

Indigenous Language Revitalization

Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned

**edited by
Jon Reyhner
Louise Lockard**



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2009**

Northern Arizona University's College of Education has published a series of monographs on Indigenous issues. These include *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages* edited by Gina Cantoni (1996), *Teaching Indigenous Languages* edited by Jon Reyhner (1997), *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages* edited by Jon Reyhner, Gina Cantoni, Robert St. Clair and Evangeline Parsons Yazzie (1999), *Learn in Beauty: Indigenous Education for a New Century* edited by Jon Reyhner, Joseph Martin, Louise Lockard and W. Sakiestewa Gilbert (2000), *Indigenous Languages Across the Community* edited by Barbara Burnaby and Jon Reyhner (2002) and *Nurturing Native Languages* edited by Jon Reyhner, Octaviana Trujillo, Roberto Carasco and Louise Lockard (2003). This new publication, *Indigenous Language Revitalization: Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned*, includes selected papers and speeches from the 14th annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference held in Mount Pleasant, Michigan, in 2007 and the 15th annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Conference held in Flagstaff, Arizona, in 2008.

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Introduction

The contents of *Indigenous Language Revitalization* come from the 14th and 15th annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages conferences. Our subtitle, *Encouragement, Guidance & Lessons Learned*, comes from Darrell Kipp's 2008 keynote address. We would like to thank Margaret Noori for making the 14th annual symposium "Working Together We Can Bring Back the Language: How Technology Can Make it Happen" in Mount Pleasant, Michigan, on June 1-3, 2007 a success and Evangeline Parsons Yazzie for co-chairing the 2008 symposium, "Language is Life: Strategies for Language Revitalization."

Over 300 attendees gathered together in Flagstaff, Arizona, on May 1-3, 2008 to honor the Indigenous languages that are still being heard and spoken by the youth and to remember and honor the languages that have fallen silent among the youth. They honored the elders who continue to speak their languages with the hope that their language survives another generation. They met with the belief that each Indigenous language is the heartbeat of its respective culture and that the key to the revival of a language is to ensure that each generation transmits their language and culture to their children. We express our thanks for the support given for the 15th conference by Northern Arizona University's Office of the President, Institute for Native Americans, College of Education and Department of Educational Specialties, Arizona State University's Mary Lou Fulton College of Education, Leonard Chee (Navajo Nation Council Delegate for Leupp, Tolani Lake and Bird Springs) and the Lannan Foundation.

We start this 6th Stabilizing Indigenous Languages monograph with Darrell Kipp's keynote address at the 15th annual conference, which presents some of his learning and experiences from the Cuts Wood Blackfeet K-8 immersion school in the Blackfeet Nation in Montana that he cofounded. As the Piegan Institute's web site notes:

Cuts Wood School is nationally recognized as a successful and effective model for Native language immersion with a multi-generational approach. Cuts Wood School's mission is to use the Blackfeet language as the tool (not object) of instruction within a local context to produce fluent speakers of the Blackfeet language. In operation since 1995, Cuts Wood School offers full day programming for children age 5-12. Our objective is to develop highly skilled learners who are knowledgeable in both Blackfeet and world academia. (<http://www.pieganinstitute.org/cutswoodschool.html>)

Then Margaret Noori describes in her essay "Wenesh Waa Oshkii-Bmaadizijig Noondamowaad? What Will The Young Children Hear?" her efforts as a university level teacher of her Ojibwe language and as a mother raising her children as Ojibwe speakers. She discusses the practical realities of creating a bilingual home, specifically with an endangered language. She begins with a brief introduction to Anishinaabemowin and then describes language activism at several levels—from

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informal community instruction to full-credit post-secondary courses. Organized around the steps taken to produce fluency and transfer a full aesthetic and cultural understanding of the language, Noori conveys the need for both language curriculum and community support for language revitalization.

We continue with four papers from linguists Margaret (Peggy) Speas, Keren Rice, Lenore Grenoble and Paul Kroskrity who describe the sometime contentious relationship between linguists and language activists and suggest ways that these two groups can cooperate to revitalize Indigenous languages. Peggy Speas discusses her experience as a speaker of a dominant language who is trying to assist in Navajo language stabilization and revitalization efforts. She sets the stage by calling into question whether such efforts need professional linguists at all, given the often divergent goals of linguists and community members. This is not to say that linguists shouldn't contribute to such efforts, or that community members might not be interested in linguistics. Rather, Speas suggests that linguists re-examine their eagerness to clear up public misconceptions about language and bilingualism, listen to what community members say they need or want and be willing to participate in community-centered projects even if they do not directly make use of a linguist's training. She describes her experiences as a founding member of the Navajo Language Academy and coauthor with Dr. Parsons Yazzie of the Navajo textbook *Diné Bizaad Bínáhoó' aah* (Rediscovering the Navajo Language), which has been officially adopted as a state textbook for New Mexico.

In "Must There Be Two Solitudes? Language Activists and Linguists Working Together" Keren Rice suggests that there can be two solitudes that divide linguists and language activists and argues that there needs to be a mutual recognition that linguists and Indigenous communities must work together to help revitalize Indigenous languages. She maintains that it takes a community of people for language revitalization to take place and that in order for linguists and language activists to truly work together relationships, respect, reciprocity and recognition are critical.

Lenore Grenoble in "Linguistic Cages and the Limits of Linguists" continues the discussion started by Speas and Rice, noting that language documentation has largely been driven by the needs and goals of the community of outside linguists, with less attention to the needs of communities of language users and potential speakers. The result is a mismatch between the materials produced by linguists and the needs of communities. Yet in order for any revitalization program to be successful, it must be community driven. She calls for a reassessment of the goals and methods of linguistic research on endangered languages, with collaboratively determined research agendas.

