won).
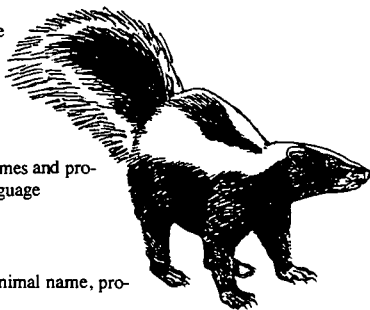
Stage 2

Bingo game:
- Teacher begins Bingo game at this stage if one or more students can recognize and pronounce animal names.

- Student assists teacher with Bingo calling, holding up flashcards and saying name of animal.

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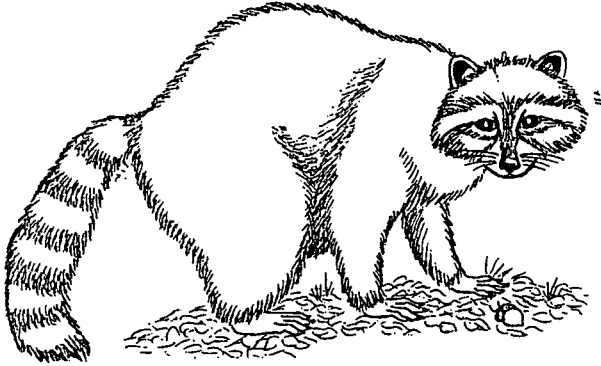
Stage 3

Bingo game:

■ Teacher begins Bingo game at this stage if two or more students can recognize, pronounce, and record animal names in the game.

■ Student assists teacher with Bingo calling, holding up flashcards and saying the name of each animal. A second student records those squares that have been selected.

Stage 4

Bingo game:

■ Teacher begins Bingo game at this stage if three or more students can recognize, pronounce, and record animal names in the game.

■ Students take turns taking the place of the teacher and giving the Bingo calling themselves.
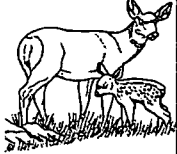
Expansion:

Variations to winning can be introduced in other games, for example, other ways to win are getting four corners or any square of four. Wild squares can be created. (squares already covered when game begins.) A further variation is a different Bingo game, based upon Hupa color terms for the vocabulary selected for the game.

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BINGO

ky'oh	tl'ohme:we	xoljeh	tl'iwhmixung'	lo:q'yiditile
miq'it-dahch'idiltse	sa:ts'	tl'ohme:we	no:k'ine:yo:t'	michwa:n'tulta:n
lo:q'yiditile	mina:'xwe		miq'it-dahch'idiltse	xontehltaw
xontehltaw	ky'oh	k'ilna:dil	tl'ohme:we	minim'mile:diliw
k'ilixun	mik'iqots'e'	chwa'	chwa'	mina:'xwe

▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲ *If you win, say "na:ne:lay!" (I won!)* ▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶

2 9

B I N G O

Calling Card: 2/15/97

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minim'miłe:diliw

Lesson Plan for Balloon Body Parts Game

Materials:

Teacher brings three body part charts: head, boy, and girl, and flash cards for parts of body to be named in the game (one for each body part), and balloons (one for each student).

Objectives:

Cultural:	Learn Hupa words for six Hupa relative names,
Communication:	Act out Questions and Answers relating to five Hupa relative names,
Proficiency:	Students increase Hupa language production,
Oral:	Students increase Hupa language comprehension by responding to five commands. Students increase Hupa language production by saying names for five body parts.
Written:	Students recognize parts of the head and boy when seeing them written in the Hupa Writing System.

Activity:

The teacher introduces the activity at the stage appropriate to the students, beginning at Stage 1 for beginning learners.

Teacher gives commands to conduct the game in the Hupa language, using body language to make the commands clear.

Stage 1:

To Begin the Game:	Heyung, (teacher's name) 'a:wholye. Natinixwe Me'dilding na'whay.	
	Hello, I am (teacher's name.) I am a Hoopa Valley Indian from Me'diling.	

'Ohying.	Everybody stand up.
Na:sma:s yeh'ohdił	Gather in a circle.
'Aht'ine 'iłyol.	Everybody blow up your balloons.
'Aht'ine 'a:dohne'	Everybody say
Whitsita'	Top of my head
Whinchwiwh	My nose
Which'ich	My elbow
Whila'	My hand
Whiqot'	My knee

To conduct the game:	De:diq'eh	This way here (follow along)
	'Aht'ine 'adohne'	Everybody say

Teacher bounces balloon on each of the body parts in turn and everybody says the body part when she bounces the balloon on that body part:

Whits'idah	Top of my head
Whinchwiwh	My nose
Which'ich	My elbow
Whila'	My hand
Whiqot'	My knee

Students stay in the game as long as they continue to bounce the balloon on the appropriate body part.

Stage 2:
Teacher gives commands for beginning the game. When saying the names for body parts, the teacher asks for student volunteers to name the appropriate body part when she is holding up the flash cards.

Stage 3:
Teacher gives commands for beginning the game, and chooses a student volunteer to hold up the flash cards and say the Hupa names. This student, or another student, says the appropriate body part when balloons are bouncing.

Stage 4:
Students take turns taking the place of the teacher and conducting the Balloon Body Part Game themselves.

Expansion:
More body parts can be added, from the body part charts. Names for these body parts are built into the introduction and game. Variations to Balloon Body Parts can be created, such as touching a part of the body a different number of times (once on the first one called, twice on the second one called, three times on the third one called, etc.), or blowing bubbles instead of balloons.

Parts of the Head

whining'

whise:tol'

whina:t'ang'

whiq'os

whits'idah

whi'tsinta'

whinchwiwh

whida:sits'

whiwo'

whiwe:da'

whina:don'se

whina:

whida'

tsiwang'

whisowoł

whe:da'ay

whijiwe'

Parts of the Head

Top of my head

My head hair

My forehead

My eybrows

My head

My eyelashes

My eye

My ear

My nose

My cheeks

My mouth

My teeth

My lips

My face

My chin

My neck

My throat

Teaching Indigenous Languages

Hupa Language Body Parts

Whi'na'k'idilyuy

Whi'quntuk

Whije:xw

Whiky'a:ng'ay

Which'ich

Whichi'tiɬwul

Whimit'

Whila'

Whila'kin

Whila'minikya:w

Whitɬa Whits'e:q'

Whila'qot

Whila'mis Giy'ts

Whiqe:ch'e'

Whi'la'meqe

Whiq' ay

Whitl'ehkin

Whiq'ayme'

Whiqot'

Whilo:q'e'

Whits'indiq'a:n

Whiqe:kin'

Whiqe:ji wol'

Whixe'

Whixe:tul'

Whixe'misGiy'ts

Whixe'kets

Whixe'me:q'

Whixe'minikya:w'

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Hupa Language Body Parts

my collar bone

my shoulder

my chest

my arm

my ribs

my belly

my elbow

my hand

my wrist

my thumb

my butt (behind)   my navel

my knuckles

my little finger

my hip

my palm

my thigh

my waist

my inside thigh

my knee

my calf

my lower leg

my shin

my ankle

my foot

my heel

my little toe

my toenails

sole of foot

my big toe

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Hupa Language Body Parts

Whi'na'k'idilyuy

Whi'quntuk

Whi'je'xw

Whi'kya:ng'uy

Whi'ch'ich

Whi'chi'tiL'wul'

Whi'la'

Whi'mit'

Whi'la:kin

Whi'la'minnikya

Whi'la'qot

Whi'la'mis' qiyuts

Whi'qe:'che'

Whi'la'meqe

Whi' q'uy

Whi'tL'eh:kin'

Whi'qot'

Whi'tsin'diqan

Whi'qe'kin

Whiqe:gi wol'

Whi'xe

Whi'xe'tat

Whi'xe'ɪnisqi yuts

Whi'xe'kets

Whe'xe'meg

Whi'xe:mini'kyaw

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8   IT REALLY WORKS! NATIVE AMERICAN CULTURAL COMMUNICATION PROFICIENCY

Hupa Language Body Parts

my collar bone

my shoulder

my chest

my arm

my elbow

my ribs

my hand

my wrist

my belly

my thumb

my knuckles

my little finger

my hip

my palm

my thigh

my waist

my knee

my shin

my lower leg

my ankle

my foot

my heel

my little toe

my toenails

sole of foot

my big toe

Marketing the Maori Language

Rangi Nicholson

He kororia ki te Atua i runga rawa,
He maunga-a-rongo ki runga i te mata o te whenua,
He whakaaro pai ki nga tangata katoa.
E nga iwi, e nga reo, e nga mana, tena koutou,
tena koutou, tena koutou katoa.

Glory to God on high,
Peace on earth,
Goodwill to all people.
To the tribal representatives, voices of the people
and distinguished persons, greetings.

While the New Zealand Government is currently spending mil-lions of dollars to teach the Maori language in preschool language nests, Maori total immersion primary schools, and elsewhere, its lan-guage policies are not likely to succeed because it has failed to pro-moted Maori among Maori and non- Maori to the extent that the lan-guage has a sufficiently good image. The results of a market research study and the promotion of the 1995 Maori Language Year indicate that the passive tolerance of the Maori language by New Zealanders in contemporary New Zealand society will allow a more active and explicit promotion of the Maori language.

Maori today account for about 13% of the population in New Zealand. The Maori language has been a minority language for over 130 years. Prior to World War II the Maori language was the first language of Maori who largely lived in rural areas. After 1945 large scale urban migration occurred that led to a break-down in the transmitting of Maori from one generation to another. Maori chil-dren began to be raised as monolingual speakers of English (Chrisp, 1997, p. 101). This is very significant because at this time about 60% of the Maori popu-lation was under the age of 20. In a linguistic survey completed in the 1970s, it was clear that less than 20% of Maori could speak the Maori language. Despite intensive Maori language revitalization efforts in the 1970s and 1980s, includ-ing the kohanga reo or preschool language nests and language radio stations, the latest Maori Language Commission survey conducted in 1995 shows that the number of fluent adult Maori speakers appears to have decreased consider-ably to about 10,000. Social changes in New Zealand's history, reflected in urbanization, television, industrialization, and intercultural marriages have all

contributed to the Maori language not being spoken in homes (Waitangi Tribunal Report, 1986, p. 16). The low social status of the language in the eyes of its speakers (Crowley, 1984) and the general New Zealand community has also been a factor. In the 1990s Maori still remains an endangered language. Arguably, successful Maori language revitalization will depend, at least in part, on the attitudes and commitment of Maori speakers as a whole to maintaining and revitalizing the language in the home, in the neighborhood, in the community, and beyond. There is a real need to market the language to lift its social status and to encourage a higher level of commitment from the largely elderly group of native speakers and younger second language learners as well as the general population (Nicholson & Garland, 1991, p. 395).

Marketing paradigm

Cooper (1985) outlines how language can be viewed as a ***product*** and combined with the appropriate ***promotion*** to the correct target audience along with appropriate ***distribution*** and ***price*** (costs in personal energy, potential ridicule from family and friends, and so forth). Language can be planned in a marketing framework to enhance its status. Like any product or service, its enhancement can be planned and the first step in marketing a language, in this case the Maori language, is the so-called situation analysis. Stated more simply, a situation analysis is a review of the current status and circumstances for a product or service. For the Maori language this will involve answering questions such as how many New Zealanders speak the language fluently, how many understand it, who are these people, where do they live, where, when, and with whom do they use the Maori language, and so forth. But equally important is to ascertain New Zealanders' attitudes to the Maori language and its usage, for only when the magnitude of public support or public opposition to the advancement of the Maori language is known can the Maori Language Commission and other Maori language planning agencies, including tribal agencies, correctly formulate their marketing strategies for revitalizing the language. "Like all marketers, language planners must recognize, identify, or design products which the potential consumer will find attractive" (Cooper, 1989, p. 73). Given the situation analysis of Maori language to date, there does not appear as yet to be Maori language products that Maori are finding sufficiently attractive to buy that will change the language's endangered status.

Grin (1990) believes that the first goal of language policy should be to improve considerably the image of a minority language:

> the minority language needs to have a sufficiently good image. Any language policy that provides money, but avoids sincere commitment to boosting the image of the language, is therefore likely to fail. There seems to be no way around this: for a minority language to survive, its image must be positive. (Grin, 1990, p. 71)

It can be argued that while the New Zealand Government is currently spending millions of dollars on kohanga reo, preschool language nests, kura kaupapa Maori total immersion primary schools, as well as other initiatives, its language policies are not likely to succeed because it has not promoted Maori among Maori and non-Maori to the extent that the language has a sufficiently good image.

The Welsh Language Board has recognized the importance of good public relations and effective marketing, namely, "marrying the Board's strategy with the wishes and activities of most of the Welsh populace" (Welsh Language Board, 1989, p. 2). A marketing program is seen as an indispensable part of any strategy for the future of the Welsh language. It is also an indispensable part of any strategy for the Maori language.

Market research study

This section draws heavily on an article written by the author and Ron Garland entitled "New Zealanders' Attitudes to the Revitalization of the Maori Language" (Nicholson & Garland, 1991). In 1990 a nationwide mail survey of 225 New Zealand adults' opinions was held about the Maori language's role in contemporary society and the extent to which New Zealanders will commit themselves to fostering the language. Two specific research objectives were as follows:

- to ascertain the extent to which Maori is spoken and understood by New Zealand adults and thereby confirm or question previous estimates of competency in the Maori language.
- to gain insights into New Zealanders' attitudes to the current plight of the Maori language, its place in today's world and the level of personal commitment of New Zealanders to the Maori language. (Nicholson & Garland, 1991, p. 397)

The data collection procedure used for this research was a nationwide mail survey of a representative sample of New Zealanders aged 18 years and over randomly selected from the electoral rolls. The survey instrument was a questionnaire using closed questions, that is, it did not seek respondents' reasons for their stated answer. The response rate was 59%. The sex distribution was 53% male and 47% female while the age distribution was 18-34 years, 27%; 35-49 years, 34%; 50 years and over, 39%. Maori respondents represented 14% of the sample, non- Maori (mostly European) 86%; regional distribution was Auckland (the largest city, 820,000 population), 22%; the remainder of the upper North island, 22%; lower North Island, 22%; South Island, 34%.

As expected, most respondents claimed little or no understanding of the Maori language. However, 3% of the sample listed themselves as fluent in Maori, which if correct and extrapolated to the New Zealand adult population yields approximately 73,000 fluent speakers. This extrapolated figure is highly likely to be greatly inflated because it is suspected that a higher proportion of Maori

speakers than non-Maori speakers would have completed and returned the questionnaire and it is possible that the self definition of fluency in Maori could have been overrated by some claimants. From the survey it is clear that the initial revitalization of the Maori language lies with the Maori community; all the fluent speakers of Maori were Maori and 88% of these fluent speakers were aged 50 years or older.

Table 1: The place of the Maori language in New Zealand today

Does Maori language have a place in modern society?	Total Sample	Age (in years)		
		18-34	35-49	50 plus
Yes	67%	75%	66%	60%
No	33%	25%	34%	40%
Sample size	225	61	77	87

$_c2 = 3.4$, df = 2, r = 0.18

Two thirds of the sample agreed that the Maori language has a place in contemporary New Zealand society as demonstrated in Table 1. It is interesting to note the clear trend of inverse relationship between age and support for the language. Two thirds of the respondents acknowledged that the language has a place in contemporary society and there is considerably more support for this position among younger New Zealanders. If the young adults of today continue to embrace this attitude of support into their old age then the outlook for the Maori language becomes more optimistic. No significant differences were noted for the other variables of ethnic background, region, and sex.

Of course, it is one thing to support an idea or situation but another to actually do something about it. Willingness to make a personal commitment to ensure the survival of the Maori language saw nearly one third of the sample reply in the affirmative as shown in Table 2. Taken at face value, this result would equate to 782,000 New Zealand adults having at least some commitment to maintaining the Maori language. If we take the pessimistic view of all non-respondents being negative towards Maori language revitalization, this equates to 440,000 New Zealand adults (out of a possible 2,444,000) having at least some commitment to ensuring the future of the Maori language.

Table 2: Willingness to make a personal effort for Maori language survival

Willing to make a personal effort?	Total Sample	Age (in years)[1]			Ethnic Background[2]	
		18-34	35-49	50 plus	Maori	Non-Maori
Yes	32%	37%	32%	29%	84%	25%
No	68%	63%	68%	71%	16%	75%
Sample size	225	61	77	87	31	194

1. $_c2 = 0.95$, df = 2, r > 0.30   2. $_c2 = 137.73$, df = 1, r = 0.00

As expected, Maori respondents showed a more positive attitude to their language's revitalization with 84% stating that they would be willing to make a personal effort in this regard. This percentage equates to 180,000 Maori adults (At the 1986 Census, 405,000 people listed themselves as of Maori origin or descent; 216,000 of these people were aged 18+ years). Age and gender appeared to have little bearing on personal commitment to the Maori language. However, the questionnaire did not specify what sort of personal effort would be required, but given the usual biases attached to surveying in general and mail surveys in particular, it would be wise for policymakers to accept a lower level of national commitment to revitalizing the Maori language than stated here.

Maori Language Year
The Maori Language Commission was established by the New Zealand Government in 1987. Promoting Maori as a living language is one of its major tasks. While the Commission initially undertook a number of promotional activities, sustained marketing of the language had been difficult owing to financial constraints. The notion of a theme year came into being as a result of these financial or budgetary constraints and also to assist an increase in status as well as levels of knowledge and use of the Maori language (Chrisp, 1997, p. 101). The Commission focused on three main goals for Maori Language Year.

1.   to encourage Maori people to learn and use the Maori language in various daily activities
2.   to celebrate the place of the Maori language in New Zealand history and modern society
3.   to generate and/or harness, and actively employ, goodwill towards the Maori language within the wider New Zealand population.

It was acknowledged at the beginning that any results in terms of these goals may not be immediately evident but hopefully would emerge in the future. Maori Language Year was seen as a catalyst.

It was, and still is, very difficult to judge the success or failure of the first goal, namely, whether more Maori are using more Maori language in various daily activities. One of the problems is that there was no baseline data about the amount and volume of Maori language used immediately prior to 1995 (Chrisp, 1997, p. 104). It can, however, be agreed that Maori Language Year did create greater opportunities for using Maori. A considerable number of Maori seminars or schools of learning were held by Maori family and tribal groups. Useful discussions on intergenerational language transmission took place at these gatherings, and special Maori Language Year events and activities provided opportunities for using Maori language.

The second goal focused on celebrating the place of the Maori language in New Zealand history and modern society. A wide range of celebrations occurred. However, while celebrations and a positive environment for language

revitalization are important, what is vital is that more Maori choose to speak Maori in their homes, neighborhoods, schools, and other domains.

The third goal was generating and harnessing as well as actively employing goodwill towards the Maori language within the wider New Zealand population. The Commission sought to establish relationships in the commercial and political worlds as well as with Government agencies and the media. Commercial sponsorship meant that the amount of money to support Maori language activities and events was greatly increased. Commercial organizations began to see the benefits of targeting the Maori market using the Maori language. Senior politicians of all the political parties, including the Prime Minister, discussed the Maori language and its contribution to New Zealand society. Some Government agencies actively supported the promotion. Again, all these developments, including greater media coverage, assisted the creation of a more positive linguistic environment. Fishman (1991, p. 245), however, has described such efforts as "atmosphere effects" in that they do little to focus on the major issue of intergenerational language transmission. One of the challenges of the future, however, is to maintain and extend the goodwill created during the Maori Language Year (Chrisp, 1997, p. 105). In the medium to long term it is still possible that the level of goodwill among the wider population can translate into important political and financial support.

Conclusion

From the results of the market research study and the Maori Language Year promotion, it appears that the passive tolerance of New Zealanders to the presence of the Maori language in contemporary New Zealand society will allow active and explicit promotion. While Maori Language Year in 1995 was celebrated by a large number of New Zealanders, sustained longer term marketing of the language needs to be aimed at the Maori community. Fishman comments that it is crucial for language revitalization that priorities are identified in order "to focus the meager resources that are available in as judicious a way as possible" (Fishman, 1990, p. 18). Given the importance of the language being passed on in the home, neighborhood, and community, marketing intergenerational transmission could be an early priority. Older native speakers and younger language learners, including parents who send their children to preschool language nests and total immersion primary schools, could be encouraged to transmit the Maori language. Younger people could be encouraged to become more committed to learning it so that the number of fluent speakers is lifted quickly. It can be argued that Maori language radio and television stations could play an important role in marketing the language among Maori families. Introducing a marketing perspective to the active promotion of the Maori language would attempt to take advantage of existing Maori support first.

Another possible early priority is to market intensively on a national scale "the hoped-for benefits" (Fishman, 1990, p. 18) of Maori language revitalization. Such a program could attempt to convince Maori and non-Maori that New

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Zealand's most positive future will depend on successful revitalization of the language. Boosting its image is also important (Grin, 1990), particularly if the investment already made by policymakers is to result in the 'hoped for benefits.' Undoubtedly, higher social status for the Maori language together with effective language support programs could act as powerful incentives for transmitting the language from one generation to another as well as encouraging young people to use it (Muhlhausler, 1987).

While the Maori Language Commission is well placed to assist with the development of national Maori language marketing strategies, tribal councils and tribal language commissions will need to plan strategically the marketing of the Maori language at local or regional levels. Raising the image of the language will be important if those dollars already expended by the government and tribal bodies towards language revitalization are to be cost effective.

The United States invented the mass-consumer culture. Some of the top U.S. brand names are recognized worldwide: Coca-Cola, Kodak, McDonalds, or IBM. In marketing Maori language intergenerational transmission, or the hoped-for benefits, it will be necessary that any advertising or promotional material is liked by Maori and non-Maori. It must appeal to the Maori or non-Maori heart or emotions. The deft use of humor is a powerfully effective means of marketing (Garnsey, 1997). In the cultural marketplace what we could end up selling is hope: hope that an endangered cultural treasure will be saved, that an endangered language can be revitalized, and that Maori and non-Maori can dwell peacefully together in New Zealand—affirming and valuing one another's languages and cultures.

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Kia ora ano tatou katoa.
Greetings to us all.

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Tuning in to Navajo: The Role of Radio
in Native Language Maintenance

Leighton C. Peterson

This paper discusses the realities of radio in indigenous language maintenance with a case study of KTNN, a Navajo language station. The relationship between audience, language, and programming is analyzed, and more effective uses of radio are suggested.

Joshua Fishman (1991) and other scholars have noted the influence of the mass media as a factor in language choice in the contemporary world. In Native American communities, English-language videos, television, and popular music have replaced storytelling and other traditional medium, contributing to language shift among many Native American youth. However, the last 20 years has also brought a growing number of indigenous-language media in the United States and Canada, especially radio. This paper discusses the realities of radio's role in language maintenance using a case study of KTNN, the largest indigenous-language commercial signal in the world, and suggests ways in which radio can be utilized more effectively in Navajo-language maintenance.

Allan Bell asserts that "broadcast media play a multiple role—active as well as passive—in language standardization…broadcast media reflect the language evaluations of the society at large" (1983, p. 29). Standardization is a factor in language maintenance, yet Navajo has no accepted standard. However, Navajo-language broadcasters and their audience are actively creating a standard through daily programs and subsequent spirited feedback. Bell continues to say that "broadcast speech is the most public of languages. Its hearers are the largest simultaneous audience of the spoken language" (1983, p. 37). When discussing language maintenance, however, it is important to note who the actual and intended audience is. My data indicate that Navajo announcers often tailor their language to an older, monolingual audience and for various reasons, younger Navajos do not actively seek out Navajo-language broadcasts. As the lack of younger listeners will impact the future of the language, the relationship between audience, language, and programming is analyzed below.

Broadcasting in the Navajo language has been around for quite some time, although prior to 1972 it was limited to small program blocks on border-town stations (Keith, 1995, p. 9). In 1972, the first native-owned, native-language station in the country, KTDB, went on the air in Navajo from Pine Hill, New Mexico, to serve the Ramah Navajo Reservation. The current Navajo-language mediascape includes several Navajo-language radio stations, both public and private, as well as regular programming on local Christian radio. Navajo television station NNTV 5 produces around 4-5 hours of Navajo-language programming per week, ranging from current events to live broadcasts of the Na-

vajo Nation Tribal Council sessions. While an important aspect of Navajo language broadcasting, NNTV 5 was received by only 4,300 cable subscribers in 1996, only a small fraction of an estimated population of 180,000. It was not until the establishment of KTNN Radio in 1986 that Navajo-language programming reached the entire Navajo Nation and speakers of all variations of Navajo.

KTNN AM 660

It has been observed that indigenous people around the world establish their own media "to preserve and restore an indigenous language, to improve the self-image of the minority, and to change the negative impressions of the minority that are held by members of the majority culture" (Browne, 1996, p. 59). In the Navajo case, communication in the native language among a widely-dispersed population was a major factor in the Nation applying for and receiving a broadcast license. KTNN's mission statement emphasizes these points: "This will be the first station that will be owned by, and for the benefit of, the Navajo Nation. The programming will emphasize the Navajo culture and life-style on the reservation and will in large part be broadcast in the Navajo language" (Fisher, et al., 1981).

KTNN's 50,000 watt clear signal allows it to broadcast well beyond Navajo Nation borders, especially at night, reaching cities as far away as Phoenix and Albuquerque. KTNN's broadcast range and position as "The Voice of the Navajo Nation" (owned by the Nation) gives KTNN what Pierre Bourdieu (1991) has termed the "symbolic" power to affect linguistic change, as well as the unenviable position of being held to a high language standard, even where no such "standard" exists. In terms of language maintenance, KTNN is the single-most important broadcaster of the Navajo language.

Audience and programming

Although KTNN has the potential to reach most Navajo speakers, that does not mean that they all tune in. In the context of language maintenance, it is important to have a wide and diverse audience; however, the audience is determined in part by programming, i.e. the need or desire to listen to Navajo-language programs. KTNN's position as a commercial station, however, requires that programming be funded through advertising revenue. This means that what is best for the language or language maintenance is not always considered, as advertisers cater to those they perceive as holding the purse strings—in this case parents and grandparents.

KTNN has a Country & Western music format "which fits the life-style out here on the Reservation" (K.C.); it also plays traditional and contemporary Native American music in regular rotation. Although KTNN is a for-profit commercial radio station, it is bound to serve the needs of the Navajo people with bilingual broadcasts of news, livestock reports, the President's report, and public service announcements (PSAs) for ceremonies, Chapter meetings, and community events. The music is geared for the 21-60 age group, and the Navajo

news and livestock reports are of interest mainly to older Navajos. The PSAs attract a wide range of listeners, and "when kids want to find out if school is closed, they'll listen" (K.C.). KTNN's C&W format, however, does not fit the tastes of many younger Navajos, and they associate KTNN with "Johns" (a derogatory term for Navajos, especially older Navajos, who are perceived to be neither traditional nor assimilated, live in the "sticks," and speak English with a pronounced accent, i.e., "backwoods" B.K.). Therefore, many youth do not willingly tune in to KTNN's Navajo broadcasts, "but if they're stuck at home or in the truck with grandma or their parents, then they have to listen" (K.C.). Some programs, such as sports broadcasts, which may seem youth-oriented actually are not:

> Broadcasting play by play came about when a lot of our elders were...calling us at KTNN and saying, "Hey, why don't you guys do it in Navajo? There's a lot of us who are back at home that would like to know how our grandkids are doing at basketball tournaments." So when we're talking we talk about the directions in a game, the 3 point line...we educate our elders about the game. (R.B.)

Sports play-by-play broadcasts are, however, one way in that KTNN's programming finds new uses for the Navajo language. At the same time, Navajo news broadcasts and feature stories keep the language relevant in the contemporary world. There is also programming designed for the youth, featuring "urban" and dance music. These shows, however, are broadcast in English.

Contributing to the lack of a wide youth audience during Navajo broadcasts is the fact that many younger listeners may not understand the more "traditional" Navajo used by some of KTNN's announcers, many of whom cater to an older, monolingual population: "In my mind there are elderly people listening to KTNN, a lot of people who don't speak English listening to KTNN, so therefore they are primary in my mind when I translate from English into Navajo" (M.G.). They talk of listeners "in the remote areas," "at the hogan level," or "out on the Rez." Therefore, announcers try to speak accordingly. However, as announcer M.G., who is in his 40s, put it: "To continuously talk Navajo at a level where the elders are able to understand is sometimes difficult, and without using the slang...that's hard."

Language

Former program director T.Y. put it best when he said that "one of the biggest issues now facing KTNN is trying to define the type of Navajo that should be spoken." Changes in the Navajo language as a result of broadcasting, such as the constant use of English terms, can have wide-reaching implications in language maintenance. Furthermore, announcers must alter their speech for different audiences, whether using more slang or more "traditional" terms. These factors result in a spirited dialogue between broadcasters and audience on "proper" on-air language. However, even when "proper" language is used, prob-

lems still arise: "I find that no matter how descriptive you are in a story, there is always somebody who does not quite understand what you just said. They have their own interpretations" (J. B.).

The data indicate that KTNN's unique position as a commercial radio station broadcasting in an indigenous language requires subtle changes in the way the Navajo language is used on the air. This type of Navajo has been described by my consultants as "Broadcast Navajo": "Yeah, Broadcast Navajo is different. Broadcast Navajo is a way of speaking Navajo at a level where it's brief and to the point, because of the Navajo language being so difficult" (T.Y.). Another consultant told me that "when you use the 'formal' Navajo with the big vocabulary, it takes about twice as long to say something than with the 'newer' Navajo. We call that 'Broadcast Navajo' for our purposes here, because we have to shorten everything up" (K.C.). Navajo is a very descriptive language and is not easily adjusted to fit the time constraints of 30 second commercials and other unique requirements of entertainment radio, especially since most of KTNN's Navajo-language programming is interpreted directly from written English copy. "To find DJs to speak this type of Navajo on the radio is difficult" (T.Y.).

Many of the DJs at KTNN find it necessary to codeswitch (use English terms) even where there is a "traditional" Navajo term available. For example, when faced with making a 30-second commercial, it is quicker for an announcer to say "Window Rock" than *Tséghahoodzání*; furthermore, it is possible that neither the announcer nor some members of the audience will know the Navajo name for Window Rock or other locations. Codeswitching among KTNN DJs is especially apparent with numbers, place names, addresses, and consumer goods, resulting in a great number of listener complaints. Broadcast Navajo is further characterized by speaking quickly using fillers such as *éíyá* and *áádóó* and incorrect, direct translations from English.

Scholars have noted that "the public is ultrasensitive about broadcast language...accusations that certain broadcasters speak incorrectly are a familiar listener response, usually accompanied by praise for other broadcasters who are held up as models of good speech" (Bell, 1983, p. 38). This appears to hold true for the Navajo case as well. Listener complaints about Broadcast Navajo far outnumber any other listener response, and they can be passionate: "Why is this morning guy still on the air? He can't even speak his own language!" (1994 Letter). "We've been criticized for slaughtering the language.... our purpose is obviously to keep the language alive, but how are we keeping it alive is a question, because of the grammar usage and the lack of knowledge of all the words" (K.C.). Many of these complaints are owing to factors mentioned above, including Navajo and English fluency, domain knowledge, and so forth. However, for Navajo—where there is no official standard—many complaints are simply caused by regional differences in the language:

> What else have we gotten complaints about.... the way we mispronounce words. There's different dialects across the Reservation, and

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some of our announcers are from the western region and some are from the eastern region, and the same word can be pronounced two different ways. And somebody inevitably will have a complaint that we didn't put the right inflection on it or it has a different meaning from one region to the next. (K.C.)

Newscaster J.B. gave me the following examples:

Tódilchxóshí is one example. When I talk about 'pop,' I say *tódilchxóshí*, which means 'the water that bubbles.' But in Gallup area, I notice that they say *tó áikání*, 'the sweet water, the tasty water.' That's how they say it. And we say damóo *yázhí* for Saturday ['little Sunday'], and some people say *yiská damóo*, which means 'tomorrow is Sunday.' We just have different translations all the way across. One of our DJs, when he says land, he says *héya*. I say *kéya*. But he means kÉyah. But to me, that's the way he talks, that's his language.

From a language maintenance standpoint, many of the complaints mentioned above are legitimate. For example, continued use of English for place names, numbers, and consumer goods will likely aid in the demise of their Navajo equivalents. However, issues relating to regional dialects are more contentious and may or may not be solved with a Broadcast Navajo standard.

Language standards
The way in which KTNN's DJs adapt the Navajo language to a radio format is largely individual choice, based in part on language ability in both English and Navajo, domain knowledge, and their level of experience with radio broadcasting. This, of course, leads to a wide variation in broadcast language. KTNN staff and management discuss the language issue at almost every meeting and have mentioned standardization, but,

it's hard for us to standardize the Navajo language in a manual that we all take a look at. We've talked about that, and we've talked with Navajo Community College and Rough Rock Demonstration School on helping us come closer to the meanings, but we haven't really been able to formalize anything yet, because it takes time and money to do that. (K.C.)

Without an official standard to follow, other methods to determine "correct" or accepted language use must be found by Navajo-language broadcasters. Browne (1996) notes that when language questions arise, indigenous broadcaster seek help from official outlets such as language commissions, individual experts, or requests to the audience for help. Newscaster J.B. and longtime announcer S.R. were constantly cited as being the Navajo-language experts at KTNN (even though they spoke different regional dialects). J.B. said she has

consulted elders or respected Council delegates herself for language advice. However, being "traditional" or an elder does not make one the best language consultant: Sportscaster R.B. told me that she could not rely on her grandparents for proper terminology and description for basketball play-by-plays "because they don't really know the sport of basketball. But the younger generation, they do."

Audience members offer suggestions on language use; one consultant noted that "if they hear you say something wrong, they'll come up and tell you, 'Don't you think it would be easier to describe it like this?'" (R.B.). J.B. gave me this example of audience oversight:

> Well, there was one time I lost the word for 'uncle,' and I was talking about this person in a story whose uncle had some kind of deal—I forget what the subject matter was—but I was at a loss for the word uncle. This was a boy to an uncle. And so I was trying to figure out what was the word, what was the proper language when I was reading it, and I kind of...*bik'is* is what I said, which is a brother. And so then the person called me and left a message on the phone and said the right language was *bidá'í.*

This dialogue between announcers and audience—and between the broadcasters themselves—is a sign that the language is vital and alive: "People listen. That [audience feedback] tells me they are listening and it is a serious matter" (J.B.). The recursive relationship between audience, broadcasters, language, and programming is also creating a standard for Broadcast Navajo. Whether or not a standard is needed may never be answered, but Navajo speakers obviously are passionate about "correct" language use and expect their broadcasters to uphold those ideals. When asked who is the final authority on correct on-air language use, however, one announcer replied: "My God. I guess whoever's talking, which would be us...I guess" (R.B.).

Programming for the future

In order to address KTNN's responsibility towards the Navajo language and to foster a younger audience, regular language instruction programming could be developed. This programming should be planned in conjunction with Navajo language instructors in schools and universities and partially utilize KTNN's existing sports and entertainment broadcasts as a vehicle of instruction (i.e., develop pamphlets with basketball and football terminology in Navajo so students can follow play-by-play). Furthermore, entertainment and music programming in the Navajo language geared towards youth could be implemented. Younger Navajo speakers should be the announcers and should be allowed to speak their own version of Navajo (with slang).

There is probably no perfect way to appease all of KTNN's listeners. Nonetheless, KTNN's announcers are held to a higher standard of the Navajo language, and KTNN has a responsibility towards the language. Therefore, sev-

eral actions could be taken: 1) Standardize frequently-encountered terminology in news and entertainment, agreed upon by speakers from all parts of the Navajo Nation, 2) Require announcers to improve language skills in both Navajo and English when needed as a condition for continued employment, 3) Log specific, legitimate listener complaints about Broadcast Navajo and utilize them in future language planning and standardization, and 4) Secure grant money for this on the basis of maintaining a Native language in the modern world.

Conclusion

In today's world, commercial radio is a necessary and viable communication outlet for the Navajo language. Commercial radio helps keep the Navajo language alive in many domains with news, sports, and public service broadcasting. It also provides positive exposure for the Navajo people and all Native Americans. However, commercial radio affects the way Navajo is spoken on the air by DJs and announcers, creating a peculiar type of Navajo defined here as "Broadcast Navajo." KTNN helps perpetuate the Navajo language "simply by keeping it out there on the air" (K.C.). However, it is also changing the language. Whether these language changes are being adopted by KTNN's audience would require a much deeper study. If one of KTNN's main goals is the preservation and perpetuation of the Navajo language, then two issues need to be addressed. First, it should be determined if a standard needs to be created for the use of the Navajo language in the electronic media; and second, a way must be found to attract the younger generation of Navajos to Navajo-language broadcasts.

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The Wordpath Show

Alice Anderton

The Intertribal Wordpath Society (IWS) is a nonprofit educational corporation formed to promote the teaching, status, awareness, and use of Oklahoma Indian languages. The Society produces Wordpath, a weekly 30 minute public access television show about Oklahoma Indian languages and the people who are teaching and preserving them. There are cable television companies all across the United States that offer some form of public access. The Federal Communications Commission requires cable companies to make their facilities and airwaves available to the public in exchange for having a monopoly on the cable in their local area. This public access may involve the right to air programs on a certain channel during certain hours; it may also involve the right to use studio facilities to produce programs. This access is offered for a low fee or no fee. This paper describes IWS use of public access television to promote Oklahoma's indigenous languages.

In Norman, Oklahoma, the local cable company, Multimedia Cablevision, supports an active program that truly serves the community and is completely free. The program is called *Wordpath,* and it is a part of the Community Producers Workshop. Any Norman resident aged 18 or over can join the Workshop by taking a free training class at the studio which lasts a few hours and gives an overview of the facilities and the Workshop. At the end of the class, participants get a "Community Producer" (CP) card that entitles them to serve on the crews of existing community programs and use the studio's facilities to produce a new program of their own under the supervision of studio staff. Further training and certification are available from studio staff in electronic field production (remote shoots) and editing.

Community Producers can use a professional television studio equipped with sound and lighting systems, graphics computers, an audio board, a video switching board, and a digital video effects machine, as well as dubbing and editing bays. Once certified, CPs may check out equipment to shoot programs at remote sites; this includes a high quality Hi-8 camera, microphones, and lighting equipment. The resulting programs air on the local cable channel only, which reaches 20,000 households in the Norman area. Shows may also be distributed for nonprofit purposes (some are broadcast in other areas in their public access programs). No production for commercial purposes is allowed.

I joined the Community Producers Workshop in 1995 with no video experience whatever, and began serving on the crew of some of the existing shows to develop my skills. I began as a cameraperson and went on to do floor manag-

ing, audio, computer graphics, and directing. When I felt ready, I began to produce *Wordpath*.

Goals of the *Wordpath* show

We have produced 32 shows so far (see Appendix A), and recently received funding from the Oklahoma Foundation for the Humanities and the Endangered Language Fund to produce another 17 (see Appendix B). The goals of the program are:

- to raise the consciousness and appreciation of the general public for Indian languages
- to share information by announcing classes, conferences, and grants and by demonstrating methodologies and technologies
- to create language materials for classrooms and archives
- to honor language preservationists—including teachers <u>and</u> students

Eventually, we hope to tape about 75 programs, including at least one for each of the 27 Oklahoma Indian languages still spoken or being revived. Our Oklahoma Foundation for the Humanities grant will allow us to copy programs and place them in four libraries around the state of Oklahoma, so that people outside Norman or without cable will be able to see them.

The structure of the *Wordpath* show

We shoot in the studio on Thursday evenings (except when taping a show at a remote location). Our shows then air the following week. I have taped a one minute introduction over which we roll the show title and opening credits and a one minute "outro" over which we roll closing credits (personnel, copyright information, and so forth). A typical studio show is essentially an interview between one or more guests and me. We may begin with a few announcements, and then I introduce the guests. I always ask them how one greets someone in their language. Then they tell about their personal background and why their language is so important to them. If they are involved in classes, I give them an opportunity to give dates and times. Often guests will tell a story or sing a song in their language (these segments can be used in classes later). Sometimes we tape a program on location, such as at a university, public school, or community language class or in a guest's home or other location of their choice. In these cases, I edit the tape myself and usually add a brief introduction shot in the studio. The guests receive a copy of the completed show. Periodically I do a solo show on a linguistic topic, such as the structure of a particular language or the commonalties of languages, such as borrowing, language families, teaching methods, and so forth.

Our crew consists of other CPs who have taken the introductory class at the studio and have an interest in the show. I have made a special effort to recruit Native Americans, especially targeting Oklahoma Indian tribes. I use announcements and fliers to Indian language classes at the University of Okla-

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homa, Indian art galleries, and newspaper publicity in the hope that some of these recruits will go on to produce programs in their own communities. Right now our crew is about 60% Oklahoma Indian and includes both novices and experts in video production.

In the future, we will experiment with some more innovative formats. Our Endangered Language Fund grant is to develop two mini-dramas in Indian languages. We plan to have native speakers of Oklahoma Indian languages plan, write, and act minidramas that will fit into our 1/2 hour slot. One will be in Creek and one in Choctaw. We will include a subtitled version in the *Wordpath* broadcast and make both the subtitled and unsubtitled versions available to the participants' tribes and to public libraries in their areas. We hope this will inspire more Oklahomans to make language tapes entirely in their tribal languages, both for the entertainment of fluent speakers and for use in language classes.

Why do this?

We feel good about the response to the *Wordpath* programs so far. Based on comments from the public, I believe that people in Norman are becoming more aware and appreciative of Indian languages. The show has also been very satisfying and educational for me; I have met a lot of people from all over the state who are involved in Indian language work. They peeked in on classes in Indian languages and gained a deeper understanding of the connections between language and culture. The guests have enjoyed being on the show and having the tape afterwards to share with family, friends, and students. Some of the stories we have recorded during *Wordpath* shows have been used to enhance language classes. I think the television experience has helped to build the self-confidence of some of the newer teachers. Students have felt good when they saw themselves on the program, and their family and friends have been proud of them. Our crew has benefited by receiving free technical training and by the contacts they have made with each other and with the guests. At least one crew member has gone on to use her skills producing a cultural program in her own community. Teachers have enjoyed seeing their colleagues' shows, and getting ideas they may use in their own classrooms. And, we have all had a lot of fun with the productions, so everyone has benefited.

I urge all of you to look into the possibilities of doing language video tapes in your own communities. If you live in a small rural community without a cable company, see if there is someone in your tribe who is working or studying in an urban area that has a public access cable program. It is a good, inexpensive way to produce teaching materials, honor fluent speakers and teachers, and make the public aware of the importance and the beauty of Indian languages. For more information, please contact the Intertribal Wordpath Society, 1506 Barkley St., Norman, OK 73071; Phone (405) 447-6103.

Appendix A

Wordpath Shows To Date

1. <u>Introduction</u>. Current statistics on the languages of Oklahoma; language suppression; what's going on in Indian language preservation; language and culture; available books.
2. <u>Bobby Blossom, with Onita Lynch</u>. Cherokee language, classes, and materials, including poetry by Cherokee students at the University of Oklahoma.
3. <u>Linda Alexander and Ted Isham</u>. Creek language, classes, and materials; the story of how turtle got the pattern on its back; the Mvskoke Language Institute.
4. <u>Richard Codopony</u>. Reflections on the importance of the Comanche language, by a Comanche artist who is an independent language scholar.
5. <u>Ronald Red Elk</u>. The President of the Comanche Nation Language and Cultural Preservation Committee and Assistant Principal of Anadarko High School discusses the importance of the Comanche language and recent efforts in the tribe to preserve it.
6. <u>*Wordpath* to Date</u>. A discussion by the producer of the experience of producing the first five shows, and feedback received so far.
7. <u>Truman Black, Otoe, with Arthur Lightfoot</u>. The status and importance of the Otoe language; songs in Otoe.
8. <u>Geraldine Greenwood (part 1)</u>. Interview on the suppression of Indian languages by the federal government; visit to Chickasaw language classes at Mill Creek School.
9. <u>Geraldine Greenwood, (part 2)</u>. Class presentations by students at Mill Creek School. Reminiscences of growing up Chickasaw in Oklahoma.
10. <u>Mary Lou Davis and Randlett Edmonds</u>. Caddo language, songs, and pottery.
11. <u>Carl Downing, Ph.D</u>. Indian language preservation in Oklahoma.
12. <u>Borrowings</u> (Alice Anderton). How cultural contact is reflected in linguistic borrowing between European and Indian languages, and also from one Indian language to another.
13. <u>George Bunny, Ted Isham, and Pete Coser</u>. Interviews and a visit to a beginning Creek language class in Stillwater.
14. <u>Margaret Mauldin, with Ester Bell and Teri Longhorn</u>. Description of a Creek story book project; reading of the story in Creek and English; Creek hymns. (Taped on site at North Rock Creek School, Shawnee, and Arbeka Indian Methodist church near Okmulgee.)
15. <u>Teaching Myths and Methodologies (part I)</u> (Alice Anderton). How children and adults learn language; what makes a good language class.

16. Evans Ray Satepauhoodle. The importance of the Kiowa language; recently produced Kiowa language workbook and manual; Kiowa song.
17. Language Teaching Methodologies (part 2). Continues show #15. Includes excerpts of a tape of a Hawaiian immersion classroom.
18. Margaret Mauldin (part 2). Continues show #14. Creek I and Creek II classes at the University of Oklahoma; the preservation of Creek hymns and story; a recording session in a Norman studio.
19. Parrish Williams with John Williams. The importance of the Ponca language; a tour of Ponca country; language and the Native American Church.
20. Lucille McClung. Reminiscences of a Comanche childhood; sample language lesson using a Comanche doll; excerpt of the tape "A Comanche Story".
21. Norman Kiker and Walter Cooper. Status of the Potawatomi language; visit to a Potawatomi class.
22. Indian Languages are not Primitive Languages—Comanche (part 1) (Alice Anderton). A profile of the sounds and grammar of Comanche.
23. Gus Palmer, Jr. Kiowa language classes at the University of Oklahoma; a Kiowa story.
24. Chief Jerry Haney. Seminole language preservation; Mvskoke language at the Seminole Nation Days celebration; newly produced Seminole learning materials.
25. Indian Languages are not Primitive Languages—Comanche (part 2). Continues show #22. Structure of Comanche nouns, verbs, postpositional phrases, and sentences.
26. Greetings in the Indian Languages of Oklahoma (Alice Anderton). A sampling of greetings from Indian and other languages; a theory of greeting form and function, illustrated by examples from Oklahoma languages.
27. Creating Classroom Materials. Making wordlists, flashcards, dictionaries, and posters; demonstration of how to use them in the classroom.
28. Creating Classroom Materials (part 2): Making and using calendars, posters, dialogs, and tapes for the language classroom; excerpt from the Yokuts tape *How Coyote Stole the Sun*; Comanche materials for teachers and students, made by Melissa Hinkle.
29. Hawai'i's Punana Leo Schools. Elementary school language immersion classes in Hawai'i illustrate successful teaching strategies. Stresses the importance of bringing elders into the classroom, combining language and culture, and making learning fun.
30. Alecia Gonzales. Kiowa classes at Anadarko High School. The students introduce themselves in Kiowa, sing Kiowa songs, and discuss stories, grammar, and related culture.
31. Bobby Joe Blossom and Linda Jordan. Cherokee classes at the University of Oklahoma; discussion of Cherokee greetings; an all-Cherokee monolog, followed by the same monolog with simultaneous English translation.
32. Fundraising for Language Programs. How funding can help language programs; who has money to offer; how to plan fundraising and get funded.

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Appendix B

Planned *Wordpath* Shows

1. The language families of Oklahoma (Anderton). A brief discussion of the language families of the world and the 8 language families and one isolate (Euchee) of Oklahoma.
2. Indian languages are not primitive languages: Structure of Caddo (Anderton)
3. Boarding schools. We will visit the sites of several surviving schools, discuss their history, and hear the thoughts of several Oklahoma Indians who have good and bad memories of them.
4. Pan-tribal communication, language attitudes, ethnic identity, and language policy. A panel will discuss how their language attitudes are related to practical matters and to issues of ethnic identity and the need for political power in the modern world.
5. Wyandotte and Eastern Shawnee Language Preservation. TeNona Kuhn.
6. Seneca Language Preservation. TeNona Kuhn, of the Cultural Preservation Committee.
7. Peoria, Modoc, and Miami Language Preservation.
8. Chief Charles Dawes, principal chief and a ceremonial leader of the Ottawa tribe and author of a 1982 dictionary of the Ottawa language.
9. Durbin Feeling, author of *Cherokee-English Dictionary* and linguist for the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma.
10. Lucy Blalock and Jim Rementer. Delaware.
11. Indian languages are not primitive languages: Choctaw. Dr. Marcia Haag.
12. Marcia Haag and Henry Willis, Choctaw teaching team at the University of Oklahoma.
13. Archiving language materials. Tips for making and storing audio and video tapes and photographs for use in the language classroom.
14. Ponca women's speech.
15. Clara Brown, Caddo.
16. A minidrama in Choctaw.
17. A historical minidrama in Creek.

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The Echota Cherokee Language:
Current Use and Opinions About Revival

Stacye Hathorn

The Echota trace their roots to the Chickamauga Cherokee of North Alabama. Today the Echota are 22,000 strong with a Tribal Council that administers tribal lands, supports a dance team, publishes a newsletter, and supervises an excellent Indian Education program. Among the objectives of the tribe's ongoing program of cultural preservation and renewal is a desire to reacquire the Cherokee language. The tribe, joined in an effort with Auburn University, seeks to establish a database on tribal language resources and attitudes. The ultimate goal of Echota leaders is to offer instruction in the Cherokee language through the Alabama public school system. To design a language program to meet the desires and needs of the Echota community a survey was designed to gather information on Native American language knowledge, language attitudes, and potential language use. This baseline survey forms part of the initial stage of the Echota Cherokee language project. As such, it will lay the ground work for the language revitalization efforts to follow. After the survey has been completed, the project leaders will have a reliable measure of Cherokee language use among tribal members and an estimate of the extent of support that the project will receive.

Members of the Echota Cherokee tribe trace their ancestry through the Chickamagua Cherokee, who seceded from the Cherokee Nation in 1777 over land cession issues. Older chiefs in favor of peace signed a treaty ceding a vast tract of Cherokee land to the state of South Carolina. Younger "rebellious" chiefs favored resistance to white encroachment. Refugees from South Carolina and dissidents led by these young chiefs established a settlement at Chickamagua Creek, in Southeastern Tennessee. By the year 1817 the U.S. Government recognized these Chickamagua as a separate Cherokee community.

Twelve years later tribal activities were driven underground by legislation enacted by the state of Alabama. This legislation outlawed Native American government, voided all contracts made with native Americans canceling all debts owed them, and made it illegal for Native Americans to testify in court against white people. Even though the U.S. Supreme Court ruled some of these laws unconstitutional, President Andrew Jackson refused to enforce the ruling, effectively sealing the fate of the Cherokee people. In 1838, after exhaustive efforts to change the removal treaty of New Echota, forced removal began and the bulk of the Cherokee Nation embarked upon the infamous Trail of Tears.

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The U.S. Government took the position that all Cherokee were removed to Oklahoma, however reservees, that is individual members of the Chickamagua Cherokee tribe who had been guaranteed land allotments under previous treaties, retained their properties. Many of these reservees were able to provide refuge for other Cherokees who had escaped removal. These Chickamagua Cherokee continued to be listed on tribal rolls; however, the severe social and economic costs of publicly acknowledging Native American identity compelled many to conceal their heritage. There is evidence that a sizable number of Cherokee remained in Alabama. The Hester Roll of 1884 documents only 17 Cherokee living in Alabama, and the 1910 U.S. Census listed only nine, yet a court of claims application in that same year documents a population of hundreds of Cherokee living in Alabama.

Today there are approximately 22,000 descendants of these Chickamagua and of the Cherokee refugees to whom they gave sanctuary living throughout the state. In 1980, these descendants reorganized under the name Echota Cherokee. The word *Echota* was chosen because it represents a Cherokee place of sanctuary and renewal. The Davis-Strong act of 1984 designated the Echota as a state recognized tribe. The tribal council administers tribal lands, supports the Echota dance team, and publishes a tribal newsletter. The tribe also supervises the Lawrence County Title IV Indian Education Program, which has received national recognition by governmental review boards as an Exemplary Program.

Among the many objectives of the tribe's ongoing program of cultural preservation and renewal is a desire to reacquire the Cherokee language. The tribe, joined in an effort with Auburn University, seeks to establish a database on tribal language resources and attitudes. The ultimate goal is to provide a knowledge base for Cherokee Revival in Alabama.

In order to design a maximally effective language program, the linguistic attitudes, needs, and desires of the Echota community must be identified. Dr. Robin Sabino, linguist at Auburn University associated with the Echota project, contacted me about designing a baseline survey that will meet these several needs for Alabama's largest Indian tribe. With the help of Dr. Sabino, colleagues in the sociology department, and members of the Echota tribe, I constructed a three page questionnaire to gather information on Cherokee language knowledge, Echota language attitudes, and potential Cherokee language use in Alabama. The survey has recently been mailed with the monthly tribal newsletter to the six Indian education programs for distribution to students' families. Participation is voluntary, although encouraged by the tribal council.

Echota Language Survey

This paper discusses the survey design and the implications of the data gathered by the pretest for the future of the Echota language project. As Crawford (1996) so aptly pointed out, if language shift reflects a change in societal and cultural values, then efforts to reverse language shifts must also consider these

same values. Thus, from a broader perspective, it is important to inquire into the change in values that have placed the Echota upon the path to linguistic and cultural renewal. In this sense, the Echota survey (see Appendix) and the data gathered as a result of the survey will contribute to the overall body of information on assessment of linguistic attitudes.

Most Echota do not speak Cherokee, but each tribal member's input is important in order to design a program to best meet the needs of the entire tribe. In addition, some in the tribe have special language knowledge. For example, some members have living memory of the Cherokee language being spoken in their homes.

Purposes, goals, and rationale of the survey

Because we expect that the survey will identify individuals whose knowledge will be especially valuable to the tribe's effort, there is a space on each survey for tribal affiliation and role number. This will provide a way for the Tribal Council to contact these persons and request a follow up interview via telephone or in person. However, filling out the questionnaire does not obligate anyone to an interview. Anonymity will be preserved because I have not requested access to tribal roles. Because of the excellent working relationship between the University and the tribe, the tribe has agreed to make initial contact with those individuals who might provide useful follow up information. Thus, from my perspective, the questionnaires are anonymous.

The primary purpose of this survey is to assess the current knowledge and opinions of the Echota Cherokee of Alabama about their ancestral language, and to investigate the current status of the Cherokee language in terms of its use among the Echota. It is also important to determine the attitudes of tribal members toward the Cherokee language itself and its symbolic connotation for their own cultural identity.

The survey questions

In this section I discuss survey design, explaining the rationale behind some of the less obvious items. The surveys have only recently been distributed, and the bulk of the questionnaires have not yet been returned, thus I am limited to using the findings of the pretest as an illustration.

The questionnaire was pretested by 21 individuals chosen by the clan chiefs and approved by the tribal council, thus the pretest sample population was both small and self selecting. The ages of the respondents to the pretest range from 15 to 69, 62% of which are male. Only four of the six clans participated in the pretest with a large proportion (42%) of the participants coming from one particular clan. Echota clans are based on regional rather than the traditional, matrilineal kinship affiliations, so the pretest results may prove more representative of one particular region of Alabama than of the entire Echota tribe, which is distributed throughout the state.

Because of the small size of the sample and the fact that no random sampling method was used, it cannot be assumed that the results of the pretest will

reflect the result of the larger survey. Nevertheless the pretest has yielded inter-esting results. Four of the respondents reported childhood memory of a family member speaking Cherokee. This was unexpected due to the early accultura-tion of the Cherokee, the degree of intermarriage with whites, and the long time span within which those who remained in Alabama were compelled to deny their heritage. Interestingly, all of the Cherokee speakers named among family members were female, opening up the possibility of investigating Dorian's (1981) Grandmother principal. This information also raises the possibility of further exploring the role of gender in language death.

Another item explores experience with the Cherokee language outside the family. Fifty-two percent of the respondents said that they have been acquainted with someone other than a relative who spoke Cherokee. Three of the respon-dents knew someone who learned the Cherokee language in Alabama from another speaker of Cherokee. This suggests, that the Cherokee language sur-vived at least into the present century in Alabama.

None of the respondents themselves currently speak the Cherokee language, but all expressed a desire to acquire it. None of the respondents reported ever having attended a Cherokee language class in the past; however, 48% said that they have studied the Cherokee language on their own, which indicates a level of personal motivation to reacquire their aboriginal language.

In the event that no native Alabama speakers of Cherokee are identified, the Echota will have to choose between learning the North Carolina (Eastern Band) or the Oklahoma dialect of Cherokee. Of those surveyed in the pretest, 52% said that they would prefer to learn the Eastern band dialect. The others did not state a preference. No one stated a preference for the Oklahoma dialect, which would be the cheapest and easiest route because there are instructional materials already available in that dialect.

Different individuals have different ideas of what constitutes language abil-ity. To provide a more descriptive measure of language ability, I included a section that asked the respondents to rank their ability to understand, speak, read, and write the Cherokee language. I used a semantic differential scale from one to seven (1 representing fluency and 7 representing no ability). No one ranked themselves above four in any of the categories. All reported no writing ability. However, 19% of the respondents reported some ability to understand, 24% reported the ability to speak a minimal amount of Cherokee themselves, and 10% reported the ability to read a minimal amount of the written Cherokee language. Although the self-reported amount of language ability is modest among these respondents, it is more than anyone expected at the outset of the project. Furthermore, this knowledge provides a base to build upon and suggests that these respondents may have a realistic idea of the effort that language reacqui-sition will involve.

In order to understand the hierarchy of motivations that encouraged the Echota to initiate and participate in language revitalization and to get an idea of what the tribe hopes to achieve with its revitalization efforts, I included a sec-tion that asked the respondents to rank the top five reasons why they want to

learn the Cherokee language. The respondents ranked having Cherokee ances-
tors and keeping Cherokee tradition alive most frequently as their primary in-
centive.

I used a Likert type ordinal scale of relative intensity for 13 questions as an
indicator of language attitude. All of the respondents agree or strongly agree
that the Cherokee language is worth learning and that the tribe should work
hard to save it, in spite of the fact that 57% felt that Cherokee is a difficult
language to learn. I believe these responses show a realistic view of the task
ahead, with a conviction that the end result is worth the effort. Perhaps this is
because 95% reported the opinion that knowledge of the Cherokee language is
important to their identity as Echota Cherokee.

Of those surveyed, 95% felt that it is important that their children learn
about their Cherokee heritage. While 86% felt that all Cherokee people, both
children and adults, should be able to read books and publications written in
Cherokee, and 76% felt that there is important information about the Cherokee
culture written in the Cherokee language. No one surveyed in the pretest felt
that preservation efforts are a waste of time and only one respondent feels that
the preservation of the Cherokee language is unrealistic. Only one respondent
felt that the Cherokee language is of no value in the modern world, though 24%
felt that preserving Cherokee is looking backward instead of forward.

In order to avoid omitting important attitudinal information or motivations
specific to the Echota tribe, I included an open ended question near the end of
the survey, asking what advantages someone who can speak the Cherokee lan-
guage might have. One respondent answered that learning Cherokee would
give her a sense of self worth and accomplishment, in addition to imparting the
ability "to communicate with the older ones who are still here with knowl-
edge." Another said that it would give him the ability to preserve his own cul-
ture in his own language This particular statement brings up David Wolf's point
about the loss of words for describing a part of a culture. Be it words referring
to an aspect material culture or cultural practice, no genuine equivalent is avail-
able in the replacing language. Thus there is difficulty discussing that particu-
lar cultural item, making overall cultural revival that much more difficult.

One clan leader felt that the clan meetings should be conducted in the Chero-
kee language, while another man expressed the desire to preserve the traditions
as they were passed down by the elders. Perhaps the most personal response
was a desire to "pray to the creator and long past ancestor spirits." Along the
same lines, several respondents expressed that learning the Cherokee language
would make them feel more connected to the past and their heritage. Another
respondent felt that the ability to speak the Cherokee language will make people
recognize him as a Cherokee. Similarly, a third respondent said that it would
give her "credibility" as a Cherokee. These last two responses may tap into
motivations more unique to the Echota. Many Echota do not look like stereo-
typical Indians, owing to a largely mixed blood membership and a high degree
of acculturation. These Echota may desire a badge of identity as Native Ameri-
cans. Language serves as an excellent badge of cultural identity.

In addition to being physically nondistinctive, the Echota are a largely urban population that is physically spread out across the state. Many have acquired access to main stream education and jobs. The Echota are a people who were successful enough at blending in to remain behind in their homeland when other Native Americans were harassed into leaving or forcefully removed. Today their descendants want to reverse some of the cultural cost of that success.

Conclusion

The results of the pretest indicate that the survey instrument:

1. adequately measures the status of Cherokee language use among tribal members,
2. assesses the linguistic attitudinal climate, and
3. estimates the extent of support and participation that the proposed project will receive. In doing so, it lays the ground work for the Echota Cherokee language revitalization efforts to follow.

In addition, the pretest indicated that there is some degree of Cherokee language knowledge present within the Echota population. Perhaps there is enough knowledge to serve as a foundation to build upon for those individuals who possess that knowledge, or even to tap as an educational resource for those with no knowledge.

Finally the attitudes expressed in the pretest of this survey signify that the Echota envision both social and personal rewards with the reacquisition of the Cherokee language. These positive language attitudes coupled with the enthusiasm, dedication, and willingness to work for cultural revitalization exhibited by the entire Echota tribe in past efforts anticipates an optimistic future for the Echota Cherokee Language reacquisition project.

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Appendix

Questionnaire

Here are a few general guidelines for answering the questionnaire: The questionnaire is divided into three sections to help you identify the topic of primary concern for the items in that series; Most of the items include several possible answers preceded by a number or code. Simply circle the number preceding the one answer which best describes your opinion, experience or behavior. In some questions, you will be asked to choose all of the answers which describe your experience, opinion or behavior from a list of options. Finally, there are a few items in which you are asked to write a brief answer which will convey your unique opinion, experience or behavior.

Part I—Experience with the Cherokee Language. The first section of the questionnaire deals with the experiences you may have had with the Cherokee language. Please read each question carefully and circle the number preceding all the experiences which apply.

1. When **you** were a child, did anyone in your family speak Cherokee?
   1. Paternal grandmother
   2. Paternal grandfather
   3. Maternal grandmother
   4. Maternal grandfather
   5. Mother
   6. Father
   7. Brother
   8. Sister
   9. Some other relative, please specify _____
   99. Don't know

2. Did any of the adults in your family speak Cherokee when **they** were a child?
   1. Paternal grandmother
   2. Paternal grandfather
   3. Maternal grandmother
   4. Maternal grandfather
   5. Mother
   6. Father
   7. Brother
   8. Sister
   9. Wife/Husband
   10. Some other relative, please specify
   99. Don't know

3. Were you ever acquainted with anyone, outside your family, who spoke Cherokee?
   1. Friend, how many? _____
   2. Co-worker, how many? _____
   3. Teacher, how many? _____
   4. Other, please specify _____

4. Do you know anyone who learned Cherokee in Alabama?
   1. Yes
   0. No

   4A. If Yes, were they male or female (Circle one)
   4B. If Yes, did they learn it. (Circle one)

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1. From another speaker of Cherokee
2. In a class
3. From a book
99. Don't know

5. If you do not currently speak Cherokee, would you like to learn? (Circle **one**)
    1. Yes, definitely (If yes, Go to Q7)
    2. Yes, probably (If yes, Go to Q7)
    3. No, probably not (If no, Go to Q7)
    0. No, definitely not (If no, Go to Q8)
    99. Don't know

6. If you were to learn Cherokee, would you prefer to learn it. (Circle **one**)
    1. from a North Carolina speaker of Cherokee.
    2. from an Oklahoma speaker of Cherokee.
    99. don't know

7. Have you ever attended a Cherokee language class? (Circle **one**)
    1. Yes
    0. No

    If **Yes**, where _____

8. Have you studied the Cherokee language on your own? (Circle **one**)
    1. Yes
    0. No

9. Do you currently speak Cherokee? (Circle **one**)
    1. Yes
    0. No

10. Rank your ability in Cherokee on a scale below. Circle 1 if you are fluent and circle 7 if you have no ability.
    A. Understanding Cherokee when some one else is speaking it
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7
        (Fluent) (No-Ability)
    B. Speaking Cherokee
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7
        (Fluent) (No-Ability)
    C. Reading Cherokee
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7
        (Fluent) (No-Ability)
    D. Writing Cherokee
        1 2 3 4 5 6 7
        (Fluent) (No-Ability)

11. If you were to learn Cherokee, the **top five** reasons would be...(Indicate the top five reasons by placing the numbers 1 through 5 in the blank to the left of your choice.)

__One or more of my ancestors were Cherokee.
__It's broadening to have more than one language.
__To better understand Cherokee culture.
__It would make me feel more a part of the Echota tribe.
__I would be able to read Cherokee books and documents.
__I would be able to read the bible in Cherokee.
__To better understand history from the Cherokee point of view.

__I would be able to read current Cherokee publications.

__It's useful to have a "secret language" that not everyone else understands.

__It would help to keep Cherokee tradition alive.

__Some of my friends or neighbors speak Cherokee.

__I would be able to talk to Cherokee speakers from other parts of the U.S.

__Cherokee is a beautiful language.

__Other, please specify _____

Part II—The Cherokee Language. The second section of the questionnaire seeks your opinions about the Cherokee language and your Cherokee heritage. Please read each question carefully and choose a number from the scale which represents how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement. Then write it in the blank preceding that statement.

    Scale
    1. Strongly Agree
    2. Agree
    3. Neutral
    4. Disagree
    5. Strongly Disagree
    99. Don't know

__12.   The Cherokee language is worth learning.

__13.   As Echota, we should work hard to save the Cherokee language.

__14.   It is important that my children learn about their Cherokee heritage.

__15.   It's looking backward instead of forward to keep Cherokee alive.

__16.   If I learn Cherokee, I will make plenty of chances to use it.

__17.   Knowing how to speak Cherokee is of no value in the modern world.

__18.   Cherokee is a difficult language to learn.

__19.   Cherokees should be able to read books and publications written in Cherokee.

__20.   There is important information about the Cherokee culture written in the Cherokee lan-
        guage.

__21.   You cannot be a **real** Cherokee unless you speak the Cherokee language.

__22.   As all members of the Echota Cherokee tribe speak English, it is a waste of time to keep
        up Cherokee.

__23.   Preservation of the Cherokee language is an unrealistic idea.

Please read each of the following questions carefully and circle the **one** number for each question that most accurately describes your feeling.

24. How important is having knowledge of the Cherokee language to a person's identity as an
    Echota Cherokee?
    1. Very important
    2. Somewhat important
    3. Not very important
    4. Not important at all
    99. Don't know

25. How interested are you in participating in a Cherokee language revitalization program for the
    Echota tribe?
    1. Very interested
    2. Somewhat interested
    3. Not very interested
    4. Not interested at all
    99. Don't know

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26. What advantages might someone who can speak the Cherokee language have?

_____

_____

_____

Part III—Personal Background: The third section of the questionnaire contains a few items about you and your background. Please read each question carefully and circle the number preceding the **one** answer that best describes you.

27. To which of the Echota clans do you belong?
    1. Bear Clan
    2. Bird Clan
    3. Blue Clan
    4. Deer Clan
    5. Long Hair Clan
    6. Wolf Clan

28. Are you male or female? _____

29. How old were you on your last birthday? _____

30. How much Cherokee blood do you have? (Circle **one**)
    1. Full blood
    2. Half
    3. Quarter
    4. Eighth
    5. Sixteenth
    6. Less than sixteenth
    7. None
    99. Don't know

31. What is the highest level of education you have completed?
    1. Have not completed high school
    2. Completed high school or equivalent
    3. Some college or vocational school
    4. Completed vocational school or a two year college degree
    5. Completed military training
    6. Pursuing a four year college degree
    7. Completed a four year college degree
    8. Pursuing a graduate or professional degree
    9. Completed a graduate or professional degree

32. Which of these categories comes closest to the type of place where you currently live?
    1. In open country but not on a farm
    2. On a farm
    3. In a small city or town (under 50,000)
    4. In a medium sized city (50,000-250,000)
    5. In a suburb near a large city (over 250,000)
    6. In a large city (over 250,000)
    99. Don't know

33. Tribal affiliation _____

34. Tribal role number _____

35. Zip code _____

An Initial Exploration of the Navajo Nation's Language and Culture Initiative

Ann Batchelder and Sherry Markel

This paper describes the results of a survey of attitudes about the implementation of the Navajo Tribe's mandate to teach Navajo language and culture in all schools in the Navajo Nation. The survey indicated there was widespread support for teaching Navajo language and culture in schools and that they should be infused throughout the curriculum. Though many concerns were voiced, respondents were very consistent in stating that religious and ceremonial instruction were best left to be taught outside the school.

Curriculum in elementary and secondary schools has traditionally been the means through which school districts help student develop the knowledge, skills, and responsibilities that are necessary for becoming contributing members of communities and societies (Armento, 1986). Historian K. Tsianina Lomawaima asks the question, "Can we expect Indian children to 'succeed' in school as long as Indian history, cultures, and people are systematically excluded from, marginalized within, or brutalized by curricular content? (1995, p. 341). The Navajo tribe answered that question in 1984 when they mandated the addition of instruction in Navajo language and culture to the existing curriculum in elementary and secondary schools on the Navajo Reservation.

There has long been a concern that Navajo children are losing contact with traditional Navajo culture, beliefs, and language. Crawford (1996) points out that in the mid-1970's ninety-five percent of all children entering bilingual education programs in Rough Rock and Rock Point schools were fluent Navajo speakers. Currently, statistics at those schools show that only about half the students are Navajo speakers.

Public Law 101-477, the Native American Languages Act, made it clear that "traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities" and form the basis for cultural transmission and survival. The law goes on to say that there "is convincing evidence that student achievement and performance, community and school pride, and educational opportunity is [sic] clearly and directly tied to respect for, and support of, the first language of the child or student." The 1991 Final Report of the U.S. Secretary of Education's Indian Nations At-Risk Task Force also acknowledged that language is essential for cultural survival, and adds that a critical goal for the education of Native American students is to develop "civic, social, creative, and critical thinking skills necessary for ethical, moral, and responsible citizenship" (INARTF, Goal 5).

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As part of a larger study that will examine the changes in elementary and secondary school curriculum under the Navajo Tribe's Language and Culture Mandate, a preliminary survey involving members of the Navajo Nation in both New Mexico and Arizona was conducted. The survey asked respondents to reflect on the nature and depth of language and cultural studies that should be a part of school curriculum. The survey focused on several key aspects of language and culture instruction in schools:

- What components of language and culture should be taught in schools? At what grade levels?
- What is the best way to teach language and/or culture to students? Who should carry out instruction?
- How should existing curriculum be redesigned/added to for students to receive the best instruction in Navajo language and culture?
- What levels of language proficiency should be expected of students?

The responses to these questions are critical in understanding how the Navajo Nation, and individual communities within it, will approach the addition of their language and culture to school curriculum. As Burnaby (1996) notes, the support of the community is necessary for programs to be successful. Curriculum development, revision, and adoption are never simple processes. Because the future of the Navajo Nation and its citizens is tied up in the implementation of this new mandate, the process becomes even more sensitive.

Description of the study
        A ten question survey (see Appendix) was mailed with a cover letter inviting participation in the survey to twenty elementary and secondary schools across the Navajo Nation. In addition, twenty-one attendees of the Navajo Studies Conference in Albuquerque participated in the survey. A sheet attached to each survey asked participants to give some demographic information about themselves. Information gathered through these demographic sheets indicated that the 37 survey respondents represented a broad geographical sample that included community members and teachers ranging in age from fourteen to over sixty-five, with the largest percentage of respondents in the range of twenty-five to forty-five years of age. Communities represented included Aztec, Beclabito, Rough Rock, Tohatchee, Ft. Defiance, Steamboat, Kayenta, Church Rock, Oak Springs, Nakaibeto, Crystal, Farmington, and Albuquerque.
        Of the ten questions on the survey, five were open ended, requiring the respondent to identify and write about issues of concern. The other five questions were limited choice options with directions to circle the responses that they deemed appropriate. Participant were asked about: 1) How should language and culture instruction be integrated into the existing curriculum; 2) How often should language and culture be taught; 3) Who should be responsible for instruction; 4) What level of language competence was desired; 5) What aspects of culture should or should not be taught in schools; 6) Where should

support for programs come from; 7) What should the goals of language and culture instruction be; and 8) What concerns about language and culture instruction should be voiced?

Survey results

As Burnaby (1996), Paulston (1986), and others (Assembly of first Nations, 1990; Leap, 1981) suggest, when language and culture are in the process of shifting, people tend to take passionate stances about their beliefs, and polarized views on beliefs and practices are voiced. The administration of this survey, especially at the Navajo Studies Conference in Albuquerque, support these notions. Participants at the Conference took the initiative to discuss their views as they were filling out the survey. Many people waited patiently for a hand microphone to be passed to them so that they could relate personal experiences or concerns about the place of Navajo language and culture instruction in schools. The following five samples of unsolicited comments taken from participants at that conference seem to highlight the range of emotions and concerns received through both the conference attendees and those participants that mailed in their responses:

> The parents don't want a bilingual program. They don't want teachers to teach Navajo to their children. They don't really listen to me. The Chapter leaders and the tribal leaders should explain to parents and they'll listen to them. I know that students will comprehend more things with two languages, but I can't get parents to listen to me.
> —Navajo Elementary Teacher

> You want to teach the children to speak Navajo at school? I was taken away from my parents by the sheriff when I was five years old. They came in a car and took me away. My father said I had to go with them. They put me in a boarding school, and I was not allowed to speak Navajo. If we did, we were punished. It was hard for me, it was so hard. We girls, we would whisper in the dormitory, and if they caught us speaking Navajo, they would wash our mouths out with soap. I did not teach my sons Navajo. I did not want them to go through that. It was awful. English is the language to get ahead. I taught them English. Now, my oldest is trying to learn Navajo, and it is very hard for him. You got to teach the parents now. They're the ones that are going to have to learn so they can teach their children. You are going to have to have adult education, not just children in the schools.
> —Navajo Community Member

> Thank you for doing this. This is very important. I have taught at both Window Rock and Ganado. At Window Rock many of my students spoke and understood Navajo. But I think that this is because they were all there. They lived there. No busses. At Ganado it was the other way around. Everybody was bussed. They were all on the road. They didn't get Navajo all

the time and most of them don't understand it well. Everybody spoke Navajo until the Head Start came in. After that, about five years after that, that's when Navajo began to disappear.
—Navajo Community Member and Teacher

I've been a missionary for thirty-five years in the Checkerboard area. No one spoke English when I first got there. Now it is very typical for someone to ask a question in Navajo and have the answer come back in English. It makes me sick to my stomach that the language is going. Somebody has to stop this!
—Missionary

I am Hispanic, and I didn't learn Spanish until college. Do you know how hard that was to learn Spanish in college? This ends up being reteaching, and it takes much longer....I urge you to teach your children Navajo in the home and in the school. You will lose it if you don't. I teach preschool, and there are only five Navajo monolingual students in my class. There are another four or five children who may be bilingual; they respond to my questions in both Navajo and English. The rest of the students don't understand any Navajo at all. Are we just lazy? English is the language of success according to parents. We must teach teachers to speak in Navajo during the school day.
—Reservation Pre-School Teacher

As the comments above illustrate, and the results of the survey back up, participants in this study did not always agree on the place of Navajo language and culture instruction in elementary and secondary schools.

Respondents were given choices as to who should teach Navajo language and culture were provided as seen Figure 1 below. They indicated that "Navajo" was the best choice and the next highest choice was "tribal elder." Separating out the surveys completed in Albuquerque from those sent in from school districts showed some interesting differences in preference. Mailed responses indicated that it was important that a community member be responsible for instruction, though that person did not necessarily have to be an elder. The Albuquerque surveys included higher numbers of responses indicating a classroom teacher, regardless of background, should be the person responsible for instruction in Navajo language and culture.

As can be seen in Figure 2, every content area listed on the survey had votes for placement of Navajo language and cultural studies. However, language arts and social studies were the two most highly selected areas of study for curriculum expansion. Science and physical education received the least responses, while thirteen percent of respondents felt that Navajo language and culture studies should be infused in every class taught in schools. Sixty-two percent of the respondents felt that regardless of where Navajo language and culture were included in the curriculum, daily instruction was necessary.

Figure 1: Who should teach Navajo language and culture
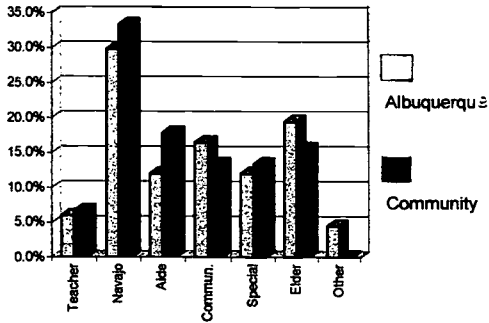
Figure 2: Classes to include language and culture instruction
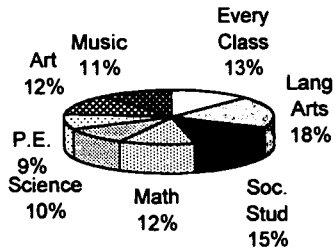
Respondents were almost equally divided among the three levels of Navajo language competence desired in students. Twenty-four percent desired the basics (an introduction to basic vocabulary), 32% competency (the ability to carry on conversations in Navajo), and 44% fluency (the ability to use Navajo for all communication processes). It is striking that sixty-seven percent of the respondents felt that students should be competent or fluent in Navajo. Again, there were differences in the mailed and conference responses. Mailed responses had much more support for basic and competent levels of fluency, while con-

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ference members were more likely to choose the competent or fluent catego-
ries.

Overwhelmingly, participants expressed a desire for parental/clan involve-
ment with instruction, followed by community member involvement as can be
seen in Figure 3 below. Several respondents urged that parents should be taught
Navajo language and culture so that they could support and teach their children
within the family. Participants who spoke out at the Albuquerque conference
made claims that through the efforts of boarding schools to teach English-only,
a generation of language and culture had already been lost. This generation
includes both parents and grandparents of today's students, and these people
could benefit from instruction as much as the children.

**Figure 3: Who should be involved in Navajo language and culture instruc-
tion**
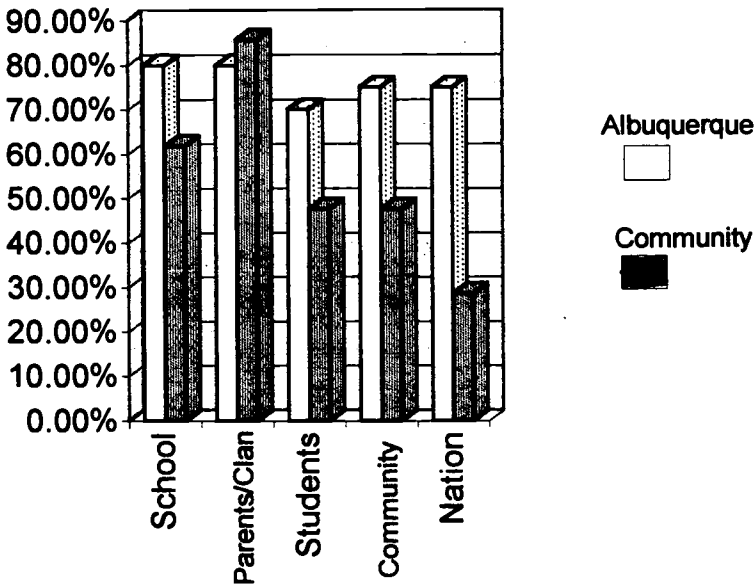
Concerns and conclusions

Though many concerns were voiced, respondents were very consistent in
agreement that some components of Navajo culture did not belong in schools.
Religious and ceremonial instruction were mentioned time after time as areas
that were best left to those outside the school to teach. Another concern men-
tioned several times was who would decide the credentials of those chosen to
be instructors in language and culture. Would it mean that all teachers had to be
certified in their language skills and cultural knowledge or could just anyone
volunteer to be an instructor?

The results presented here are some preliminary findings from a survey circulated across the Navajo Nation. Communities are continuing to send in responses. What is very clear from the data that has been gathered so far is that members of the Navajo Nation are very concerned with the education of their children, though the means and goals for instruction of Navajo language and culture are not consistently shared across all communities. How the mandate impacts each community and the entire Navajo Nation is not yet clear, but if the voices we heard through the participants in this study are any indication, support for teaching Navajo language is widespread.

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Appendix

Cultural Indexes: Navajo Voices on
Language and Cultural instruction in Schools

1. Does instruction of Navajo Language have a place in schools?

        _____ yes   _____ no

If so where? (Circle as many options below as you think appropriate)
- as part of every class

or
- as part of specific classes
  - Language Arts
  - Social Studies
  - Math
  - Science
  - P.E.
  - Art
  - Music

2. How often should Navajo Language and Culture be taught?
   - Daily for _____ (amount of time)
   - 3 times a week for _____
   - 2 times a week for _____
   - Once a week for _____

3. Who should be teaching Navajo Language and Culture?
   - Classroom teacher regardless of background
   - Navajo
   - Aide
   - Community Member
   - Special Instructor
   - Tribal Elder
   - Other _____

4. Level of language competence desired:
   - Fluency
   - Competence
   - Basics

5. Aspects of culture to be included in instruction:
   - Specifics _____
   - At what grade levels? _____
   - To what extent? _____

6. Are there any components of Navajo culture that shouldn't be part of school based instruction?

_____

_____

7. Who should be involved in teaching Navajo Language and Culture? (circle as many options as you think are appropriate)

- School
- Parents, clans, and/or extended family
- Students Community
- Nation

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8. This initiative will require support. Where should this support come from? (note type-monetary, resources, time, people)

- School - _____
- Community - _____
- Parents/family - _____
- Students - _____
- Nation - _____
- Federal Government_- _____

9. What do you think should be the goals of the Language and Culture initiative?

Immediate: _____

_____

One year: _____

_____

Five Year: _____

_____

Extended: _____

_____

10. Do you have any concerns about Navajo Language and Culture being taught in schools?

_____

_____

_____

Please answer the following demographic information questions.

Profession: _____

If you are affiliated with a school system, please check one:
_____ Public School
_____ BIA School
_____ Contract School
_____ Private School
_____ Religious School

Home Community: _____

Age: Gender:
    (Under 20)   _____   _____ Male   _____ Female
    (20-25)   _____
    (25-35)   _____
    (36-45)   _____
    (46-55)   _____   **BEST COPY AVAILABLE**
    (56-65)   _____
    (Over 65)   _____

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Four Successful Indigenous Language Programs
Dawn B. Stiles

This paper compares Cree, Hualapai, Maori, and Hawaiian indigenous language programs and describes common components and problems of implementation. Characteristics shared by the four programs are discussed in regard to their implications for other language groups interested in implementing their own programs. The author concludes that successful programs need to link language and culture, need written teaching materials, and need community support and parental involvement and that successful programs can fight gang activity, alcohol and drug abuse, and a high dropout rates in indigenous communities.

This paper examines four indigenous language programs to compare common components, problems, and outcomes. The programs are Cree Way in Quebec, Hualapai in Arizona, Te Kohanga Reo in New Zealand, and Punana Leo in Hawai'i. The programs were chosen based on four criteria. First, the indigenous language can be categorized as in Stage 6 using Fishman's (1991) graded intergenerational disruption scale for threatened languages or in Stage 3 using Schmidt's (1990) scale —the language is no longer transmitted to the younger generation (in the home or in the community). Only some older people still speak the native tongue as their primary language, and everyday communication uses a replacement language (English in these four communities). The range of speech styles is limited and semi-speakers exist in the middle generations. A semi-speaker is an individual who understands but does not speak the language in its standard form (Schmidt, 1990). According to Dixon,

> Languages at [Schmidt's] Stage 3 are well on their way towards being replaced by English. But this process may be halted or at least slowed down if the right sort of programs are introduced. These are languages for which there is some chance of survival although not, in most cases, a very high chance. (1989, p. 31)

Second, the programs have common components: curriculum development, community support, parent involvement, and government support. The programs also have common histories as they all began as tribal movements in reaction to the lack of tribal language use by school children. Third, the programs exist in different countries where governmental influence and support could be considered for comparison. The two United States tribal groups, Hualapai and Hawaiian, have historical differences and Hawaiian Natives are considered a separate ethnic group from American Indians. Fourth, the pro-

grams have been held up to the bilingual professional community as model programs for endangered indigenous languages.

The Cree Way project

The Cree tribe in Quebec inhabits several village communities, some of which have maintained their language and others have not. The Cree of Waskaganish live along the eastern shore of James Bay, seven hundred miles north of Quebec, one of eight villages along James Bay. The community, in 1993, had a population of 1,400, 485 of whom were school age children. Traditionally, the Cree were hunters and gatherers, successfully adapting to the severe environment. Natural surroundings have deteriorated with the influx of human population and the James Bay hydroelectric dams. Mandatory federal public school attendance came to Waskaganish in the early 1960's.

In 1973, The Cree Way Project[1] was created by John Murdoch, a principal, in reaction to the inappropriateness of Canadian developed curriculum for the Cree children. The purpose of the project was to "bridge the seemingly unbridgeable gulf between two alien nations: the native peoples—nomadic hunters and the European Canadians—once agricultural, now post-industrial city dwellers" (Feurer, 1990, p. 7). The goals of the project were to use Cree language in the schools to validate Cree culture and create a Cree tribal identity, to make reading and writing more important within their previously oral culture, to create a curriculum reflecting Cree culture and the Cree conceptual framework, and to implement that curriculum in the public schools.

A Cree syllabic had been developed over a hundred years ago, however in 1973 neither Cree language materials for education purposes existed nor did the Cree population read or write in Cree. A resource language instructor began teaching the Cree syllabics in half hour programs each day in each classroom, and a team of Waskaganish Cree tribal members began developing curriculum materials and resources, such as handicrafts, for classroom use. The present program employs three staff people for cultural and language development. Seven other communities at James Bay have also implemented the program and use the over 500 textbooks in Cree that have been developed in local workshops.

In 1988, a Cree immersion program at a preschool level was instituted in reaction to code-switching or "sloppy" Cree being used by teen language learners. Traditionalist tribal members viewed these habits as a loss of linguistic competence. The purpose of the immersion program was to prevent language loss and promote proficiency before public school exposure. In 1989, the immersion program extended to kindergarten. In 1993, grade one was added and another grade level was added each year up to grade four. In grade four, half the subjects will be taught in Cree and half in either French or English. Beginning

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[1]The information on the Cree of Waskaganish was obtained from two articles by the same researcher, Hanny Feurer, written in 1990 and 1993. References within the text are found in both articles unless specifically noted.

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in the fifth grade, the French or English curriculum is followed with Cree culture enrichment in regular doses, including reading and writing Cree syllabics. This program continues through high school.

Because of the encroachments of technology, trapping, and hunting are no longer the sole livelihood of the Cree at Waskaganish. Cultural experiences important to the transmission of tradition are fulfilled in two unique programs supported by the school boards. Four or five times a year, the students go to bush camp funded by the Cree Trapper Association. At camp, tribal resource people teach traditional skills in trapping, beading, snowshoe construction, cooking, and fur tanning. Students write in Cree about the camp in their journals. Also, summer vacation has been shortened to allow one week in the fall and three weeks in the spring for hunting and ceremonial programs. Students can use these times to accompany elders and family on hunts or to ceremonies.

Support for the Cree Way Project originates at a higher government level than the local school board. Public education in Canada is under provincial governance; however, Indian education is designated under federal rule. Funds and control is delegated back to the provinces under the Ministry of Indian Affairs. In 1970, Quebec recognized the right of native peoples to have their native languages taught in public schools. A unique 1975 agreement by James Bay and Northern Quebec puts authority for schools directly in tribal hands. Each community has a locally elected school board that governs language policy, curriculum, and textbook approval. The board employs a staff and is self-administrating (Feurer, 1994).

Academic support also exists at the university level. In 1973 at the start of the program, Cree teacher certification was impossible. The University of Quebec began a certification program for language teachers in James Bay communities. Presently, McGill University continues these programs. Consequently, an ever increasing number of native speakers are certified as teachers. Fifty percent of the teaching staff at Waskaganish are native Cree.

Staff development offered in regular workshops are sponsored by the local school boards. Teachers work cooperatively to develop culturally relevant curriculum and train themselves to teach in the Cree Way. Local resource centers support the curriculum with locally developed reference materials, crafts, and artifacts.

The current status of this program demonstrates its continued viability in the Cree communities. The high school dropout rate has been reduced, although specific percentages were not reported by researchers as the high school population must leave the reservation to attend provincial schools. Higher education graduates return to the community at the rate of 99 percent to contribute their skills to a growing bilingual community. Testing of immersion program participants that will graduate from the elementary program in 1997 is necessary to quantify results. Teachers report active participation of students in the Cree language and increased proficiency in two languages. Parents are enrolling in Cree syllabics courses, motivated by their children's language acquisition. Students in junior high and high school are now opting for formal instruction in

French (70 percent) to develop a third language useful in government employment in Quebec (Feurer, 1993).

The Peach Springs Hualapai program

The Hualapai (People of the Tall Pines) Reservation is located in high desert canyon country along the rim of the Grand Canyon. In 1994, the Hualapai population was 1,700, "nearly half of whom are under the age of 16" (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994, p. 26). Traditionally, the Hualapai were gatherers and subsistence farmers. The people lived in small bands or extended families with a headman as leader. A reservation was established in 1883. A community political organization with a tribal council has developed from reservation constraints on the band headman tradition. The reservation school system provides education, Head Start through eighth grade to an average of 220 students (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994).

In 1976, 45 percent of the school age students spoke English as their dominant language (Zepeda & Hill, 1991). Since that time, the development of federally subsidized HUD housing has weakened traditional family cultural transmission by separating the extended families into individual households. Television and media availability has further eroded the use of the language. In 1982, 92 percent of the students came from homes where Hualapai was spoken, but the children spoke English at home and at school (Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1992).

In 1975, the Hualapai bilingual program was developed to offer language maintenance to a rapidly eroding language. No writing system existed for the oral Hualapai language and the first several years of the program were devoted to curriculum and materials development in written Hualapai. In three years, a parallel Hualapai curriculum had been completed and in five years a fully integrated bilingual program, using the new concurrent approach, had been implemented. The new concurrent approach as described by the program director, Lucille Watahomigie, is a "balanced use of Hualapai and English, so that concepts and lexicon are formed and reinforced in both languages" (Watahomigie et al., 1994, p. 36). In 1981, the school board adopted the Hualapai Bilingual/Bicultural Education Program (HBBEP) as the official district curriculum (Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1992).

Despite the success in development of the bilingual program, the community continued to show English gaining in use and more children came to school with English as their primary language. The program reassessed its goals and reaffirmed the resolve to develop true bilingualism for the community. A new commitment to incorporating heritage and culture and to the community involvement produced a "revaluing" of education to children and adults (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994, p. 40). To fight fire with fire, the program turned to technology, computers, and video to capture the attention of children in the native language. A good deal of the language arts curriculum was put on computers. A state of the art video studio/television station is used by students

to script and produce documentaries in Hualapai as resource materials for school and community-wide use (Zepeda & Hill 1991).

Community support is essential to this program. In the beginning, community support was nonexistent. Elders objected to Hualapai being written down. Even Hualapai language aides considered the language incapable of abstract ideas required for content embedded subjects. Parents considered English the language of the school. Parents, products of all-English schooling themselves, thought that combining English and Hualapai in the school would only confuse the children and make the dropout rate worse. Staff support and campaigning for the bilingual program won over the community. Now the preponderance of staff are Hualapai and the community has participated in the development of resources and in school activities. Seventy-five percent of the parents participate in school events and classroom volunteering (Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1987).

Staff development is of primary importance to the program. The staff meets twice a week for language study. Frequent in-service training and summer institute attendance at the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) enables the staff to create materials and reevaluate curriculum components. AILDI was developed by the founder of the Hualapai program, Lucille Watahomigie, as a training ground for community language speakers to become research linguists in their own language. Courses in curriculum development originally through Northern Arizona University insured competent tribal instructors to assist in the classroom while they earned certification as teachers. Nonnative staff attendance at summer linguistic institutes further prepared them to use the native language in the classroom (Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1987).

Governmental support has also been of primary importance to the program. Such support from the state has been assured because of the remote location of the reservation school system. There is no alternative but to have the school on the reservation. The presence of two certified teachers, also tribal members, promoted the right atmosphere to create the bilingual program, and the school principal position has been held by Hualapais. Both of the previously mentioned teachers have served on the Council (one as Tribal Chairman), which facilitated a close working relationship between entities. At the community level, a parent advisory committee, established in 1975 at the very beginning of the program, meets regularly to suggest policy and to participate in staff development training sessions.

The current status of the Hualapai bilingual/bicultural program suggests that growth and success will continue. The tribal preschool and Head Start program, staffed mostly by Hualapai speakers, prepares their students for the bilingual classrooms of the primary grades. Although not described as an immersion program, the greatest extent of immersion in Hualapai is here at first school contact. Reinforcement of English is plentiful outside the classroom.

Then, too, the spotlight on the program from linguistic professionals has brought in many federal dollars to support the program. The program director, however, has used the abundance of funding to lay a permanent foundation of

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trained community resource people so that as federal support recedes, the program will not suffer. Any research done by professionals about the program must produce usable curricula and resources which are left with the program (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994).

Te Kohanga Reo

The Maori people of New Zealand comprise 15 percent of the New Zealand population of approximately one half million people. At first contact with Europeans, 75 percent of the native population died of disease. The history of the Maori reads like the history of the Native American tribes; land taken without treaties, slaughter, and subhuman treatment (Holmes, 1992). The Maori have a common language regardless of where in New Zealand they reside. The tribes trace their ancestry to Polynesian migrants about 800 AD or earlier and followed by other waves of migration, the last major influx at about 1300 AD. Tribes based on family ancestry were further divided into subgroups that lived in villages. They hunted, gathered, and practiced subsistence agriculture. The public meeting house was the center of village life.

In the early 1960's, a Play Centre preschool movement encouraged Maori mothers to use English with their children. This practice, in conjunction with the greater presence of television in Maori homes, helped to accelerate Maori language loss. By 1980, four Maori model bilingual programs, based in primary schools as a kind of "headstart program", had been developed. But these were local in impact and not suitable for widespread use because instead of attracting disadvantaged children, the opposite occurred. Middle class parents became keen to send their youngsters there. In 1981, the Department of Maori Affairs brought together Maori leaders who conceptualized a grassroots or whanau movement designed to revitalize the dying Maori language in language nests (Spolsky, 1990). In the nests, children from birth to eight years of age would be exposed to the Maori language in a homelike atmosphere. Part of this early childhood education system would be called the te kohanga reo, a preschool where Maori children would be immersed in the native language. At this point, the cultural knowledge development across the curriculum did not exist, just the spoken language (Holmes, 1992). By 1991, 700 kohanga had been established and 10,000 children had been enrolled in them. However, only eleven primary bilingual school programs (kura kaupapa) existed into which to funnel all those children (Holmes, 1991). As of 1994, twenty-nine kura kaupapa Maori schools had been established or approved for start up (Maori Initiatives, 1997). It has been the goal of the program to reintroduce and revitalize the Maori language, to reattach the language to the people at the community level. The te kohanga reo would facilitate the children's entry into school by establishing practical and social skills and Maori pride (Cazden, Snow, & Heise-Paigorkia, 1990).

About half the te kohanga reo are located on Maori land in tribal buildings. The other half are operating in government school buildings, community facilities or homes. The preschools enroll ten to seventy students. Ten percent of the

adults, teachers, and aides are paid. The majority of workers are volunteer parents and elders. Only fluent speakers and cultural models can be teachers or aides and are, therefore, the older generation. Conflicts have arisen between nonspeaking parents and the staff on cultural issues. Community leaders are also concerned that the most adults in the kohanga are female and very few male role models are available to the children (Cazden et al., 1990).

Government involvement from the beginning of the te kohanga movement has been nominally supportive. It was a government initiative through the Department of Maori Affairs that established the Te Kohanga Reo (TKR) in 1982. A charitable trust was created to facilitate a partnership between the Maori People and the government. The movement receives support also from the Department of Labor for whanau (community helpers or volunteers) training. In 1989, a reorganized Department of Maori Affairs became the Ministry of Maori Affairs with authority to make policy for the tribal programs. The new Ministry delegated control to the tribal entities. In 1990, funding for all early childhood education programs was equalized and based on the number of children enrolled in each session (Cazden et al., 1990).

The nominal governmental support has been overshadowed by the actual practice in schools where graduates of the te kohanga reo must continue their education. In 1986, claims were brought before the Department of Justice tribunals in an effort to bring more equality for Maori children in public schools. These tribunals raved about the success of the TKR but then admitted the failure of the government to maintain the language and culture as promised in the Treaty of Waitangi. Schools are monocultural with much power residing in the principal who may choose correspondence study as the alternative to bilingual classrooms. Tribunal records consulted on the Internet expose the practices in schools to be very detrimental to Maori students. The Education Department is aware of the inequalities and desires to remedy the situation but seems powerless to do so in a reasonable time frame (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997). Even the reports of the tribunals in 1986 did not prompt action; it was not until 1989 that Maori began to be used as the language of instruction in public schools, after much active pressure by parents (Spolsky, 1990).

The community and staff support of the program are the main reason the current status of the TKR programs is positive and growing. The kohanga depend on considerable volunteer power, with the benefit of cultural certification of the kaiakos (teachers and aides), coupled with formal approved training now in place and involving 600 trainees. TKR's located on tribal lands exist with donations from the community and parents who can ill afford the expense (Cazden et al., 1990). The cultural and language enrichment is so very important to the people that the State Services Commission has assessed the program as a remarkable success story (Maori Initiatives, 1997). Initially without outside support, it now has increased support from public and private sectors. Today te kohanga reo is government funded like other preschool services. However, donations are still required. The program has found great admiration in

other countries and at least one program has tried to replicate it, the Punana Leo in Hawai'i.

Punana Leo

The Hawaiian people, like the Maori, are Polynesian migrating to Hawai'i about 400 AD, followed by a second migration in the ninth or tenth century AD. Settlers in villages were governed by a hereditary monarchy. With the settlement of Europeans and American missionaries, traders, and businessmen came diseases that decimated the native population. The monarchical system was overthrown and replaced by a U. S. Territorial Government, and eventually by U.S. statehood. Literacy in Hawaiian was the work of the nineteenth century Protestant missionaries. They developed a writing system in order to translate the Bible and hymn books into Hawaiian because literacy was required by Protestants for church membership. The monarchy began an effort for adult literacy education and by 1830 half of the population could read and write Hawaiian. After 1830, schools were taught in Hawaiian; most members of the royal family were multilingual (Slaughter, 1994).

By the early 1990's however, only 4.5 percent of the native Hawaiians were native speakers, most over 50 years of age. Very few children spoke the language or would have the opportunity to learn it. Hawaiian medium public schools had been out of operation for 90 years. One island of the Hawaiian chain, Ni'ihau, could still claim Hawaiian as the language of the community, and a few preschools housed in private homes used Hawaiian exclusively (Kamana & Wilson, 1995). The founders visited the Maori preschools in New Zealand (Aotearoa) and in 1985 started two preschools in the larger cities at Hilo and Honolulu. In 1987, the parents of the first graduates of Punana Leo petitioned the state to set up two immersion kindergartens for their children. The state began an immersion K-1 program in two elementary schools (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

The goals of the Punana Leo were to promote Hawaiian as a living language and to create an educational program that produces bilingual, biliterate children. In compliance with those goals, the immersion into the language is very complete. Children have ten hour days, and on the school grounds only Hawaiian is spoken. Visitors use interpreters even if English is understood (Zepeda & Hill, 1991). Parental involvement in the program is essential to reinforce the use of the language at home. Language classes must be attended weekly by all parents. Classes start for one hour and increase in length to two and three hours as proficiency improves (Kamana & Wilson, 1996). Other parental duties to the school include paying tuition based on income, which since 1989, has been subsidized by the U.S. Department of Education. Ninety-five percent of the families receive tuition assistance. Eight hours per month of in-kind service to the school is also required, and parents make up the governance board of the school (Rawlins, 1994).

Obviously, governmental support has helped to promote the immersion preschools. A well established State Department of Education immersion pro-

gram, Papahana Kaiapuni Hawaiʻi, now extends statewide through grade twelve because of the example of the effectiveness of Punana Leo. Although federal funding, especially for Punana Leo, is unstable, the rest of the school system now supports immersion programs. The Kamehameha Schools, large well endowed private schools, have also taken a hard look at Punana Leo immersion concepts and provided sporadic support in the form of instructional materials and professional development (Paleka & Hammond, 1992).

In 1996 nine Punana Leo sites served 175 children (Kamana & Wilson, 1996). Long term follow up for research data will continue on 866 previous graduates (Rawlins, 1994). In such a relatively new program, a lack of trained, fluent teachers and top quality resources and curriculum materials have been stumbling blocks (Kame'eleihiwa, 1992).

Comparison

The four programs described above are open to many comparisons. All four have common program components, common problems affecting implementation and growth, and common outcomes. A review of these areas will assist the formulation of conclusions. Each has an integral partnership of language and culture. Teaching a language in a sterile environment outside the companion culture dooms the language to only academic application. Each of these programs has developed curriculum that combines indigenous language and cultural instruction. Language is learned as a by product, almost, of the cultural heritage. Using literacy to further validate the use of the language in everyday life has transformed these formerly oral languages into languages that can be used for academic instruction in schools. Each program became a place where the children can get away from English and immerse themselves in their tribal language, and each program has paid careful attention to incorporate student literature creation in cultural contexts to link language, culture, reading, and writing.

The need for written teaching materials is a common problem for these programs. Textbook companies do not make, as a rule, textbooks for a few thousand children in an obscure language. This means that the programs have to develop their own materials, which takes years of dedicated work. First, as in the Hualapai program, much of the first five years was spent in negotiating how to write the language (Watahomigie & Yamamoto, 1987). Second, time is required to teach the new writing system to local community members. The Cree spent more than five years training a staff of speakers to write Cree materials so that texts could be developed (Feurer, 1993). Printing costs for materials can also be prohibitive to a program, particularly in light of fluctuating funding. Without these materials, a program's emphasis on the language as viable for academic use can be lost.

Another common component is that of community support and involvement. The literature on each of these programs reiterated several times how necessary the support of tribal members was to program success. The cultural connection cannot be made to the language without those who know the cul-

ture best. Usually this is the elders, still fluent, still "inextricably associated, intimately tied" to the culture (Fishman, 1987, p. 12). This connection is important to the students also, as evidenced in the high percentage of Cree school children (80%) who choose to take the special vacations with elders and their families (Feurer, 1990).

Community is also important to insure the transmission of societal foundations to future generations. Stephen Harris (1994) speaks about domains of culture, the Western domain and the Native (aboriginal) domain, "Hopefully students will see themselves as aboriginal people with bicultural skills—having a strengthening and primary Aboriginal identity, but competent and confident in two social worlds" (Harris 1994, p. 143-144). This community involvement requires local control of the school system. All four of these programs were made possible by measures of local control and that control made possible unusual formations of curriculum.

But the close community ties have often presented difficulties in initiating indigenous language programs. All of the communities in these four programs experienced community objections to a program that taught the native tongue so seriously. Elders objected to the writing of the language (Cree and Hualapai); elders and parents feared teaching the children a language other than English because of past oppression for use of their native language (all programs); parents as non-speakers doubted the ability of their children to achieve fluency; and teachers were convinced the languages were unsuitable for academic endeavors.

Parental involvement is another common component of all four programs. The most important element for these programs is the support of the parents in the home. The language learned at school must be reinforced at home in order for true bilingualism to occur in indigenous languages. "Everyday use of language in a wide range of contexts provides language with its life blood through a self-generating process—the more people hear and use the language, the more fluent and confident in language use they become" (Schmidt, 1990, p. 56). Everyday use can not occur in a vacuum and parental involvement in these programs has extended to language classes, in-service training, classroom participation, development of resources, and certification as teachers. These four programs have attained their measure of success because parents have not given up on the dream. Parents, who were once against a program, have even gone before Congress to testify on behalf of the program they believe to be integral to the educational success of their children (Rawlins, 1994). In other nations, parents have lobbied their governments to give support to the programs. In New Zealand, Maori parents have presented a claim against the Department of Education to redress the governments lack of support (Waitangi Tribunal, 1997).

Some common problems to these programs have already been discussed as they affected the common components. Other common problems exist within these programs, including teacher availability, teacher training, and funding. Sources on all four of these programs mentioned the problem of finding fluent speakers of the language with any training to be teachers. In all the programs,

compliance with government standards for teacher training has been a major stumbling block to success.[2] It is not a problem easily addressed because certification cannot occur overnight or even over several years. The Hualapai, for example, after nineteen years have certified five teachers (Watahomigie & McCarty, 1994). Even if the training problem is supported by colleges and universities, as with the Cree, Hualapai, and Hawaiian programs, time is not on the side of the trainees. Programs must recruit staff from outside the community, and a high turnover rate hinders the programs. In all the communities, a majority of fluent speakers are elderly, not capable of taking on the rigors of teaching or the rigors of certification coursework. The Hualapai are the least affected by this problem as half of the parental age group still have fluency (Watahomigie et al., 1994).

Problems with funding are mentioned to be of major importance in all but the Hualapai Program. Lucille Watahomigie has worked tirelessly with the professional linguistic community to generate federal funding as a demonstration project. She has stated in her more recent articles (Watahomigie et al., 1992, 1994) that she does not expect that trend to last and has sought to plan against it. The other programs listed unstable funding as a major detriment to their success. Help from the government is verbal but not budgetary. The Cree, with some local funding control, have found it less of a problem as years go by. Is this any different from the funding for education in any language? But authorities have not been convinced of the seriousness of the problem of language loss. Even though evidence has been given for years of the academic success of children given a bilingual/bicultural education, the funding is still not provided to those most in need.

As a final point of comparison, discussion on common outcomes in these programs should take place. It can be said that because these four programs have remained in existence, they have made a difference in the communities they serve. A definite "revaluing of education at all levels" has occurred in each community (Watahomigie, 1995, p. 192). More children are succeeding further within the educational system as a result of their exposure to bilingual/bicultural education. One hundred percent of the eighth grade graduates at Hualapai Peach Springs School, graduate from high school (Watahomigie, 1995). The Cree have noticed a significant drop in their dropout rate (Feurer, 1993). On the governmental level, the Hawaiian Board of Education has developed immersion program in the K-12 against the advice of the Department of Education (Kame'eleikiwa, 1992). The New Zealand Department of Education is seeking to support the Te Kohanga Reo movement by developing bilingual schools within the public school system (Maori Initiatives, 1997).

The benefit of these programs within the community extends also to the pride developed and identity regained by the children who attend. Loss of lan-

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[2]The Hawaiian legislature has shown willingness to assist the Hawaiian language immersion programs with the problem of teacher certification by exempting staff members from certification who teach solely in Hawaiian.

guage carries with it a loss of culture and a loss of identity. Children enrolled in these programs have a much greater sense of who they are and have regained at least a sense of heritage. Loss of identity for teenagers can lead to gang activity, alcohol and drug abuse, and a high dropout rate.

The revitalization or rejuvenation of an endangered language is another significant outcome for the community. It is much too soon to tell if the languages will make a complete recovery, but these programs have "helped to upgrade the level of proficiency in the native language" (Feurer, 1993). The importance of the Hawaiian language in Hawaiian schools has been validated by the academic success of the Punana Leo students. New Zealand educators have witnessed five year old Te Kohanga Reo students exceeding the proficiency of Fifth Form (about fifteen-year-old) students in state oral exams (Waitangi Tribunals, 1997). The Hualapai have adapted the Hualapai Oral Language Test and Language Assessment Scales (LAS) tests to assess language acquisition and have recorded improvements in skills in Hualapai. They have also noticed improvements in the students' test scores on the English language California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS).

Conclusions

The positive outcomes from these programs cannot be denied. Can it then be assumed that all these programs have been effective and are models for other indigenous language programs worldwide? It has been shown that each of these programs have goals to promote biliteracy and bilingualism. Each has done just that. The Cree Way Project has the most clearly delineated goals, but the other programs examined here have set in motion a system that can keep their languages alive. The fact that several research articles on each program are available and more research is underway encourages thoughts that these programs are a success and will continue to succeed. Planners have taken their projects very seriously, undergirding their development with research on theory on second language acquisition, bilingual, and immersion education. Articles are often filled with references to Cummins, Vygotsky, Lambert, and Fishman.

Very importantly, when compared to indigenous language programs that are not grounded on bicultural/bilingual goals and acquisition theory, a great contrast is seen. For example, a program in Nebraska that attempted to preserve the Omaha language within the public schools was reported on by Catherine Rudin in 1989. The program had problems caused by no materials, no fluent teachers, and culturally inappropriate translated stories. Rudin concluded that none of the children enrolled in the program (which began in 1970) have the ability to carry on a conversation in Omaha. She writes, "The program has had a positive impact on the level of Omaha proficiency of the young people: some is better than none" (Rudin, 1989, p. 6). This program is older than any of these outlined but has met with little success in comparison. The Omaha program met similar problems as the other programs and was recognized by the U.S. Department of Education in 1988. Wherein lies the difference?

In all the programs so far discussed, planning with the community and problem solving with community support has developed strong adaptable components. The Omaha program spoke of pleased parents and elders because children were more aware of their culture and language, but also mentioned a lack of community support in linguistic training and active resource development (Rudin, 1989). These grounding elements painstakingly developed by the four programs described herein are the key to prolonged success. These elements are also the reason that replication of the programs has been and will be possible. The Te Kohanga Reo program was replicated in the Punana Leo in Hawai'i. The Hualapai project has been helping other bilingual/bicultural programs get underway, for example the Oklahoma Kickapoo Program (Watahomigie et al., 1987). The Cree Project of Waskaganish has been replicated by other James Bay communities and in Cree communities elsewhere in Quebec. In each case, the community teamwork and groundwork over several years had made it successful when compared with other attempts.

What conclusions can be drawn from the study of these four programs in regard to bilingual/bicultural education? Indigenous language groups cannot use programs imposed from the outside culture. Home and community are too tightly interwoven into the mechanisms of language education to be influenced by sources outside the culture. Culture cannot be separated from language. Therefore, the indigenous people must take the challenge themselves to meet their needs, while the majority society can help provide consistent funding, research foundations, linguistic expertise, and pedagogical (teacher) training.

Each of these four programs has recognized the importance of beginning at an early age with children. Each program begins exposure in preschool and first language support until at least the fifth grade. In the Maori program, loss of language skills was seen in those students without continued support in primary school immersion. Harris (1994) discusses the domain theory in relation to separating the two languages: there is a need to "create curricular space for less powerful language and culture which is in danger of being colonized by a dominant, pervasive, and invasive culture." The culture and the language carve out a territory and "within this territory the first culture—far from remaining static—expands, innovates, evolves, and reenacts the old, the inherited, the source of roots, claims, and identity" (Harris, 1994, p. 151-152). Indigenous programs have carved out their territory and have established a wealth of good research data on the pluses of bilingual education. They have done much to prove the theories the majority education system tosses around for argument. The majority society cannot successfully impose programs on the indigenous culture, but successful components from indigenous programs could be transferred to the majority system for use in bilingual/bicultural education of other minority groups and for the development of dual language programs to teaching minority languages to majority group members as minority group students learn the national language of their country.

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Language of Work: The Critical Link Between Economic Change and Language Shift

Scott Palmer[1]

*During the Twentieth Century there has been a widespread pat-
tern of language shift among the indigenous communities of the United
states and Canada. This uniformity is surprising in light of the diver-
sity of languages, geography, degree of physical isolation, history, and
attitudes about language. I argue that there has been a widespread
change in the language of work and that this quite possibly is a com-
mon cause of much of the language shift. This language-of-work hy-
pothesis is summarized as a causal chain leading from a shift in the
structure of work to a shift in language of the home. Communities in
which parents train their children for life in a vernacular language
dominated work force are less likely to experience language shift in
the home.*

Most, if not all, of the remaining indigenous languages of the United States
and Canada are considered to be endangered (see, for example, Krauss, 1996;
Harmon, 1995a, 1995b). It is surprising that the same thing should be happen-
ing to so many groups at the same time when we consider that the languages
themselves are so different from each other, the attitudes about language reten-
tion are different, the attitudes about the surrounding society are different, the
geography and degree of physical isolation are so different, and the histories
are so different. Why, with such diversity, are these languages in such a similar
precarious situation? Why is this happening so rapidly at this particular point in
history? Finding an answer to these questions is important for the speakers of
the remaining indigenous languages on this continent and in other parts of the
world, and it is important for anyone involved in education or language-related
work in these communities.

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[1]An earlier edition of this paper was published as "The Language of Work and
the Decline of North American Languages" (Palmer, 1996). By now these ideas
have been reviewed by many, whose advice and critique have resulted in
continouous overhaul of my ideas. Whatever the eventual disposition of this
hypothesis, I have found the vigorous dialogue encouraging, and I have learned
a lot. I am particularly indebted to Lynanne Palmer, Jaap Feenstra, Paul Lewis,
and Nancy Dorian who gave insightful, detailed, and useful critique of these
ideas. I doubt that I have accounted for all that they brought up, but the effort
has certainly resulted in improvement.

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Alternative hypotheses on why languages are declining

There are several possible hypotheses for explaining the decline of North American indigenous languages in this century. First, their decline could be caused by primarily internal factors. According to this hypothesis, virtually all North American indigenous language groups held views and acted in ways that brought about the demise of their languages. But it is hard to understand why such a variety of different societies, with such a variety of ways of looking at things, should all have views of language that caused them to abandon their languages in this century. There seems to be a language loss pattern that is not explained by group values about language and probably runs contrary to key values in most groups. In particular I am thinking of the strong desire to protect and preserve the native language that is common among tribes in the Southwest of the United States.

Second, language loss could be caused primarily by external factors putting pressure on all of these different communities, but in such different ways that there is no overall pattern to this pressure. Many different factors do seem to have a role in language shift. At two symposia in 1995, a variety of factors were linked to language shift.[1] While repressive language policies correlated with language shift, so did benevolent language policies. Similarly, the lack of literacy in the minority language is one of the factors that can hasten language shift. But, it was mused, literacy in the minority language can correlate with language shift as well. Even Vatican II was cited as having a role in one group. Yes, there are many relevant processes going on, but it is difficult to imagine that the massive sweep of language shift in North America has resulted only from a random collection of external factors, without pattern.

A third possibility is that there is a single external factor or pattern that has sparked at least a good portion of the language shift going on in North America in this century. The problem is knowing what this external factor or pattern might be. For the most part, external factors, such as government or educational programs, official repression or encouragement, and so forth have only an indirect impact on language maintenance. Ultimately, language maintenance or loss is a function of the decisions and behavior of the speakers of the language themselves. This is captured most clearly and simply by Joshua Fishman's (1991) term *intergenerational transfer*. If each generation passes on the language to the next, the language lives. If it does not, the language dies. This is a family matter. At heart it is about what language parents use when speaking to their children.

This paper explores the possibility that for North America, there is a general external pattern of events that is setting the stage for language shift. Specifically, this paper proposes that a different kind of social change, a change in work structure, has been catalytic to a change with regard to language without

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[1]Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, May 4-6, 1995, Flagstaff, AZ (see Cantoni, 1996) and Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy, June 30-July 2, 1995, University of New Mexico.

language ever being a central focus. The change in work structure in North America in this century is well known, and the pattern of language shift on this continent is well documented among immigrant languages as well as among indigenous languages. What has not yet been explored is the logical linkage between these two trends.

I propose that the widespread pattern of language shift among indigenous communities in North America has its roots in a change in the language of work for these communities. The change in the language of work has been the result of key developments in the economic structure of the dominant society, changes in how indigenous community members relate to that structure, and ultimately changes in the ways in which the community organizes work.

This change in the structure of work has a direct bearing on the lives and thoughts of the parents of young children. Their goal is to prepare their children for life. As it becomes increasingly necessary for community members to work at jobs that require the use of English, this results in revised perceptions on the part of parents regarding what training their children need in order to survive. So they talk to them in the national language instead of the indigenous language, and the children grow up as first-language speakers of English.

The rest of this paper develops the "language-of-work hypothesis" and explores the relationship of this hypothesis to other factors influencing language maintenance and shift and to other language maintenance and shift theories and case studies. It concludes with a discussion of potential problems and applications and some thoughts on testing and developing the theory further.

The language-of-work hypothesis

Briefly stated, the hypothesis is: *In a minority language community, if the national or regional language is used as the language of work for virtually all the "jobs"*[1] *of the community that language will, within a few generations, replace the minority language as language of the home as well.* There are several ways in which the term "language of work" can be used. As used in this theory, language of work refers primarily to the language used to converse with work colleagues and supervisors. A different language may be used for writing or dealing with customers.

The language-of-work hypothesis links the economic history of the U.S. and Canada in this century with the language shift epidemic on this continent during the same time frame by looking at one factor critical to both developments. The logic for this is expressed primarily in what I describe as a causal chain of events. The setting for this chain of events is a particular change in the economic structure of the U.S. and Canada in the Twentieth Century.

During the Twentieth Century, the U.S. and Canada have experienced a sweeping change with regard to how work is organized. This is a change these nations have in common with many others. Peter Drucker (1974, pp. 3–4) notes:

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[1]I am including here both employment and othe means of providing a living, such as subsistence farming or hunting and trapping.

> Every major social task, whether economic performance or health care, education or the protection of the environment, the pursuit of new knowledge or defense, is today being entrusted to big organizations, designed for perpetuity and managed by their own managements . . .
>
> Only seventy-five years ago such a society would have been inconceivable. In the society of 1900 the family still served in every single country as the agent of, and organ for, most social tasks. Institutions were few and small....society was diffused in countless molecules: small workshops, small schools, the individual professional— whether doctor or lawyer—practicing by himself, the farmer, the craftsman, the neighborhood retail store, and so on . . .
>
> The citizen of today in every developed country is typically an employee. He works for one of the institutions. He looks to them for his livelihood. He looks to them for his opportunities. He looks to them for access to status and function in society, as well as for personal fulfillment and achievement.

The structuring of work largely through institutions has implications for the language of the workplace. An institution, whether government, business, educational, or other, tends toward use of a common language. Further, there is automatically a built-in pressure toward increased dependence on written language. This may imply that a higher level of competence in general is needed in the language of the workplace. Meanwhile, the shift from small family-based work units to institutions implies changes in social network for the workers. This probably weakens the minority language's "resistance" to language shift (see below). This change in the dominant society is the backdrop for significant changes in Native American communities on this continent.

There is a series of steps leading from a shift in the structure of work, to a shift in the language of work, to a shift in the language of the home. At no point in this causal chain is it assumed that community members wish to see their language die out. The entire process is motivated by concerns other than language.

The first step involved indigenous language groups in North America moving gradually from kinship-based economies to involvement in the surrounding wage-based economic system. Traditionally these language communities have had kinship-based economic systems that allowed community members to use the indigenous language in the workplace.[1]

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[1] In trying to understand the change in economic systems experienced by Native American communities, I found Eric R. Wolf's 1982 book *Europe and the People Without History* to be helpful. Wolf is an anthropologist writing about economic history. He contrasts the capitalist economic system with kinship-based and tributary-based (feudal) economic systems and examines all of this in the light of earlier economic developments (mostly from about 1,000 AD on).

During the last half of this century, owing to a variety of factors, significant portions of the population of many indigenous communities have become participants in the wage-based economy of the surrounding society. In this regard, Christine Sims (1995) has pointed out the significance of participation in the armed forces during World War II, as well as a post World War II federal relocation program in which Native Americans moved from reservations to urban areas for years at a time.

In some cases the surrounding society has moved in closer and more private sector jobs have become available. Various government and other programs such as education, social services, and construction have provided employment as well. Meanwhile, opportunities for supplying needs through traditional work have often decreased or changed, increasing the need for employment in the wage-based economy.

The second step occurs when a significant portion of community members need to use a language other than their mother tongue in their place of work. Whether the work is related to health, education, construction, administration, or industry, most employment has generally required the use of English (or French in Quebec). This is in marked contrast to the traditional work environment.

The third step is a change in views in regard to what language skills children are likely to need in order to prepare for the future. As more and more Native Americans have participated in the national economy, the language required in the workplace has become, in some sense, the language of survival for their communities. By language of survival I mean the language people see as essential for the meeting of basic needs. The definition of basic needs may, and probably will, change over time. Community members may find that they have an expanded list of needs and that traditional economic activity cannot adequately meet them. At the same time, other kinds of jobs may be more accessible, while the actual opportunities for earning a living through traditional means may be shrinking.

Since parents are concerned with preparing their children for future life, the language they encourage children to learn will be influenced by their perceptions of what language skills are required to meet life's basic needs. This was illustrated in a conversation with a bilingual mother who worked very hard to give her daughter good skills in English and who sees proficiency and literacy in English as central to her daughter's future. Similarly, a colleague wrote me, "Different Gwich'in men from time to time have told me that they are speaking English to their kids, so that the kids won't have a hard time on their jobs like they [the fathers] did, because they didn't understand the boss' orders [in English]" (Richard Mueller, personal communication).

The fourth step is that in this environment some parents make the national language the language of their children. This eventually puts pressure on the rest of the community, and English increasingly becomes the common means of communication. In a snowball effect, the indigenous language is used less, with the result that younger speakers have fewer opportunities for continued

language learning and so may plateau out without having learned some of the more advanced features typically acquired in late childhood. This is in addition to the fact that participation in school automatically limits their time with adult speakers at this period of their lives.

Meanwhile, the indigenous language has often been esteemed as the language of heritage, even while being replaced by the national language. English, as the language of survival, may be used simply because it is needed for functioning in the workplace to earn a living. It is often valued because of what it accomplishes, not for what it represents. The language of heritage (indigenous language), in contrast, has often been held in high regard for what it is and for what it represents. Use, not high regard, is what perpetuates a language, so a language of heritage may decline even while being held in high regard.

The fifth and final step is the arrival of a generation of children who are predominantly first-language speakers of the national language. Language shift has become obvious, but the process began well before this point. This is the point at which a community typically realizes it has a problem with language shift.

Key characteristics of the language-of-work hypothesis

First, the language-of-work hypothesis describes a multigenerational phenomenon. Language of work patterns in one generation impact community language use two or three generations later, which is consistent with the work done analyzing language loss among American immigrants (Veltman, 1983).

Second, the language-of-work hypothesis describes a phenomenon operating at the level of community-wide language use. It is a theory of community language loss. It is not about what happens to *all* parents but to *a critical number of* parents, laying a foundation for a change in the group use of language in future generations in that community. The language-of-work hypothesis predicts that some will respond by making the work language the first language of their children and that a few such parents in one generation are sufficient to set in motion a process that eventually makes indigenous language learning very difficult in the community a couple of generations later.

Third, the language of work is not the only cause of language shift. Two examples illustrate that language shift can occur without being preceded by a change in the language of work. In a very intriguing paper on Gaulish, Brigitte L. M. Bauer (1995) discusses the situation that led to the loss of that language. While there is probably a lot we cannot know about something that happened so long ago, it is reasonable to guess language of work could have been an issue for the leaders who needed to use Latin to fit in with the Roman administration, but probably not for the Gaulish speaking population at large. Similarly, in a small Athapaskan village, language shift seems to be preceding a change in the language of work (Jaap Feenstra, personal communication).

Fourth, the language-of-work hypothesis predicts that prestige and collective self esteem, or lack thereof, are not key factors for language maintenance or shift. Language pride on the part of the speakers is commendable and cer-

tainly an asset for any language. But an adequate theory regarding language maintenance and shift in the U.S. and Canada in this century needs to take into account the array of positive and negative language attitudes that accompany a remarkably uniform pattern of steady language decline. Meanwhile this, or a similar theory, may be valuable tools for any who are strongly motivated to build a safer environment for their language. That for me is a strong motivation for working on such theories in the first place.

Fifth, the language-of-work hypothesis may apply equally to groups that place a low value on material things and to those who aggressively seek to acquire a higher standard of living. Language of work is operative not based on parents' attraction to material goods but on their desire to prepare their children for life. Severe need may intensify the impact of language of work, but the root motivation is in the love of parents for their children, not a desire to accumulate.

Sixth, language shift, in this view, is not something that is the topic of decision but the unintended consequence of decisions about some of life's highest duties and obligations.

The language-of-work hypothesis may at first glance seem to be painting a picture of people being caught up in processes over which they have no control. Instead, it is suggesting that there will be a certain amount of predictability in the way people make decisions in similar environments. However, the subject and timing of our choices are sometimes quite removed from the subject and timing of the consequences of those choices. People are indeed thinking and making decisions based on deeply felt values that are directed at preparing their children for life. Some of those decisions wind up having language shift implications, but they were not primarily language choices.

That something so valuable as language can be lost without even being in focus is evidence of just how important children are to their parents. I was fascinated by the story of our guide on a tour in Israel. She spoke flawless English, reflecting the fact that she grew up in South Africa and was educated in England. Her parents had originally come from Lithuania and spoke English as a second language, while her son grew up in Israel speaking Hebrew. She noted that her parents are proud of her English, and her son is embarrassed to have her speak her accented Hebrew in front of his friends. Obviously each generation in this family was giving high priority to training the next generation for the world in which they could expect to live. All three generations were thus launched in life from different linguistic platforms.

Other accelerators and retardants of language shift

The language-of-work hypothesis identifies one factor common in North America that has a logical link to the thinking of parents and may be expected to spark language shift. But the language of work is not the only factor involved. Many factors impact language vitality. Some factors speed up the process of language shift. Accelerators tend to relate to the linkage between the

local community and the surrounding society. Accelerators include anything that

- increases access to the surrounding society,
- increases the attractiveness of participating in that society's economic system, or
- weakens the indigenous language-learning environment of children and young adults.

Examples of accelerators of language shift include improved communication and transportation, which have the effect of increasing the relative proximity of the minority community to the surrounding culture. Radio and television are part of the benefits acquired through the dominant economic system. They increase the attraction of participating in the dominant economic system and provide increased exposure to the dominant language. With the advent of rural TV reception (especially with video and satellite dish technology), increasingly now this exposure to language includes the women, children, and elderly who are at home. This also has the potential of interfering with children's language learning.

Elaborated local educational and governmental administrative structures can also accelerate language shift by creating more jobs requiring English in the community. In some communities, the educational and governmental positions may be a major source of employment. All of these may require the use of the national language in the workplace. National-language education also tends to disrupt children's indigenous-language acquisition. Each generation has its language-learning opportunities severely reduced at the point when children enter the educational system. Indigenous-language features typically acquired in late childhood and young adulthood may be lost or modified.[1] Effectively, the language tends to become splintered into generationally differentiated dialects, and thus becomes less able to serve as a community-wide vehicle for communication. Local education in English can have this effect to some degree. Boarding schools are considerably more damaging since students are not around adult speech in their mother tongue for months at a time. Often literacy and education function as stepping stones to employment using English.

Government policies can also accelerate language shift. English-only policies at boarding schools seem to have had mixed results. Some people have responded by valuing their language more highly and passing it on more deliberately. I recall a conversation with person who told me about having been

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[1]This was the subject of several papers at the Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy, including *The attrition of Inuttut as a first language* by Irene Mazurkewich, *Where have all the verbs gone? Attrition in the L1 verbal system* by Dorit Kaufman, and *Differential effects of L2 on children's L1 development/ attrition* by Muriel Saville-Troike, Junlin Pan, and Ludmila Dutkova.

disciplined for using a Native American language in a boarding school and yet who is raising children in that language. At the 1995 Symposium on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages we heard the opposite logic also, that having been subjected to such pain, some parents want to protect their children from that experience. They have thus not passed the language on to their children. This makes me think that perhaps in a community that is retaining the language, language repression may give added rationale to language maintenance, while in a community that is well underway in language shift, language repression may give added rationale for the shift. It could be expected that those government policies that impact the economic integration of a minority community have more significant implications for language shift than do policies that either encourage or discourage use of the indigenous language.

Significant numbers of marriages between speakers and non-speakers can also hasten language shift.[1] Whereas in previous eras such newcomers and their children would learn the local language, once a community is oriented toward employment using a different language there is no longer much point to learning the indigenous language.

Language etiquette about speaking in front of non-speakers can also contribute to language shift. When there are non-speakers around, speakers in some cultures may feel uncomfortable using their language, or feel it is impolite. This is a minor problem at first, but becomes increasingly problematic as fewer and fewer people in the community speak the indigenous language. Richard Mueller noted two different conversations in which Gwich'in men illustrated the importance of not using the language when somebody present could not understand. One of them "determined *never* to speak his language around people who didn't understand it" (personal communication).

Intolerance or other negative attitudes on the part of a dominant society toward minority languages is another factor. Nancy Dorian (1994, p. 119) notes, "Discussions of the history of assimilation of immigrant groups in the U.S. often overlook the watershed effect of World War I in ethnic language maintenance. After the outbreak of that war public attitudes toward German became suddenly and strongly hostile." This was in contrast to a previously very favorable environment. The change impacted other languages as well.

Some of the accelerators of language shift, given enough time, may be sufficient to cause language shift without a shift in economic systems. It is probable, in fact, that in some North American communities a gradual language shift process was already underway when the economic system shifted, introducing a change in the language of work and the accelerated language shift which that brings.

Other factors retard language shift. Retardants tend to be values, structures, and practices in the community's culture and life that resist changes from

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[1]Marshall and Jean Holdstock view this as being a very imporant factor for language shift among the Beaver of British Columbia (personal communication).

the outside or strengthen the indigenous language learning opportunities of children and young adults. If a structure maintains or creates an environment in which the indigenous language remains the language of work, then language shift could perhaps be effectively blocked. Apart from this it may only be slowed down.

Examples of language shift retardants include religious use of a language.[1] This factor has been observed with regard to Pennsylvania Dutch among the Amish, where language vitality is high.[2] It is also an important factor, for example, among Pueblo groups in the U.S. Southwest.

Sheer population size can be a retardant, though it is no guarantee of safety. Participants at the 1995 Symposium on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages were concerned that even the Navajo language, despite a very large community of speakers, is undergoing rapid language shift.[3] Joseph Grimes (1995) notes that critical size regarding language endangerment seems to be different in different parts of the world.

Linguistic similarity can also contribute to language maintenance. Where the dominant language and minority language are sufficiently similar, bilingualism may be more easily maintained than where they are radically different. This has been noted as a factor in the maintenance of Frisian in The Netherlands (Jaap Feenstra, personal communication).

The continued viability of a traditional means of earning a living can be an important retardant. I wonder if Native American communities with relatively strong language vitality might not be gaining a substantial portion of their income through work that can be done using the local language. One immigrant language situation, Franconian German in Michigan, remained strong from the mid 1800's until the late 1950's, probably as a direct result of being a relatively isolated community with an economy revolving around individual family farms (Born, 1992).

The Amish and Hutterites have gone further and have chosen to limit the participation of community members in the major language job market, for religious reasons. Among the Hutterites this non-participation in the English-

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[1]Edwards (1985, p. 93), in a discussion of the role of economics in language shift, notes "There *are* cases in which the application of simple cost-benefit analysis does not explain language shift or retention. One of these relates to groups in which language is indissolubly tied to a central pillar of life—religion being the obvious example."

[2]Hank Hershberger, personal communication. He felt this was a very important factor in language vitality.

[3]This is also the view of things reflected in Crawford (1992, p. 245), "In 1970, it was hard to find a member of the Navajo Nation unable to speak Navajo; twenty years later it is not unusual for children to grow up speaking only English, even in isolated communities."

speaking job market is very complete. Among the Amish there are a few who now need to work outside the group, owing to a shortage of farms.[1]

A multigenerational schedule of language shift

The language-of-work hypothesis deals with the roots of the epidemic of language shift in North America. The question arises, "What sort of schedule does all of this follow?" For immigrants to the U.S., language shift seems to have been following a three generation pattern, which has more recently been reduced to two generations.

For an indigenous community the timing may be different, even assuming that language of work has a similar role in each. For immigrants, language shift occurs for a family or set of families who have moved. In the case of indigenous languages, the shift occurs for an entire community that has not moved but whose environment has changed. The timing itself may be difficult to state precisely. In general, I would guess the scenario might play out in this way:

First generation
1. Changes in the economic system of a community, and specifically changes in the language of work, signal the beginning of the shift, but there are no alarming linguistic changes at that point.
2. Following this, it is likely that only "early adopters" will begin to steer their children toward the dominant language, resulting in a few cases of somebody either growing up without learning the indigenous language, or preferring the dominant society's language.

Intermediate generation(s)
3. At some point, newcomers to the community (spouses in mixed marriages primarily) no longer routine learn the indigenous language.
4. When a substantial proportion of the community follows the lead of the early adopters, the first hints of the end of intergenerational transfer show up.
5. Meanwhile, some families continue on strongly valuing and using the indigenous language, although schooling in the national language reduces the language learning potential for even these children.

Last generation of community language use
6. At some point, the use of the indigenous language for much of community life becomes impractical, and opportunities for language acquisition diminish even more as a result.

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[1]Hank Hershberger, personal communication. Neither group is experiencing language loss, though Hank sees the language retention situation as being stronger for the Hutterites

7. At about this time, both the community and outsiders can tell that the language is in danger of being lost.

8. Changes appear to be happening rapidly, and perhaps unexpectedly.

For any group that is experiencing in some measure a loss of intergenerational transfer, the community is probably well beyond the point at which the first changes in the language of the workplace occurred. By then, other factors may be more prominent as they obviously speed up or slow down the process that is already under way.

Some related theories and examples

Stephen Schooling (1990), building on the work of Leslie Milroy (1988) and using a survey of language maintenance in New Caledonia, presents a good argument for the usefulness of social network theory for predicting language maintenance or shift. In social network analysis, language is treated as a tool for network maintenance. Describe the network and you have learned something about language use, and thus gained hints about language vitality and future use. This does in fact seem to fit the way most people use language. In the case of New Caledonian languages, Schooling first discovered by detailed survey that the indigenous languages were very much alive and well, and then demonstrated how the same result would have been predicted (with less effort) using social network analysis. The social network analysis actually gives a better picture of how the language is doing today, which way it is going, and where it is likely to end up.

Applying all this to language of work, I note that occupation (whether wage employment or other means of making a living) is a network "cluster" that requires perhaps 50% of an adult worker's waking hours. It is the main environment in which time will be spent with other adults. Meanwhile, in the kind of economic system we have, work in the wage-based economy is more or less obligatory for at least one parent, and often for both parents in each family. So, where English is the language of work, both the social (relating to fellow workers) and economic pressure is there to help prepare children to relate in English. While I did not encounter an emphasis on language of work in either Milroy's or Schooling's work, I noted that when Milroy came up with five points for describing a person's social network, three of the five criteria had to do with fellow workers.

Perhaps the most significant link between network theory and the language-of-work hypothesis is the observation that the change in this century to work in institutions automatically increases the chances that the average worker will work with people who are different from his or her neighbors and relatives. In social network terms this creates a sparse and uniplex network, which is the opposite of the dense and multiplex network that Schooling demonstrates to be a stable environment for language maintenance.

Taking a different tack, Roland Walker (1993) looks at Abraham Maslow's (1970) "hierarchy of need" as a good predictor of language maintenance or

loss. "From his study of healthy human beings, Maslow identified five categories of basic needs that motivate human behavior: 1) physiological needs, 2) safety, 3) belongingness, 4) esteem, and 5) self-actualization" (Walker, 1993, p. 80). In Maslow's theory, safety needs are not as powerful as physiological needs, and so on. Applying this to language use, Walker notes: "The value of applying Maslow's Hierarchy to questions of language choice is in its potential to take us beyond external social circumstances to probe the circumstances of the heart—the motivations and felt needs of communities undergoing LS [Language Shift]. Understanding how language is used to meet basic needs helps to explain why communities respond differently to the same external social forces—specifically, why one group undergoes LS and another does not" (1993, p. 86).

In North America since many indigenous communities have largely lost their land base or no longer find traditional means of support practical or adequate, participation in the wage-based economy has become very important for meeting needs up and down the hierarchy. In this context, work-related issues become a strong source of motivation—and this includes the language skills needed for the specific work environment.

Numerous case studies and other articles illustrate the significance of the language of work for language maintenance and shift. In a fascinating article about St. Barthélemy island (West Indies), Julianne Maher (1996) tracks the history of language development on the 15-square-mile island over a period of several hundred years. The residents of the island, which was settled by the French in the 17th century, by now make up "four distinct communities that do not share each other's speech codes; such linguistic fragmentation in a small isolated population is unusual" (1996, p. 374). The author shows that one end of the island was inhabited largely by fishermen whose dense and multiplex network of work relationships resulted in language stability (they spoke a dialect of French). Another part of the island at one time consisted of plantations, resulting in a different type of work environment and therefore different network constraints, in which a creole quite naturally became the dominant language. The port town population meanwhile spoke English, the language of trade for the region. A fourth section spoke a different French-based language. The languages continued strong until recently, when the economic situation for the entire island shifted as a result of the arrival of new residents and a shift to a tourism economy. Now all four languages are under pressure, mostly from standard French. Maher concludes that all of these language developments were linked historically to the type of social network, and that this was strongly linked to the specific type of local economy—different in various parts of the island. She reconstructs the economic history of the island, showing how all of this may have developed.

The controversial 1977 language legislation of Quebec: Bill 101, the Charter of the French Language also provides insights. Language of work was a focus in this legislation. According to Miller (1984),

> The key targets of the Charter of the French Language were, first, to make French the language of work at the operational level; second, to spur the use of French as a language of business between corporate bodies in Quebec; and third, to ensure that individual customers are served in the language of their choice.
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> Except in high technology industries with North American or worldwide sales, the implementation of means to achieve these targets has modified substantially the linguistic requirements into the Quebec market. (p. 128)

The results of these language maintenance efforts in Quebec stand in stark contrast to the prevailing pattern of steady language decline elsewhere in North America.

It could be that language of work is also a significant factor in language retention or loss for the Sámi of Scandinavia. A number of papers (e.g., Collis, 1990) show a difference in the language vitality of those on the coast working in the wage-based economy using the national language and those inland who continue to herd reindeer. Other studies seem to point to the significance of language of work as well. Susan Gal (1978) documents the desire of young Hungarian women in Austria to be part of the worker class and the wage-based economy (which requires use of German) rather than to remain peasants working on family farms, which allows continued work use of Hungarian.

Addressing some potential difficulties and limitations

The language-of-work hypothesis focuses on why people acquire English but does not explain why they would drop their own languages. That is, it leaves unexplored the possibility that people may, in fact, want to pursue bilingualism. But I think that a pattern in which most parents relate to their children primarily in a language different from their own leaves the indigenous language vulnerable. The language of work displaces something vital to the survival of that language, and so is probably sufficient to predict language loss.

If insiders, primarily parents, teach the inside language, and outsiders teach the outside language, then stable bilingualism would seem to be an option. Both languages have an anchor; both are important to the next generation. But what would hold it in balance, if instead, parents feel *they* need to relate to their children in the outside language? Joshua Fishman notes, "Vernaculars are acquired in infancy, in the family, which means in intimacy. They are handed on that way, in intimacy and in infancy" (1996, p. 192). If there is truly to be stable bilingualism, then the indigenous language needs that kind of continuing foundation. Clifton Pye (1992, p. 80), writing about Chilcotin of British Columbia, observes, "The competition from English is so severe that a child has to receive only Chilcotin from his/her parents in order to learn it."

Hypotheses, such as language-of-work, are not easy to confirm or disprove. There is a virtual fruit salad of factors involved in language shift. Many things are happening at once so it is difficult to clearly identify the specific role of one

factor or another. Further, this hypothesis does not claim to apply to every individual, nor does it necessarily apply over only one or two generations. Rather, it describes a situation that nearly always ignites, in a handful of parents, a course of action that leads, through accommodation and other clustering phenomena, to irreversible language shift for an entire community a few generations later. I think of the linkage between the language of work and language shift as being perhaps analogous to the linkage between air conditioners and hair spray on the one hand and the depletion of the ozone layer on the other hand. That linkage between chlorofluorocarbons and ozone, once suggested, was not quickly confirmed.

Post-shift language maintenance should be different

If a language is well documented before or during the process of language shift and is diligently passed on to younger speakers as a second language, the language can live on even after there are no more first-language speakers of the language. But maintenance of the indigenous language as a second language is not the same as maintaining the language with first-language speakers. Different constraints apply. At this point, maintaining the language has become something with its own focus, rather than a tool for survival.

In this scenario, each generation continues to make the dominant language the first language of their children, who then participate fully in the dominant economic system. Simultaneously they pass on to some or all community members knowledge of the traditional language as a second language. This was done with Hebrew for centuries in many communities around the world. A religious system emphasizing written Hebrew was essential to this process. There came, then, a time when it was possible to revive community use of the language as the main vehicle of communication. Today, Hebrew is the language of work and life in Israel. It remains to be seen if any Native American Languages can be maintained with only second-language speakers.[1]

Possible applications of the language-of-work hypothesis

First, the language-of-work hypothesis may help in the search for solutions to language shift in North America. If the change that is happening operates as this theory presents it, can any minority language group in North America avoid language shift? It would appear that in general, only the largest language groups, and even then probably only those with considerable resources, will be able to maintain the indigenous language as the language of work and simultaneously provide a range of job opportunities to their speech community. This lines up with what is being said generally about language endangerment and group size (see for example Krauss, 1996; Harmon 1995a, 1995b; Grimes, 1995). I have no idea what the minimum requirements are for this but observe that, for

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[1]A related question is, "If a language is not written, can it still be successfully maintained as a second language?"

example, Israel has accomplished this with regard to Hebrew and Quebec is working hard to maintain that level of support for French.

For a smaller group the challenge is immense. What can be done to create or maintain a core of structures that encourage the indigenous language as the language of work and still provide the means to live at an acceptable standard of living through the purchasing of outside goods and services? Of course a small community can close the door entirely. By limiting itself to the economics of its traditional history, or some other self-contained system, a community can maintain a tight ship with regard to the language of work. But this implies a very cohesive society with tight social control that defines the economic horizons of community members. That social limitation would seem to be a very high price to pay for language vitality, and it must be maintained within the laws of Western democracies that stress individual freedom.

But, as with chlorofluorocarbons and ozone, could it be that there are less drastic measures that would work? We still have air conditioners and spray cans. But we put different things in them now. Similarly, could it be that we may eventually understand enough about language shift that communities can both give a good standard of living and career opportunities to their children and yet still maintain their languages? That is, could it be that minority groups could learn to preserve their languages in an environment automatically dangerous to those languages? I think that may be possible (see Appendix).

Perhaps a group can effectively address the issue with a combination of solutions. For one thing, there could be an effort to raise parents' consciousness of the issues and encourage a commitment to language maintenance alongside their commitment to their children's preparation for work life.[1] Nancy Dorian (1995) discusses the importance of sharing knowledge about just how language maintenance and shift work with those who need that information most. Secondly, communities could seek to offer at least some minority-language job opportunities. In considering new economic development projects for example, a community could deliberately examine the language of work impact of prospective economic ventures, perhaps inviting only local economic development that can be structured as promoting work use of the minority language. Alan Sproull (1996, p. 94), for example, explores the possibility of "minority language use in the process of regional economic development." Sproull argues this would actually benefit the nation's economy, not just the region.

Both Amish and Hutterite communities have some types of enterprises that retain the local language as the language of work and yet bring in revenue needed to buy outside goods and services. These communities may serve as models to Native American communities interested in accomplishing the same thing.

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[1]Similarly, the therapy for stuttering includes raising the awareness in the speaker of what he or she is doing. Language phenomena are so close to us that sometimes it requires extra effort just to become aware of them. Awareness is, in fact, a large part of the battle.

Second, the language-of-work hypothesis may help us understand why language shift is or is not happening in some other parts of the world. If this hypothesis is correct, this kind of language shift epidemic can be expected to occur in other regions where indigenous language groups experience similar changes in economic structure and therefore the language of work. The world is moving away from kinship-based economies, and it can be expected that the economic pressure toward language shift is being felt in more and more places. It is likely, though, that since economic changes are happening at different rates and in different ways in different places, changes in language of work requirements, and therefore, pressure on language vitality, would be different.

Perhaps we could learn to read the economic and demographic data on a region or a country in such a way as to get clues about where to expect language shift to be an issue. This, in turn, may help give advance warning to groups likely to be facing language shift, while they still have time to do something about it. Joshua Fishman (1996) stresses the importance of acting early.

Summary

I have argued that in the U.S. and Canada there has been a widespread change in the economic structure of indigenous language communities during the last half of the Twentieth Century and that this has involved a change in the language of work for a significant portion of the community. In that parents are concerned with preparing their children for life, a change in expectation about the language of work has resulted in a change in what language parents use with their children. At first only a few parents may respond this way, but the change builds momentum in combination with other language shift factors. Meanwhile, the change continues to be reinforced through the continued dominance of the national language in the workplace. In contrast, communities in which parents train their children for life in a minority-language-dominated work environment are less likely to experience this shift in the language of the home.

The hypothesis needs to be tested. If it is true, then we should not be able to find evidence of a minority language holding stable as a first language without evidence of language shift in an environment in which the minority language has not been used as the language of work among its population for some time (at least 3 or 4 generations). The lack of such a counter-example would not, of course, prove the theory, but finding one would certainly prompt either the scrapping or revision of the theory. If the main hypothesis stands up, then a number of additional areas need to be filled in. Among them:

- Define the matter of timing between economic shift (and in particular changes in the language of work) and the steps in language shift.
- Study how different employment patterns play out in relationship to language shift. For example, one pattern is to enter a career and work in it for years at a time; another is to go out of the community

a few months at a time to work; another is to work one job for a few years, wait out a year or two while other extended family members work, then do another job for a few years, and so on. It may be that different employment patterns have different levels of impact on language shift.

- Determine what happens when a community can offer a significant number of jobs that are based on employment using the indigenous language. Does this result in language maintenance? Do *all* the jobs have to be in the indigenous language for there to be language stability? Perhaps it would help to look at the ratio of indigenous language work settings to the total set of work settings for the members of a speech community.
- Study what kinds of work are harder or easier to tackle if a community wants to develop work environments using the indigenous language [I think Hywel Coleman (1989) presents some interesting ideas that should be considered].

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Appendix A

Three Types of Work Environment
(Some Thoughts on Using Language of Work in Language Maintenance Efforts)

While the language-of-work hypothesis is still needing to be tested, the ideas below are offered for any who would be interested in applying it practically. A group already working on language maintenance in other ways may be able to reinforce those efforts by addressing language of work issues as well.

I would suggest using five questions that test a work environment for speakers of a minority language:

1. Does the worker rely on the cash economy for most food and other necessities?
2. Does the worker work for wages in an environment controlled by somebody else?
3. Is the work done in an environment with other workers who do not speak this indigenous language?
4. Is a different language the most frequently used language for conversations with other workers, supervisors, and subordinates?
5. Does the work require either commuting or living outside of the indigenous language community?

Using the five questions above, it is possible to predict the following types of work environments (see figure 1):

Type A: Strongly supportive of minority language social network maintenance—Questions 2-5 are answered NO
> *The Worker is free to establish his or her own work environment, and is under no pressure to use a different language in a work environment.*

Type B: Supportive of minority language social network maintenance- Questions 4 and 5 are answered NO
> *The Worker is frequently able to use his or her own language to converse with fellow workers in the work environment.*

Type C: Erodes minority language social network maintenance -Questions 1- 4 (and possibly 5) are answered YES
> *The Worker rarely uses his or her own language in the workplace to converse with fellow workers.*

Language of work can be used as a leading indicator for language maintenance or loss. Quite frequently people do not realize their community is going

through a process of language shift until the process is nearing the end. Any reliable leading indicator of language maintenance or shift would be of help.

- A community with a good percentage of workers working in environment type A is currently not likely to suffer pressure on the minority language from the work environment.
- A community in which nearly all workers are working in environment type C is likely to experience pressure on the minority language from the work environment.

Language of work can also be used as a means of evaluating prospective community economic development proposals. Some approaches to economic development may hasten language shift even as they bring better jobs and higher income. But it probably does not have to be that way. Ideally a community should be able to find adequate employment, and do so in such a way as to not put pressure on their language.

- From a language maintenance point of view, an economic development proposal that would result in Type A and B work environments would be more desirable than a proposal that would result in a Type C work environment.
- Some kinds of work are easily adaptable to a Type A or B work environment. Others are not.
- If a community wishes to develop the majority of jobs as Type A or B work environments, it will probably require serious development of the language, and perhaps of workers' literacy skills in the indigenous language. All the needed work terms, and perhaps work-related reading and writing tasks, should be possible using the indigenous language.

The kernel thought in all of this is that working languages live. Language of work is something that can be studies and planned, as a tool for language maintenance.

Appendix B

Types Language of Work Environments

The worker ...	Relies on cash economy for most food, etc.?	Works for wages in a work envi-ronment others control?	Works in an environment which also employs workers of another lg?	Works in an environment in which a dif. lg prevails as oral lg of wrk for workers & supervisors?	Works in an environment which requires living or commuting away from minority Lg community?

Type A. *Local work environments which STRONGLY SUPPORT minority language social network maintenance (work environment controlled by individual worker):*

Type A-1 Individual control of Lg of Work Subsistence agriculture, fishing, etc.	NO	NO	NO	NO	NO
Type A-2 Individual control of Lg of Work Small cash farmer, fisherman, trapper, etc.	YES	NO	NO	NO	NO

Type B. *Local work environments which SUPPORT minority language social network maintenance (minority language established as language of work):*

Type B-1 Lg of work set by fellow speaker Employee of local monolingual business, or farm using minority language as language of work	YES	YES	NO	NO	NO
Type B-2 Lg of work set by fellow speakers Employee of locally owned multi-lingual institution controlled by speakers of the minority Lg; with minority Lg as language of work	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO
Type B-3 Lg of work set by fellow speakers Employee of non-locally owned multi-lingual institution controlled locally by speakers of the minority LG; with minority LG as language of work	YES	YES	YES	NO	NO

Type C. *Local and non-local Work environments which ERODE minority language social network maintenance (a different language established as language of work):*

Type C-1 Different Lg of work set by community members. Employee of local business/farm, or other institution with a different language as language of work	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
Type C-2 Different Lg of work set by outsiders (located in the minority Lg community) Employee of non-locally owned institution located in community, controlled locally by non-speakers of the minority Lg; with a different Lg as language of work	YES	YES	YES	YES	NO
Type C-3 Different Lg of work set by outsiders (located outside the community) Employee of non-locally owned institution located outside the community; with a different Lg as language of work	YES	YES	YES	YES	YES

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The Invisible Doors Between Cultures
Robert N. St. Clair

The concept of cultural awareness is discussed within the context of the recent commercial changes in America. Three cultural changes have taken place since the turn of the century: the construction of the consumer culture, the urbanization of America, and the marketing of America. Those who are not aware of these shifts risk the chance of becoming engulfed in them. For them the doors between their culture and the business cultures of America remain invisible and subject to entrapment. Hence, one can be protected from cultural loss by being aware of these surrounding host cultures.

Many presenters at this conference have voiced concern about the forces that are causing their indigenous languages to disappear. It is my intent to address those very concerns. I want to discuss the structure of modern American culture. In our own lifetimes, there have been three major shifts in American culture. Around the turn of the century, American culture represented the super rich. It was a culture of the few, by the few, and for the few. This culture changed very rapidly into a "consumer culture" during the second decade of this century. By the end of the Second World War, it was an integral part of Modern America. The second major shift in American culture came about at the end of the War when General Motors put pressure on the American government to build more highways in order to sell cars. This phase is called the "urbanization of America" because people moved out of the inner city and into the suburbs. This situation was ideal as it meant that they had to drive to work every day. Modern American Culture is now located in Suburbia. The final shift in American culture is currently taking place. It is spearheaded by Business Schools in this country that are training their students in the science of marketing. This "marketing of America" constitutes the current phase of American culture because business schools are actively recruiting students from other countries in order to train them in the marketing of the business of culture (Ishii & St. Clair, 1996).

You are probably wondering why I am addressing the structure of Modern American Culture when this is a conference on stabilizing indigenous languages. There are several reasons for this focus. The first has to do with the fact that many crucial changes have taken place in American culture and they have been done quietly and effectively. These changes provide us with a model of rapid cultural change that can be used by us to save our indigenous languages. The second reason for discussing Modern American Culture is that it provides us with an instrument for cultural analysis. We can understand our own culture by comparing it and contrasting it with another. If the culture of opposition is not

clearly defined in our minds, it will absorb us. We need to know when we are leaving our home culture in order to enter into another way of life. We need to know when we are leaving that host culture we return to our indigenous way of life.

There is an invisible door separating cultures. We need to sense that silent passage from one culture to another. We need to know that the door between these cultures are not closed. By understanding the structure of Modern American Culture, we can more readily reenter our home cultures. This is my reason for discussing the global social forces behind Modern American Culture.

The creation of the consumer culture

In 1915 something happened in America to change it forever. A small group of corporate executives met to discuss a crisis in their own business world. It appears that their factories had overproduced. Their warehouses were full of unsold products. The very rich were no longer buying their products. They had a crisis in overproduction. These business men approached the Ford Foundation for help. After a series of "brain storming" sessions, the sociology department of the Ford Foundation came up with a brilliant idea. They argued that the workday should be drastically reduced from 60 hours to 48 and that workers should be given larger salaries (Ewen, 1977). Now why would these business men be so generous? Why would they cut their own profits and share their wealth with the working class? It appears that these men did have ulterior motives. They created shopping centers (emporia) where their own products were sold. By having more money and more time to shop, the factory worker was able to purchase the very items that they produced at work. Advertisers were brought in to ensure that workers would be enticed by these luxury items (Sennett, 1978).

We should recall that over 11 million immigrants entered the United States around the turn of the century and these people resisted the new trends in America. To counter this resistance, the advertisers purchased and controlled 70% of all foreign newspapers in order to have direct access to these immigrants in their own native languages. When they noted how these European immigrants resisted changes that were good for business, they directed their advertising campaigns against them. One of these had to do with the fact that elders were respected by these immigrant families and the older men in the family were given first choice whenever a job became available. The advertisers began a "young is beautiful" campaign. They found the older workers to be inefficient and sought younger workers in their factories (Ewen, 1988). Another campaign by advertisers came in the form of an attack on the extended family. They felt that such group living patterns counteracted the narcissistic desires of the individual. They advocated nuclear families, smaller groups of individuals who were distanced from controlling forces of the older ways and traditions of their immigrant parents. Finally, these advertisers noticed that these immigrants liked to repair old clothes and fix broken objects rather than purchase new items (Ewen & Ewen, 1982). They considered this to be "un-Ameri-

can." To undo these habits, advertisers drew up another campaign in which they argued for "America as a throw away culture." Within a generation after this campaign was created, America had actually become a "throw away culture."

The urbanization of America

By the end of the Second World War, the consumer culture was a reality. It only took two generations to accomplish this feat. Since this exercise was highly successful, business men set about in creating another cultural shift favorable to commerce. This time the influence came from General Motors. This corporate giant wanted to sell more cars. They convinced Congress to build more highways and to sabotage passenger rail travel. During the Second World War, America had only two "military highways." One was Route 66 which traversed America from Coast to Coast and the other was the Alaskan Highway. Congress gladly initiated the building of superhighways across America. This country is now covered by ribbons of cement. Another way to increase car sales came with the creation of Urban America. People moved away from the cities and into the outskirts of the city. This change had nothing to do with overcrowding. It was a commercial movement (Jones, 1981). Every facet of the business world benefited from the urbanization of America. More new homes were sold, and these subdivisions needed two or more cars, new furniture, new appliances, and other commodities that one identifies with suburbia. Remember what we said about overcrowding. It was not a problem during the beginning of the Suburban Movement. To ensure that overcrowding would be a problem and that people would be enticed to move into the suburbs, an advertising campaign was created to encourage higher birth rates. The Baby Boomer Generation lasted from 1946 to 1964. More children were born at that time than any other in American history. The peak year was 1957 when 3.9 million babies were born. The urbanization of America was good for business.

The marketing of America

Just as the Baby Boom Generation was coming to a close, business men came up with another idea that was continue their traditions of wealth and dominance. This time, the idea was to sell American products overseas. The managerial elite from foreign countries were encouraged to study in the United States and become enculturated. Upon their return, they would provide a special commercial link with their native lands. Business students were of special interest to this movement because they would learn the art of marketing in America and export it to their own countries. This "marketing of America" means that the business culture is no longer limited to the United States. It is currently changing the way people feel, think, and live around the globe (Harris, 1980). This marketing of America has been so successful that it has created a new international culture of business with seven variants (Hampden-Turner & Trompenaars, 1992).

Crossing between disparate cultures

We have all had the experience of entering other cultures. When we leave our own culture, we leave through an "invisible door" that separates our culture from others. Most people are unaware of the fact that they are entering another culture. They know that they feel uncomfortable and different, but they do not know why. For those of us who study culture as our livelihood, we are usually well aware of the process of entering these other behavior domains of the host culture. We know that when we first enter into another culture we stand in this open doorway with our legs straddling both cultures. We are well aware that we have to act differently and speak a different language. We know that we have to eat different kinds of food and listen to different kinds of music. We even have to dress differently. But something magical happens once we truly enter the other culture. We forget that we are of another culture. We begin to dream in this other language, and we may even think differently. We may even forget that we look different and be shocked by our own images in the mirror.

When it is time to leave our host culture, we reverse our process of cultural reentry. We straddle the invisible doorway between cultures once again and consciously comment on the differences that separate our culture from theirs. After a few days, we return to our home cultures. Some have referred to these changes as "cultural shock" and "reentry shock." I think that these terms only make sense if one is not aware of the invisible door that separates his cultural world from those of others. I have made these journeys between cultures many times, and I do not consider them to be "shocking." What is important about this discussion of the invisible doors between cultures is our ability to be culturally aware. This ability is very important because it enables us to return to our home cultures without suffering cultural loss.

How to prevent cultural loss

If you are being influenced by another culture, you need to protect yourself from being absorbed by it. You do this by being aware of how your culture differs from the other culture. If you know that Modern American Culture is based on the commercial forces of consumerism, urbanization, and marketing, then you can readily separate your value system from it. Why is this important? It is important because when we do not know how our culture differs from another, we can be readily absorbed by that outer culture.

There are some people who have undergone severe cultural loss. They are changed by the social and cultural forces around them and remain unaware of these changes in their lives. What is perhaps the most frightening experience for those of us who are trying to retain indigenous cultures are those individuals who deliberately leave our home cultures to enter into another cultural world forever. This individual decision can become rather alarming when large groups of people leave the old way of life for another. This situation is alarming because we are at a lost about why they left and why they do not want to ever return.

Conclusion

The more we know about the cultural forces around us, the more we are able to protect our culture from being overtaken by the mores of another. Many people assume that this is an "either/or" decision. It is not. We can leave our home cultures and return to them. We need not close the "invisible doors" that separate our culture from others. My discussion on three cultural shifts in Modern American Culture highlights the social forces that impinge on our lives (St. Clair, 1997). If we are unaware of these forces, the "invisible door" may close forever behind us. If we are aware of them, however, we can always return to our home cultures.

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Personal Thoughts on Indigenous Language Stabilization
Barbara Burnaby

This paper describes the author's personal, intuitive reflection on her observations concerning factors in the preservation and stabilization of indigenous languages in North America. Issues explored include the complications that conflicting goals and agendas bring to the development of community control, the recruiting of human resources and motivating community action, and the small size of crucial communities and language groups overall and in specific contexts. We need to develop the right strategies for different size language communities, and we need to pay attention to the amount and variety of language use actually going on in communities. Local priorities must be respected; local leadership must be fostered; the forces that create negativity must be met with healing; and recent accomplishments must be appreciated.

Before coming to the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium, I reviewed the work of the previous symposia on stabilizing indigenous languages (Cantoni, 1996). What a wonderful opportunity it is to read, all in one book, about such a broad range of issues relating to indigenous languages! Work on these matters has been terribly scattered and divided by great distances, national boundaries, and other barriers. Therefore, it is very satisfying to see the results of the meeting of so many committed minds—overviews, documentation of successes, priorities, frankness, and dedication. It is an honor to take part in this groundbreaking work.

What I have to say is a rather intuitive and loosely connected exploration of several observations that I have made over a number of years concerning indigenous language activities in Canada. It draws and reflects on the work of these symposia, other sources, and my own experience to highlight certain facets of the complex dynamic of indigenous language use. The clearest thing about indigenous languages in North America is that they are all in danger of being lost, some sooner than later. If they are to be preserved and stabilized, we need some strategies for deciding on the most important things to do. I am not presenting a plan here, but I am raising some issues that might be used to make one. The main theme concerns the idea of the need for a critical mass of people and their activities in order for a social movement to take place. This theme is related here to the priority placed on local control of social institutions and the role of individuals in social movements. Other themes of leadership and negativity are woven in as well.

Community control

Many influential social scientists, including my colleagues David Corson (e.g., 1990), Stacy Churchill (1986), and James Cummins (e.g., 1988), emphasize the need for linguistic and cultural minority communities to control institutions that affect their lives if there is to be significant and sustainable improvement in their circumstances in the midst of the power of the majority population. I want to consider some aspects of this kind of control in practice. Let me begin by saying that I am thoroughly committed to the principle of community control and cannot imagine any meaningful progress towards the stabilization of indigenous languages without this principle being addressed more than any other. However, as Dr. Fishman has said about generalizations about language in society on various occasions, it is a little more complicated than that. In other words and for example, what kinds of control are the most important and under what conditions? Are there circumstances where it is practical and even useful for control to be shared? Should control over everything be approached at once, or should some areas be dealt with first? And so on.

The crucial question is what control is and how much of what kind of control makes a difference, especially to indigenous language maintenance. Unfortunately, the collection of relevant information in Canada about what kinds of control indigenous peoples now have and how it has worked to make changes is complicated by the facts, among others, that there are many different institutions and jurisdictions involved and that we do not really know what the right questions are to ask. Serious, detailed discussions of what indigenous control in Canada means and how well it is progressing have been undertaken (e.g., MacPherson, 1991), and it appears that the picture is not very satisfactory. Let us look at a few aspects of control.

In Canada, indigenous peoples have, for many years, been firm in their insistence that they get institutional control. They started with the matter of control over schooling. Perhaps the most influential document by Canadian indigenous people, *Indian Control of Indian Education*, was written in 1972 by the National Indian Brotherhood in response to a federal government proposal that the Indian Act be abolished and that indigenous peoples be treated like all other citizens. The National Indian Brotherhood stated that the federal government must retain its existing funding obligations for services, particularly education, to indigenous peoples but that control over those services be given to those affected by the services, in this case the parents of indigenous schoolchildren. An important point in this statement was that the goals of education were to be both the reinforcement and enhancement of indigenous children's identity as indigenous people and the learning of skills to make a good living in the wider society. With this double objective, which is still strongly upheld in indigenous communities in Canada in the 1990s, indigenous education is obliged to draw on both the mainstream and indigenous traditions.

A somewhat different example relates to complex negotiations between the Canadian federal government and the Yukon Territory concerning the application of the federal Official Languages Act (which makes English and French

the official languages of Canada) and the role of the Yukon indigenous lan-
guages. It was decided that the indigenous languages would not be made offi-
cial languages, but that they would receive comparable financial support. The
rationale for this decision was that community self-determination of language
policies and initiatives was a more effective priority than the kinds of actions
that territory-wide official language status would likely produce (Cottingham
& Tousignant, 1991, as quoted in Fettes, in press). In other words, the treatment
of the indigenous languages would not be at all constrained by mainstream
models of how an official language ought to be. Therefore, in this case, the
issues relate directly to the indigenous tradition only.

In the two examples I just gave of indigenous control over schools in Canada
and control over indigenous language development in general in the Yukon
Territory, there is a difference in the extent to which mainstream ideas and
administration are involved. In the school case, parents want to meet main-
stream objectives as well as indigenous ones. This means that community con-
trol must include not only doing what the community wants but also doing
what mainstream authorities expect. No doubt there are decisions taken every
day where teachers, parents, and administrators have to choose between vari-
ous traditionally-oriented or mainstream-oriented possibilities. Schooling is not
the only community institution where these kinds of decisions and compro-
mises have to be made. Health care, social work, law enforcement, and many
other institutions are often in the same situation. In very few cases can people
just decide to do things, such as indigenous language maintenance in the Yukon,
without having to take into account mainstream models. The point I want to
make here is that community/indigenous control over mainstream types of in-
stitutions in the community is not a simple matter of handing over control to
local people to make the decisions that non-indigenous people used to make.
Over and over, choices have to be made in order to change institutions from
mainstream ones to truly indigenous ones.

I was at a meeting once where indigenous people had come in from many
communities to discuss indigenous language development. We brainstormed a
wide range of ideas of things that might be done in schools, at community
events, in the store, out on the land, and in many other ways. After we had made
a good list of possibilities, I found it frustrating that the conversation immedi-
ately turned to which of these things could and could not be done because of
the constraints of the different kinds of funding available. In my view, main-
stream structures that provided the funding were taking control over the deci-
sions we were trying to make. No one was talking about finding alternative
sources of funding, lobbying to have funding rules altered, or figuring out which
things could be done with community resources and little extra cost. I have
described this event as an example, to my mind, of the many ways in which it is
difficult to get real control over situations and institutions even if local people
are in charge of them.

Even in situations such as indigenous language maintenance and develop-
ment in the Yukon, which is not modeled on mainstream ways of doing things,

there are important issues to deal with. In being given control, local people have to take control. But, how do we get people involved and committed to act? Can we convince people in the community that indigenous languages are high enough priority for them to change the ways they do things? How do we get the resources needed—the human resources of people's knowledge, skills, and time and the practical resources of money and things? Actually using an indigenous language does not cost money, but it often takes money and/or energy and time to encourage people to use it. Once things are moving, how do we keep people involved and changing? In my experience, there is a great deal of talk about how important indigenous languages are. Non-indigenous people have been notorious for making speeches and promises about such things and then not doing anything about them. But indigenous people have not been perfect in this respect either. If indigenous people do not act, then who will? Indigenous control has to do with getting both indigenous and non-indigenous people to act on their words rather than letting things slide along as usual because the usual way is most often in the direction of the mainstream way.

One more point I want to make here concerns indigenous control not just in communities where indigenous people are in the majority in their home communities, but where indigenous people live in places where they are in the (often small) minority. In Canada, it seems that as much as half of the indigenous population lives outside of traditional indigenous communities (Statistics Canada, 1993). We need to think about indigenous control in all the kinds of places where the indigenous population is. Also, it is only practical to think about getting non-indigenous people to cooperate in achieving indigenous objectives. Kirkness (1992) indicates that there are more indigenous programs in schools in which all or most of the children are indigenous and/or where the schools are administered by school boards and governments which are indigenously controlled. However, she also gives examples of indigenously oriented programs that are in schools run by regular school boards and governments and in schools where the indigenous children are in the minority. It is important that we keep in mind the potential of enlisting non-indigenous people and groups in creating programs and activities that support indigenous interests. This strategy may not seem to be a good one in principle, or it may seem hopeless, but if it is not followed up it seems likely that a very large portion of indigenous people will not be reached. Given the risk that many indigenous languages and cultures are at, all the indigenous people who do not live in indigenous communities cannot be ignored.

The factor of critical mass

Critical mass means having enough people or language or activity so that the things we want start to happen and keep happening. I suggest that size of groups of people should be given careful attention in our considerations of where to put our energies in indigenous language support. Canada has about sixty indigenous languages (more or less, depending on how you count them), but only Cree, Ojibwa, and Inuktitut have more than 15,000 speakers. The other

languages are mostly much smaller. We know that the smallest language groups have been most vulnerable to extinction, and that only 35 per cent of indigenous languages in Canada are in a strong position (Assembly of First Nations, 1990). Indeed, the size of the group of speakers and the degree of endangerment are almost the same thing. So in this central way, size of the group is an important factor when looking at where energies to support languages should be placed. We could decide to put more effort into working with languages that have the fewest speakers because they are the most at risk, or we could put more support into languages with the most speakers because they have the best prospects. But no one wants to make these decisions. I think that the more practical decision is to provide the right kind of help to the right size of language. Those languages that have few speakers, many of whom are older people, need a different kind of treatment to those which have a lot of speakers, including children. We must be realistic that the kinds of activities which are very effective in some situations are not the best for every situation. Especially when languages are really in danger, it is tempting to get on the bandwagon of every new language program. But we must choose carefully those programs and activities that are the most realistic and put more energy into them.

In addition to the size of the language group as a whole, it is useful to think about the size of each individual community we want to work in. In my experience, larger communities have a certain advantage over smaller communities in getting new and effective language support programs off the ground. They simply have more financial and human resources, more people and skills to choose from, and more people to volunteer to help. If small communities have taken over control of a lot of their institutions (schools, transportation, health, economic development, and so forth), their human resources may be stretched to the limit with these responsibilities. They can only make changes in so many of their activities at any one time. Also, they are likely to have pressures on them that make things other than language higher priority. So again, a program that works in a large community may not work out in the same way in a smaller one. On the other hand, small communities have certain advantages as well, so that some kinds of programs and activities might work better there than in large communities. At any rate, the size of communities needs to be taken into account in deciding on language promotion and support activities.

One other aspect of size I can think of is the amount that the indigenous language is used in any community or language group. In the Yukon Territory, the movement to develop, maintain, and preserve the indigenous languages has recognized the essential goal of creating a critical mass of real communication in the indigenous languages as the momentum for substantial change (Gardner, 1993, as quoted in Fettes, in press). In other words, there is probably an essential amount of language use, and if that amount of use goes below a certain point, the language will decline rapidly no matter how many people there are who know how to speak it. Because communication usually implies groups of people, we would be looking at communities rather than individuals in order to assess this critical mass or amount of language. I do not think anyone knows

how much communication in the language is enough to keep the language going, but it makes sense that a language has to be used a certain amount or it will die.

In this vein, Mougeon and Beniak (1994) indicate the importance of a critical mass of French speaking community institutions (social, cultural, and economic), or "institutional completeness," in French speaking communities in Ontario to the maintenance of the French language in an otherwise strongly English speaking province over long periods of time. In other words, people with French backgrounds need to be able to take part in a lot of things in French (such as school, church, sports, radio, shopping, and so forth) before they take the French language seriously and use it regularly. Again, without defining what actual size or proportion such a critical mass of language activity in community institutions might be, the implication is that a community would have to support a considerable range of established institutions in the indigenous language to benefit from this effect.

Overall then, we need to take into consideration the size of the language group, the size of the individual communities involved, the amount of communication that goes on in the language, and the number of kinds of situations that people can use the language in. If we are serious about working towards the stabilization of all the indigenous languages, we also have to combine the questions of size with the questions of control. I have not thought through what all the combinations might be or what they might mean. Besides, I think it is more useful to bring these ideas to issues in actual community situations than to work out all the theoretical possibilities here. However, below are some of the thoughts on my mind at the moment.

Differing priorities

We must be prepared to accept the fact that some communities and language groups, especially the smallest ones, may decide that they have other priorities than indigenous language maintenance or revival. We must be realistic about the stress their human resources are under as they are handed not only the control of but also the responsibility for institutions (formal education, transportation, economic activities, and so forth) that were once imposed on them from the outside. The pressure to meet the mainstream requirements of this work may not leave room for a focus on indigenous languages. As Fishman (1996) and Gardner (1993) emphasize, a good strategy is to focus on less formal, more intimate community institutions such as home, family, and friendship groups first and let other institutions such as the school follow suit. Even small communities and small language groups have families and social activities. Also, these aspects of life are in some ways more protected from mainstream control and interference. However, in such stressful times, it may be especially difficult to find the human resources in a community or language group of any size to take leadership in these areas. On the other hand, a community could decide to use its control of institutions such as the school in such a way as to change them to reflect strongly traditional linguistic and cultural

traditions. The problem with this approach is that indigenous parents are widely reported to want their children to be educated so that they can compete in the wider society. This might mitigate against any major changes in the organization of schooling and many other institutions. Hampton (1995) argues that the evolution towards true indigenous education goes through phases. Perhaps we may be overly impatient for the results we want.

Leadership

I want to change the focus at this point away from communities and language groups to individuals. The single most important factor I have seen in the development of successful indigenous language stabilization activities in Canada in the past thirty years has been the presence of leadership. Each exceptional program or movement has been started by a community member who had a vision of what could be done. This person was able not only to dream but also to inspire others to share in this dream. For a reason I do not understand, most of these leaders have been women, but I do not think that this is a reason to discourage men from working in the direction of indigenous language stabilization. I think of Roseanne Houle, Ida McLeod, Ida Wasacase, Verna Kirkness, Emma Jane Crate, Lena White, Mary Lou Fox, Greg Spence, Reg Henry, Dorothy Lazore, Sr. Catherine Tekakwitha, Luci Salt, Annie Whiskeychan, Mildred Millea, Bernie Francis, Beatrice Watt, and many others.

Local leadership in indigenous language development is important because it means that new ideas are coming from someone who understands the community well and therefore knows many of the complicated factors that could make an idea succeed or fail. The leader knows about local human resources—who is good at what and therefore who can contribute to new activities. Also, local leaders are very important in encouraging others to take part because leaders are role models. They show everyone that new things can be done, that it is not always necessary to import skills from the outside. Finally, they are from the community so they are likely to stay and see a project through to completion.

Unfortunately, we cannot force good leadership to happen. The right person has to come forward at the right time. However, it is certainly possible to encourage leadership in ourselves and those around us. People who have talents, especially young people, can be supported in using them. Opportunities for training and experience of all sorts can be used. People who make contributions should be rewarded and appreciated. New ideas can be tried out. Through such means, talents, resources, and opportunities are not wasted, and new, valuable things and activities are created, often at no cost.

Negativity

I suppose that the dark side of leadership is negativity in communities about what can be done and the sharing of talents and resources. In the book about the previous symposia (Cantoni, 1996), I was impressed that people were prepared to come out and face the fact that negativity has played a problematic role in the stabilizing of indigenous languages in North America. I have seen it at

work myself, and I was sorry to see that it seems to be a factor in many other communities as well. I think, for example, of visiting a school in which an indigenous language is used extensively. At lunch one of the indigenous language teachers told me that she did not let any of the other teachers see the classroom materials she had prepared over the years because she had put a lot of work into them and she did not want anyone taking advantage of all her effort. In other situations, I have seen some parents make trouble over a new language program or criticize everything the language teacher does. Most often I have heard people say that they would like to learn or improve their skills in their indigenous language, but that they could not take the ridicule they got when they tried to speak. This kind of attitude and behavior is a very powerful force in creating the risk of extinction of indigenous languages, and acting to stop it is essential to the work of stabilizing indigenous languages.

I cannot believe that the people who do these negative things are all mean people. I have to think that they are acting out of some kind of pain or simple thoughtlessness. Some of the pain, we know all too well, has come out of the ugly and racist things that non-indigenous people have done to indigenous people over the years in schools, on reservations, at work, in hospitals, and many other places. However, there are other sources of pain as well that are tearing communities apart and keeping new, constructive, and useful things from happening, including the support of the indigenous languages. In my view, efforts to stabilize indigenous languages must be linked to work on healing in communities. It is through healing practices that we can uncover not only ways to soothe the pain and counteract negativity, but also ways to support, talent, skills, leadership, and wisdom that is so greatly needed for language, culture, and community survival and development.

Final word

I appreciate greatly the opportunity to communicate my thoughts to the readers of this book. It encouraged me to see that there are so many who have made the trip to the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium in Flagstaff, Arizona, to learn and to share what they have learned. Leadership has clearly come forward in many communities in order to produce the ideas and interests that were brought to Flagstaff. Now, I think, a new leadership is starting, one of people who can take the skills and knowledge they have developed at home and share them with other communities and other language groups. This is a new stage, a broader, more hopeful stage. Although it may not seem that we have accomplished very much so far, we just need to look back a few years to see that a great deal has been done. Where once there was nothing but the prospect of indigenous language loss, there are now programs, and teachers, and writing systems, and books, and radio programs, and young people learning, and, most of all, the beginnings of a new respect for indigenous languages. We are fortunate to have a place in this process.

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Stabilizing What?
An Ecological Approach to Language Renewal
Mark Fettes

Saluton. Kia la lingvo, tia la spirito.
Ke ambau pacigu aj fortigu per nia kunestado.

This paper develops a speaker-centered view of language as an alternative to the monolithic, decontextualized abstractions favored by modern linguistics. Successful language renewal requires the interweaving of critical literacy in the dominant language with local knowledge and living relationships expressed through the local language. The stabilization of indigenous languages forms part of a broader movement to reestablish societies on a human scale and in balance with nature.

For my doctoral dissertation in education, I have been developing a way of thinking about language that can make sense both of my own experiences as an Esperanto speaker[1] and of my work with Canadian First Nations people on community-based language strategies.[2] In the context of the theme of the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium "sharing effective language renewal practices," this means asking about the meaning of the words *effective*, *language*, and *renewal*.

The second of these terms is the most central and the most problematic. When we talk about language, we often fall back on the ways linguists have chosen to describe it—in terms of discrete entities defined by standard grammars, standard dictionaries, standard phonologies, and the like. But that does not really capture what language is. The closer you look at people's linguistic

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[1]Esperanto is a century-old language designed and developed for use between people with different mother tongues, in a similar way to North American trading languages (Chinook Jargon, Mobilian, and so forth). The best description of its functioning is in French (Piron, 1994); see however Janton (1993) or Richardson (1988) for an introduction in English.

[2]I have worked as a consultant on language and education issues to the Assembly of First Nations and other groups since 1992 (see e.g., Fettes, 1992 & 1997). During this work I encountered Joshua Fishman's ideas on "reversing language shift": see Fishman (1991) and his two papers in the earlier Symposium publication, *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* (Fishman, 1996a, 1996b). The present paper develops an alternative theoretical model that, while in some ways critical of Fishman, relies on many of his insights.

behavior, the less "standard" it becomes. To take an example from my own experience, what looks like "Dutch" from the viewpoint of a non-speaker becomes a constellation of stylistic norms for the learner of the "standard," a shifting mosaic of regional and class-based varieties, which when observed in their social context are a subtle ever-turning kaleidoscope of individual and group speech patterns of speakers going through their daily lives. There are no linguistic techniques available, there is not even a vocabulary, to capture the fact that "Dutch" refers to all these things at once—to an entire ecological system of communicative strategies rooted in time and place, history, and the land.[1]

What, then, are we trying to "stabilize" or "renew"? What does it mean to stabilize an ecosystem, which by its very nature is a dynamic, ever-changing set of interrelationships rather than a clearly identifiable "thing"? One influential response is to make the ecosystem more "thing-like"—more homogenous and predictable by establishing standards, printing dictionaries, and writing textbooks and curricula. *Teach* people how to speak. Linguists tend to feel very comfortable with this approach as it fits with all of their training.[2] Yet I contend that the modern notion of languages as homogenous, stable "things" that are taught, learned, and used—a concept deeply embedded in the grammar of Western languages and in linguistic theory—is fatal to the goal of revitalizing indigenous languages.

First, if languages constitute a class of things, then they resemble one another in essential respects. Given this premise, it is hard to escape the conclusion that one language must be as good as another for most purposes. Indeed, structuralist linguistics has elevated this avowedly empowering principle into something of a dogma. One even finds it embedded in the work of sociolinguists like Joshua Fishman (1991), who in *Reversing Language Shift* refers to minority and majority languages by the letters X and Y, as if they were as alike and interchangeable as two symbols in an algebraic equation. I do not think that Fishman subscribes to this fallacy in a conscious and deliberate fashion, but its influence has systematically infiltrated his work and that of many others. Far from being a help to advocates of language renewal, it undermines their cause by suggesting that languages are no more than tools to be picked up and put

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[1]The most penetrating philosophical critique of standard linguistics has been developed by Roy Harris and his co-workers (Harris, 1981; Davis & Taylor, 1990). The links between language, land, and spirituality, that are so obvious and fundamental for many indigenous language activists, are only just becoming accessible to the Western tradition (Maffi, 1996).

[2]See Mühlhaüsler (1996) for a description of how objectifying ideologies have influenced the linguistic description of the Pacific region and of their effects on local linguistic ecosystems. The historical roots of this tradition are traced in Illich (1981).

down, or sets of clothes that one may or may not choose to wear, with no further social or environmental effects.[1]

Secondly, from the idea that all languages are fundamentally alike, we are readily led to believe that the same factors that entrench English (or other languages of ruling) can be used to stabilize indigenous languages. Besides a misplaced emphasis on writing, standardization, and teaching, this also tends to link linguistic activism to various forms of nationalism and territorialism—zero-sum ideologies that can awaken fiercely negative reactions on the part of linguistic majorities and be hugely expensive to maintain in both human and economic terms. If we are serious about creating a world where thousands of languages can thrive, rather than just a few dozen or a few hundred, then other models must be found.[2]

Thirdly, if every language is merely a local instance of a general phenomenon, then any community's knowledge about its language appears insignificant in comparison to the Western linguistic tradition. Linguists claim to have been studying the languages of the world for centuries and therefore to know far more about their workings and significance than any mere speaker. This perspective privileges modern linguistic techniques for abstracting language from its social context, rather than techniques for re-embedding it. The particular and concrete use of language in knowledge, culture, and interpersonal relationships is largely ignored in favor of a focus on linguistic structure and "language" in general.

Fourthly, if languages are seen as "things" separate from their speakers, then the latter cease to have a sense of ownership and control. Particularly for non-fluent adult speakers, language renewal comes to seem an impossibly huge task in which they have little if any role to play. Consequently linguistic responsibility is entrusted to teachers, linguists, and various other people in institutional roles, rather than being reaffirmed as a shared value of every member of the community. Depending on the circumstances, such institutionalization may actually deepen and entrench people's alienation from their language.[3]

I believe that we can meet the challenge of language renewal only by abandoning the initial assumption. Forget about the monolithic, abstract entities that modern science projects upon the linguistic world: a theory of language renewal must begin with the speakers, with people "doing language" together

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[1]For the modern "enlightened" view of all languages as equal and alike see for example Newmeyer (1986). The logical conclusion that language loss does not really matter very much is argued by Ladefoged (1992). A rebuttal is provided by Dorian (1993).

[2]The most extensive work on fostering stable multilingualism has focused on linguistic rights (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994; Léger, 1995, 1996). For a profound indigenous perspective on language and government see Henderson (1995).

[3]This is especially true if the institutionalization is in schools that are already viewed by indigenous people as alien (see for example Peshkin, 1997).

in meaningful ways, and work out from there. This paper presents a preliminary exploration of the terrain. I believe the results to be very compatible with what Elders and language activists say and do; in addition it demonstrates the inadequacy of one-track approach such as schooling and literacy alone. Most importantly, perhaps, this exploration helps us rebuild a vision of language in its full social context, as an instrument of love and oppression, rootedness and alienation, knowledge and lies.

The two sides of language

Our "speaker-centered" perspective begins with the assertion that people and their actions are inseparable and that a true understanding of the latter must include the actors' own description of their actions and motivations. This perspective abandons the Cartesian notion of an invisible mind disconnected from the "doing" body in favor of "the social mind"—the mind that exists through concrete physical and symbolic interaction with others. Such interaction, now commonly termed "discourse," is given coherence through informal rules of behavior learned by trial and error. Discursive psychology, which seeks to reinterpret our understanding of all human behavior along these lines, undercuts the Cartesian idea that language is something separate from other areas of human activity. Instead language is seen as an integral and central part of the ways people interact with each other and their environment.[1]

However, because language works through words—symbolic goods that resemble material goods in their stability and transportability—it is operated on by two very different kinds of discursive rules. *Primary* discursive rules govern the ways we negotiate meaning in face-to-face settings. When we adapt our speech to particular people, situations, and purposes, we are making use of primary discursive rules that are tightly integrated with all our non-verbal knowledge about the world of experience. This is how language is first acquired: mutual and constantly renegotiated references to things and events in our immediate environment (and in our behavior) give meaning to our earliest words and structure our most important early relationships. The dialogic and immediate use of language in primary discourse becomes deeply embedded in our cognitive functioning and underlies our capacity to use language for other goals.

Being both dialogic and immediate, such "vernacular" or "informal" language has no need of standardization, and indeed resists it mightily. Its nature is to be mercurial, fluid, and ever-changing, according to the needs and creative urges of its users. In contrast, *secondary* discourse aspires to authority and permanency—to "truth" and "knowledge" of a lasting kind. Primary discourse enables us to tell stories about the world we know from experience. Its situated

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[1]That is, the mind of every individual is a kind of finely-tuned discursive processor, constantly working to ensure the stable and productive integration of a unique complex of discourses. On discursive psychology see Harré & Gillett (1994); on discourse and language see Gee (1991), as well as Bakhtin's (1981, 1986) prescient work of forty to sixty years before.

"small stories" make use of communicative strategies that are deeply rooted in everyday life. But the words and word-use rules produced in this way are then available to be strung together into more complex and abstract stories about the world outside our experience, including past and future. This process starts early. Even young children are busy assembling a conceptual model of the world at the same time as they use language to negotiate their wants and needs with people around them. But it is the adult world that places greatest stress on secondary discourse, with far-reaching consequences.[1]

As Dorothy Smith (1990) has pointed out (extending an argument from Karl Marx), the way in which concepts (words) are strung together in secondary discourse need not bear any relationship to the things people actually do and know. This implies that language is a dangerous tool indeed, for secondary discourse has a clear effect on primary discourse. People may abandon or modify their rules of behavior to conform with those stories that appear most "true" or those that they wish were true. But there is no guarantee that the results will be what they expect. They may have been seduced by "ideology," in Marx's sense, rather than a valid picture of their material and discursive reality. Thus, cohesive and sustainable communities must achieve a dynamic balance between primary and secondary discourses, one that allows language to continue to evolve through its use in informal situated negotiation of ways to live together, even as this negotiation is influenced by ongoing attempts to integrate these complex patterns of life into the relatively restricted conceptual systems that language makes available.[2]

Seen from this perspective, indigenous languages and the languages of ruling that threaten to engulf them no longer appear as similar as linguists would have us believe. Indigenous languages are the product of hundreds or thousands of years of delicate, gradual accommodation between the primary and secondary discursive systems of particular human communities, living in a sustainable relationship with particular places and ecosystems. It is no accident that indigenous languages vary so greatly within and among themselves. This is to be expected of any healthy linguistic system where primary discourse still holds its own. By contrast, English and other standardized languages of ruling are the recent inventions of a cultural system drastically alienated from its en-

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[1]For two quite different but complementary descriptions of how secondary discourse works, see Turner (1996) on how storytelling structures language and Feyerabend (1975) on storytelling as the universal form of knowledge production.

[2]This view of language is a synthesis of many sources within and outside the reference list, with Smith (1990) providing a key insight. The primary/secondary distinction was formulated by both Bakhtin and Gee along somewhat different lines. Here, all language acts are viewed as drawing on both primary and secondary discursive rules, although this paper also uses "primary discourse" and "secondary discourse" to refer loosely to language acts dominated by the former or the latter.

vironment. What Ivan Illich (1981) refers to as "taught mother tongue" began its relentless standardizing march across the Atlantic in 1492, a year that saw the beginnings of the colonization of the Americas from without and the colonization of Europe from within.[1]

Over time, as Illich has argued, "standard language" reduces the scope of primary discourse in a society to a minimum. Language ceases to be something that can be negotiated and adapted to the needs of a specific place and situation. It becomes an objectified, authoritative "thing" whose supreme authorities are the Book and the Expert. Words and concepts are expropriated from their social context and anchored in disciplinary secondary discourses that claim a monopoly over truth. The objectification of language parallels the objectification of nature and of people themselves; indeed, it does not seem accidental that the philosophical foundations of modernity—the Cartesian mind-body split, the Baconian ideal of abstract science, the Comenian notion of lifelong education—were laid at the very time that standard language was beginning to replace the vernaculars among the educated classes of Western Europe.

We can now reassess the third term in our declared goal of "effective language renewal." The point is not to make indigenous languages resemble standard ones (with the potential result, as Dick Littlebear suggested, that in another couple of generations we could be meeting to discuss the oppressive dominance of Cheyenne). Language renewal is about finding ways to restore the balance between primary and secondary discourse, and with it the balance between people and nature that indigenous communities had once perfected. By the same token, language renewal is not something that should concern indigenous people alone, nor is it simply a matter of elementary justice. It is one attempt among many to reestablish control over a runaway civilization (Sachs, 1992, 1993).

The triple braid of language renewal

So let us turn, at last, to the first word in our mission statement: what are *effective* language renewal practices? A healthy language can be visualized as a tightly woven braid of many primary and secondary discourses. In living and working together (primary discourse), people refer to the stories they share as a common source of knowledge, and in telling and retelling those stories (secondary discourse), people draw on their years of shared experience, of doing things together with and without language. Woven together, these two forms of discourse enabled indigenous languages to evolve and made them of unrivaled value to their speakers.

Today we are a long way from the hunter-gatherer condition of semi-isolated, self-sustaining family groups. Now every indigenous community whose

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[1]As Illich's essay makes clear, the decline of indigenous languages around the world is simply a continuation of the process by which Standard English and other objectified languages of ruling have obliterated or weakened local vernaculars in their countries of origin.

language is under threat is exposed to a tangle of non-indigenous primary and secondary discourses—practices and stories grounded simultaneously in ancient discursive systems inherited from the European peoples and the social systems of modernity. In trying to remake the language braid, indigenous communities must refashion their own language to accommodate a changing way of life and develop new stories to replace the objectifying and disempowering "truths" propagated in the invading language.

We can think of this process as a "triple braid" of language renewal, one still more complex and difficult to weave than the classic double braid. For it can no longer involve the indigenous language alone. The secondary discourses of English and any other language of ruling constitute a force for colonizing the mind that must be directly resisted, not simply ignored. As long as the only stories told in the invading language are ones of racism, alienation, exclusion, economics, individualism, and so on, they create a discursive space that leaves no room for more than one language, and it is the local language that will eventually fall. Different stories need to be told in the invading language itself, which leave room for multiple identities and local forms of knowledge. This paper itself develops one such story. There are many others to be told.[1]

This perspective of the triple braid suggests that any community, no matter where its language is at, should work simultaneously on all three strands, as described below. This may seem like too much to demand, and I do not claim that it is easy. But to focus on just one or two strands is to neglect a key element of language renewal; while to work on all three strands at once is to weave something that will last. Elements of this multidimensional approach can be found in Joshua Fishman's *Reversing Language Shift* (1991). However, I believe that his stage-by-stage approach effectively obscures the complexities of belief and practice involved. Rather than assessing the linguistic health of a community on demographic grounds alone, as Fishman and many others propose, we must focus on the health of each discursive strand and the ways in which they interweave.

Strand one: Critical literacy

The first strand of language renewal does not depend on the indigenous language itself at all. It is the task of confronting, marginalizing, and dismantling the secondary discourses of alienation carried by the invading language. Critical illness, here, is the state of a community whose members see themselves as powerless to change their lives; whose families are being destroyed by abuse; and whose leadership, whether in the fields of politics, health, educa-

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[1]The implicit claim is being made here that secondary discourses are the levers of language shift. Primary discourse in any language is always additive, providing another module of situation-specific skills for the mind to use. For this reason, primary discourse in the invading language is not a factor in language renewal work. Space precludes a fuller theoretical description of language shift here; the topic will be further explored in my dissertation.

tion, social welfare, or whatever, is locked into distant, impersonal structures and meaning systems. And the healing process has to start by people coming together to share their pain, to name their oppressions, and to seek their own solutions. Linguistic oppression is only one of many forms of suffering, neither greater nor lesser, but an integral part of an entire ecology of disempowerment.

The principal means of identifying intrusive secondary discourses is to ask people what they believe. It seems to me that many language activists understand this intuitively, for one of the most frequent topics in this Symposium was surveys of the attitudes that people hold towards their language. In one such study, an Apache, Bernadette Adley-SantaMaria, told us that some tribal members view the language as evil, as contrary to the teachings of the Bible. Such a discourse will doom a language in the long run, unless you can either marginalize it or replace it with a different, language-friendly one. In another session, Octaviana Trujillo told us that many Yaqui parents are still convinced that learning the native language will prevent their children from learning good English. As long as that discourse is operating—and again, this is an objectified, ideological discourse with deep roots in Western colonialism—then you are not going to be able to bring the language back, either in schools or outside them.

So, the first strand of language renewal consists of identifying these discourses, demythologizing (de-objectifying) them, and replacing them with others. Enormous though the task is, there are two bright threads in this strand of the braid. One is that many of these alienating discourses are common to virtually all oppressed peoples, so that there is enormous potential for sharing knowledge and strategies and developing common opposing discourses of empowerment. The second is that such opposing discourses can draw selectively on concepts that hold considerable power in the dominant society: concepts of freedom, of justice, of human rights, of anti-racism, of community, of sustainability, and so on [Both of these threads are woven together in the work on language rights done by Skunabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) and Léger (1995; 1996)]. One very concrete recommendation I would make is that all language activists look closely at the curriculum of their schools. What kind of vision does it present of the world and of your people's place in it? If the vision is one of a homogenous society dominated by economics and technology, and your people's place is peripheral or invisible then that vision must be changed before the language will have a chance.

Educators will recognize this process as a variation on "critical literacy," as pioneered by Paulo Freire and further developed by many people, indigenous and non-indigenous, around the world. Critical literacy can be practiced in the school, but it can also be an important component of adult training projects and various other kinds of grassroots social work. It teaches people how to filter the discourses to which they are exposed, spot hidden forms of manipulation, and develop alternative accounts in which their own experience is central.

Language renewal desperately needs this work in order to succeed.[1] But it also requires the introduction of a new element: the idea that indigenous languages hold the key to local authenticity. This brings us to the second strand.

Strand two: Local knowledges

The second strand to be rewoven is that of secondary discourse in the indigenous language. It may seem paradoxical to work with secondary discourse even when primary discourse (Strand Three) is extinct or critically ill, and indeed Joshua Fishman has warned us in no uncertain terms about the dangers of focusing exclusively on what he terms (more narrowly) the institutional domain. But this strand is essential to motivating and extending language use. Primary discourse by itself does not supply a sufficiently rich linguistic environment to keep its speakers happy; even young children are avid for stories, filled with questions, and thirsting to know what their elders know. In order for primary discourse to thrive, the knowledge and the stories in the language must again become part of the community's common heritage. In critical cases this process must begin with the smallest meaningful elements: words and names.

It will already be clear that Strand Two can readily be interwoven with Strand One. For example, arguments for the importance of local, community-based knowledge can be linked to the reintroduction of specific indigenous words for local realities, or the authority of non-indigenous sources can be undermined by "translating" their impersonal and monolithic discourses into more human and concrete terms in the local language. Where and how the process starts, however, will be highly dependent on the cultural and social practices of the community. Religious or, more broadly, spiritual discourses seem often to hold on to the language longest; they may also be where it can also most readily be brought back. Names can provide another focus of resistance; even changing the name of the tribe or community may be a small step towards language renewal. Traditional knowledge of family relationships, hunting, fishing, agriculture, plants, and animals can still be powerful and relevant for community members. In a further extension, formulaic expressions and ceremonial texts can be deliberately reintroduced in appropriate settings, including everyday acts such as greetings, welcomes, introductions, and so forth.

Eventually, however, any community committed to language renewal must confront the issue of discursive complexity—the problem of developing and transmitting a web of stories attuned to local experience. Stability can neither be achieved by means of isolated words and formulas nor by reproducing objectified discourses in the local language. In other words, translating textbooks unchanged from English to Inuktitut is inadequate for language renewal, and,

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[1]An accessible guide for language activists is also desperately needed. In its absence, the basic reference is Freire (1970). Shor (1992) gives an updated treatment for educators; Lankshear and McLaren (1993) provide an interesting collection of theoretical perspectives; McLaughlin (1994) considers the implications for American Indian education.

in the long run, it probably will ease the shift to English. The local language has to be used to meet its speakers' need for concepts and stories that make sense of the world *in their terms*. So storytelling is crucial, in the broad sense used here. Traditional myths and historical accounts; stories about people's relationship with the land and with nature; contemporary tales of despair and hope, love and death; poetry, jokes, songs, poems, and so on. Every good story is another reason to cherish the language, another branch on the fire to keep it burning.

Stories of this kind were once the prerogative of Elders and oral performers. Today the traditional storytelling settings have been overwhelmed by the avalanche of invasive secondary discourses pouring in through books and magazines, radio and television, and compulsory state schooling. While critical literacy can help stem this flood, it is equally necessary to develop new settings for storytelling, ones in which the invading language is at best on equal terms and preferably at a disadvantage. Wilderness camps, Internet chat groups, songwriting workshops, and multimedia works making use of indigenous art are some of the possibilities. Ofelia Zepeda's well-known work on developing O'odham poetry is another outstanding example (see for example Zepeda, 1996).

Literacy and schooling have long preoccupied language activists, and such a focus was much in evidence at this Symposium. It is an understandable one, given the role that texts and schools play in disseminating secondary discourses. But knowledge *about* language can all too easily become a surrogate for knowledge *of* language, and debates on orthography and literacy can hinder their use to communicate knowledge and ideas—can in fact undermine ownership of the language.[1] Indeed, evidence is accumulating that all forms of language acquisition involve mastering discourse—both primary and secondary—rather than learning words, grammar, and writing systems as independent categories. It is therefore not surprising that indigenous language activists report success with discourse-centered approaches, ranging from the Total Physical Response techniques espoused by Dick Littlebear (Model, 1996), through the classroom use of texts reported in a previous Symposium by Norbert Francis and Rafael Andrade (1996), to the Centro Editorial en Lenguas Indígenas in Oaxaca, Mexico, where fluent speakers develop a writing system over the course of a few weeks of composing extended texts in the language (Bernard, 1992).

Nicholas Faraclas (1993), writing from Papua New Guinea, provides a particularly convincing account of critical literacy and language stabilization working together. The hundreds of indigenous languages scattered among the mountains and valleys of this rugged island are, of course, totally excluded from the official Western-style education system. Most have no more than a thousand

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[1] The two-edged nature of modern linguistic discourse is illustrated by a poem that was read at the session on the American Indian Language Development Institutes, in which participants expressed the idea that "we are the enemies of our language." In a speaker-centered approach to language renewal such a thought would be impossible: one would speak of dispossession and the struggle to regain what was stolen.

speakers. Yet the movement that Faraclas documents has involved hundreds of communities in developing and beginning to use their own writing systems, often in a matter of days or weeks. How is it done? First, communities control the entire process. Second, Strands One and Two are tightly interwoven: the critical literacy process leads immediately into communities developing their own stories about their world, in their own language—first in discussion and later as texts. Third, the forms of the written language are taught in complete separation from its use in storytelling, and often by different teachers. In one class, learners practice "word attack" skills, spelling, and so forth. In the other, they tell stories, which in the beginning can be recorded by the teacher or an advanced learner and then can be read back and further developed by the class.

The Papuan approach can work well for languages whose primary discourse is still vital. Where it is not, Strand Three of the language braid must be rewoven as well.

Strand three: Living relationships

The third strand of language renewal is the one that Joshua Fishman (1991) made the focus of his book on reversing language shift, his "Stage 6": "the interaction of children and their parents or other affectionate socializers in natural, daily, home-family-neighborhood-community life." While still the most elusive and neglected element in language renewal and the most difficult thing to turn around in communities that have generally experienced very severe trauma, it can also be the most powerful. Recall Dick Littlebear's comment in his post-banquet speech on "rare and radical ideas"—that one brief conversational exchange with a student made an entire term's teaching effort worthwhile. "I understood him, and he understood me—it was perfect," he said. That is what primary discourse is about.

Much of what Fishman writes about informal language can stand unchanged as a description of primary discourse. I believe, however, that he underestimates the ability of motivated adults to acquire and integrate a new language into their daily life and overestimates the determining effects of the home on children's language patterns. To be sure, home-based immersion in the language is a worthwhile goal, but *it will not by itself lead to language renewal*, nor does it exhaust the possibilities of primary discourse. Rather, any meaningful long-term relationship conducted in the language helps to establish an intergenerational network of relationships, which clearly at some stage should involve children but which may not reattain the stage of stable transmission as a first language for years, possibly even generations.

Some methods of recreating primary discourse are well known. The Maori language nests, *kohanga reo*, focus on the grandparent-infant relationship; they have inspired similar programs around the world. The Californian master-apprentice program involves establishing strong relationships between Elders and adult learners in the ancestral language. For fostering primary discourse between adult peers, we can turn to the less well-known Maori movement, *te aatarangi*, which involves intensive training of adult speakers, both in immer-

sion camps and in urban settings, even on the workplace floor, by volunteer teachers. These programs, like any successful language renewal project, involve all three strands of the language braid; critical literacy and local knowledge are used to provide both the motivation for the recreation of primary discourse and the substance of much of what is done in the language. If such supports are in place, much more can be done. For instance, I am not aware of indigenous programs to foster parent-child bilingualism or language use among teenagers, although both could clearly make an important contribution.[1]

One of the greatest pitfalls in primary discourse renewal, however, is its inherent resistance to standardization. The reweaving of the language braid will not produce the old language, as the Elders remember it and speak it. If it is successful, a new language will arise, one with deep roots in its traditional heritage but equally reliant on the urge of its speakers to use the language for everyday purposes and in everyday contexts far removed from the traditional ones. This can be disappointing, even disillusioning, for those who see the old language as something sacred, a rock of stability in a sea of confusion. But the dilemma cannot be escaped. A commitment to primary discourse requires a willingness to accept and foster change.[2]

From the point of view of language renewal, use is far more important than form—unlike in traditional communities, where use could be taken for granted. This can mean developing a new secondary discourse about the language, in order to make primary discourse accessible for as many people as possible. Dick Littlebear, again, hit the nail on the head in his post-banquet talk. Do not be too critical of language learners, he said; don't be too puristic about grammar or pronunciation. That is something that can be very hard for fluent speakers to do, particularly if they are influenced by modern linguistics and its affinity for standard language. However, our stories about language renewal have to put discourse first. Get your learners to take ownership of the language, to use it for their own purposes, to start building relationships through it; then work on the details.

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[1]Fishman (1991) is an excellent source of information and commentary on Strand Three programs. On language nests, see also Fleras (1987) and Smith (1992). Hinton (1994) describes the master-apprentice program along with many other Californian language initiatives. For *Te Aatarangi*, mentioned in Fishman (1991), my main source is a personal encounter with Te Ripowai Higgins, a longtime language activist who now lectures in Maori Studies at the University of Victoria, Wellington, New Zealand. Nicholson (1990) describes adult Maori language retreats held at Maori culture centers.

[2]Issues of this kind are very much in evidence in Israel, regarding the purity of spoken Hebrew, and New Zealand, regarding Maori. Although poor teaching is often blamed for these developments, I believe that they follow unavoidably from the reintegration of the language in contemporary primary discourse. Management of this transition is no easy task.

Further implications of an ecological approach

The theory of linguistic ecology sketched here can shed light on many other facets of language renewal. By way of illustration, let us take the three issues raised by Barbara Burnaby (see Burnaby, this volume) in her plenary address to the Symposium on Saturday morning. Drawing on many years of working with Canadian First Nations communities, Dr. Burnaby suggested that solutions to this trio of problems could be essential to developing sustainable strategies for language maintenance.

The first was the problem of local control and critical mass. Can the solutions that work for large language communities such as the Navajo also work for small, isolated communities of a few hundred people? Is there some level of institutional complexity that needs to be attained in order to keep a language program vital and evolving? What does this mean for language renewal in small communities?

If primary discourse alone were enough, or if secondary discourse remained under the exclusive control of the community, critical mass would not be a factor. Historically, very small family groups were able to develop and maintain distinct language varieties because their entire discursive world contributed to the task. Every story, every communicative act reinforced the importance and value of that variety. But today, indigenous languages have lost forever their monopoly on community discourse, and, as I have made clear, primary discourse alone is not enough to keep the local language at the center of local meaning and communication systems. Storytellers and knowledge-makers are needed for a language to survive. And this is why numbers are a real issue. The smaller the community, the greater the proportion of its people that will have to be involved in storytelling and knowledge-making. Yet the time and skills available for this work are limited and always vulnerable to co-option by the non-indigenous world.

The most hopeful factor for small language communities is that secondary discourses travel. Perhaps indigenous storytellers can find ways to support each other and enable smaller communities to profit from a much greater creative pool. Translation is still needed, but translation is faster than creation. I am thinking not only of writers of various kinds (novelists, poets, songwriters, and others), but also of indigenous philosophers, teachers, scientists, and of course Elders, who combine all of those roles. Perhaps in this age of the Internet it will be possible to develop rapid ways of exchanging stories between communities and sharing them on a wider scale than was ever possible before. The great challenge will be to ensure that this does not happen through the medium of English (or other languages of ruling) alone, but involves indigenous languages front and center.

In her second point, Dr. Burnaby noted that most and perhaps all successful language programs hinge on strong, charismatic leaders, typically women. Why is this? Where do they come from? How do we foster them?

If we think of the discursive world of a healthy, authentically self-governing linguistic community as a triple braid, we can also think of each individual

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in that community as weaving their own braids, each a microcosmic variant of the whole. We recognize as leaders those whose own discursive braids represent a compelling model of authenticity—a revelation for others of what they and their community could become. I suspect that most leaders of this type are women, because primary discourse—the world of emotions, relationships, and the flexible negotiation of meaning—lies at the heart of language and authenticity, and women, whether for reasons biological or cultural or both, often possess far greater skills than men for negotiating and cultivating this world. This hypothesis needs testing through ethnographic studies of such leaders; however, we can briefly explore its implications for language renewal.

If women indeed tend to be better weavers of Strand Three, then perhaps language activists, in developing new settings for informal language use, should look to the needs and aspirations of the women of their communities. Not only daycare centers, but parent and family support groups, women-only literacy and health groups, classes in traditional crafts, and career- and education-related networks for women can provide nurturing settings for primary discourse to flourish. Language activists also need to identify family dysfunction as a linguistic problem as well as a social one. The looser the bonds of relationship, the more likely it is that community members will be swept off their feet by the flood of non-indigenous secondary discourse, leading eventually to the loss of language. Conversely, the stronger are a community's ties of family and friendship, the more widespread will be the traits of strong leadership, reducing the pressure on isolated individuals and enabling the community to respond creatively—and authentically—to change.

Dr. Burnaby's third problem, negativity, was exemplified by a dedicated language teacher who refused to share her materials with others. In similar vein, in papers to earlier Symposia, Joshua Fishman (1996b) spoke of a "death wish" that can capture languages and their speakers; while Michael Krauss warned of "denial" as being "the most important barrier that impedes the stabilization, revival, and maintenance of our languages" (1996, p. 21). Are these fears well-founded? What pathology triggers negativity, death wishes, and denial, and how can it be cured?

Let us think again of how knowing subjects use language in discourse to organize their experience of the world. The very phenomenon of a stable subjectivity is based on our ability to reconcile conflicting discourses, or avoid them entirely. Yet speakers and teachers of endangered languages typically struggle with alienating secondary discourses in the invading language, day after day, in a primary discursive context that may be severely restricted. One wonders when Dr. Burnaby's selfish language teacher last laughed in her language? What emotional hurdles must she overcome every time she sees the language of the heart imprisoned in classroom and textbook? The solution she has adopted is to let go of Strand Three altogether—the most personal, painful, threatening strand. Leave the language in the books; become an Expert guardian of its secondary discourses. In the same way, in many communities, Elders may refuse to speak their language with younger people or berate them for

using it incorrectly; teachers may focus on rote learning; and fluent adults may pretend that they do not know the language. All of these decisions contribute to unraveling the language braid.

If such flights are to be halted, ways must be found for even small numbers of speakers to *enjoy* using their language together. In *Reversing Language Shift*, Joshua Fishman writes that language festivals and language evenings are deceptive, because people enjoy them so much that they may forget that nothing has changed. But something does change, if a language is no longer heard only at funerals—the situation Rangi Nicholson so graphically described for Maori at the Symposium. *By themselves*, festivals are not enough. Yet the triple braid tells us that one approach is never enough. Only when woven together can the strands endure.

In closing, I want to return to the title of this paper, which speaks of an *ecological* approach to language renewal. In part, ecology is being used here as a metaphor for the way in which language is enmeshed in a discursive environment of unimaginable complexity and for the dynamics involved in the play between primary and secondary discourses. However, I believe it to be more than a metaphor. Language evolved in human communities where personal experience, social organization, and knowledge of the world were tightly interwoven. The spread of standard languages has advanced our (objectified) knowledge of the world immensely; but by the same token, it has also been inextricably linked with the twin evils of social alienation and environmental destruction. The link between language and wholeness, between language and the sacred, is felt in similar ways around the world; it can only be maintained by telling and sharing stories rooted in time, place, and relationships. Turn language into an artifact, export it on a massive scale, and reified concepts and objectified discourses will soon begin to cover up local meanings like asphalt.

The language renewal movement thus forms part of a much broader movement towards reestablishing societies on a human scale and in balance with nature. Once again, many Elders and language activists know this (recall Evangeline Parsons Yazzie's tale of the deer mouse and the hantavirus in her opening address). "Our language is in everything we do," I heard often at the Symposium. What this means is that the choice of the languages we speak is also, inevitably, a choice about the kind of life we and our children will live and the kind of world we will create. I hope that the theory introduced here will help us to choose wisely and to build well.

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Robert N. St. Clair did his doctoral research on the Eskimo language (University of Kansas). He also did field work on Skagit, and Lummi (The University of Washington). In the Pacific Northwest, he worked on Wanapam and developed the Yakima bilingual education program. His is currently working on Mayan.

Dawn Stiles works in adult education for the Cocopah Indian Tribe of Somerton, Arizona. Exposure to Native American culture has prompted her to study indigenous languages over the past four years as she pursued her master's degree in multicultural education at Northern Arizona University-Yuma. She completed her degree work in June, 1997.

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Tezozomoc graduated from California State University at Northridge with a degree in electrical engineering. He has taken the works of Náhuatl academic leaders and has interpreted them into the everyday life for children, youth, and elders to begin singing and dancing through their native language.

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Teaching Indigenous Languages is a selection of papers presented at the Fourth Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium "Sharing Effective Language Renewal Practices" held at Northern Arizona University in Flagstaff, Arizona, on May 1, 2, and 3, 1997. This conference brought together nearly three hundred indigenous language experts, teachers, and community activists to share information on how indigenous languages can best be taught at home and at school.

The twenty-five papers collected here represent the experiences and thoughts of indigenous language activists who are working in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Mexico. The papers are grouped under six categories: tribal and school roles, teaching students, teacher education, curriculum and materials development, language attitudes and promotion, and a summing up of thoughts about maintaining and renewing indigenous languages.

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