In "Language Renewal as Sites of Language Ideological Struggle: The Need for 'Ideological Clarification'" Paul V. Kroskrity draws from his 25 years of experience with linguistic documentation and language renewal to explore the conflicts over the beliefs and feelings about languages and the importance of early-on resolving these conflicts at a local level to enhance language revitalization efforts.

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In the next section four papers describe some of the challenges facing the successful revitalization efforts in Aotearoa/New Zealand, Hawai‘i and Alaska. The Māori of Aotearoa made one of the earliest and most successful efforts to revitalize an Indigenous language, and other Indigenous peoples have learned a lot and still have a lot to learn from their experiences as Darrell Kipp noted in his keynote speech at the May 2008 symposium. The first article in this section “Changing Pronunciation of the Māori Language: Implications for Revitalization” by Jeanette King, Ray Harlow, Catherine Watson, Peter Keegan and Margaret Maclagan deals with how second language learners have their work cut out for them if they want to pronounce their new language in the same way as Native speakers. The authors note how over the last century the pronunciation of the Māori language has changed. Analysis of these changes indicates that the phonology of the dialect of English spoken in New Zealand is having a far-reaching impact on a number of aspects of Māori phonology. They discuss the implications of these changes for Māori language revitalization and preliminary developments in the production of a Māori pronunciation aid.

Jeanette King notes in “Language is Life: The Worldview of Second Language Speakers of Māori” how it takes a “fanatic” to put in the time and effort to learn an Indigenous language as a second language. She describes how the bulk of proficient Māori speakers have learned it as a second language and how they are motivated by a strongly-held worldview centered on personal transformation that enables them to engage with and maintain a relationship with their Māori language, a worldview that has a different focus from that held by national and tribal language planners and speakers of other indigenous languages.

In “Reo o te Kāinga (Language of the Home): A Ngāi Te Rangi Language Regeneration Project” Ngareta Timutimu, Teraania Ormsby-Teki and Riri Ellis present the preliminary findings of a twelve month collaborative research project. Researchers and whānau (family) members worked together to identify barriers and solutions associated with increasing the speaking of the Māori language in the home. The researchers emphasize the key role of Māori families in language revitalization.

Then in “Indigenous New Words Creation: Perspectives from Alaska and Hawai‘i” Larry Kimura and April Counciller describe Hawaiian efforts to make their language vital in this modern world and how the Hawaiians reached out to help Alaskan Natives. They give the context, background and history of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee and Alutiq New Words Council, discussing committee membership, word formation techniques and other relevant issues involved in developing new vocabulary for indigenous languages so that these languages can be used to discuss new things and concepts that were not known previously to speakers of these languages.

The next four papers describe some of the uses of technology in language revitalization. While technology is very useful in archiving the words of Native speakers, its role in language teaching can be more controversial. One important role technology can play in language revitalization is bringing together geographically dispersed speakers over the Internet in real time with both sound

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and video to converse together in their language as was demonstrated in a live presentation at the 14th Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Language Symposium in Michigan. In “The Pedagogical Potential of Multimedia Dictionaries: Lessons from a Community Dictionary Project” Haley De Korne describes how she worked with The Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians to develop a user-friendly dictionary. She discusses issues surrounding the creation of a dictionary aimed at facilitating Indigenous language acquisition, including the possibilities and limitations of multimedia, educational approaches and the needs of Heritage language learners along with some specific approaches to enhance the educational potential of a multimedia dictionary.

In “Developing Intermediate Language Learning Materials: A Labrador Inuitit Story Database” Joan Dicker, Ewan Dunbar and Alana Johns describe the collaboration between two linguists and a public school language teacher in the making of a story database for use in the second language learning of Labrador Inuitit in Canada, including the process through which the collaboration took place and the development of a story database that can be used by intermediate language learners with a large amount of original Inuitit data.

In “Indigenous Language Revitalization and Technology” Candace K. Galla explores ways in which Indigenous communities have used and are using computer technology and describes areas in which these technologies can be used to help revitalize Indigenous languages, including various efforts using technology to help revive Hawaiian and other languages. In “Blackfoot Lullabies and Language Revitalization” Mizuki Miyashita and Shirlee Crow Shoe describe how they, a linguist and a native speaker, worked together to record Blackfoot lullabies to both help preserve them and to use them as language teaching tools. They discuss the implications of using lullabies in language revitalization and describe their fieldwork of lullaby collection, data organization and the transcription of lyrics and melody.

In the final section on Assessing Language Revitalization Efforts, Melissa Borgia describes how the Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha (Faithkeeper’s School), a small Onön:dowaga: (Seneca) Culture-Language School in upstate New York, modified existing language assessment tools so they could measure the progress of their students. She presents background information on the school, analyzes its curriculum and teaching methodologies and reviews the importance of data collection and student/teacher assessments and the particular implications of assessments for a specific type of school such as the Faithkeepers. After describing the commonly-used FLOSEM oral language skills evaluation matrix and New York State assessment tools, she explains the new rubrics developed for the Faithkeeper’s School, which are displayed in the appendices.

Together, we hope the papers collected here will help both linguists and community language activists advance the goal of Indigenous language revitalization.

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Encouragement, Guidance and Lessons Learned: 21 Years in the Trenches of Indigenous Language Revitalization

Darrell Kipp, Piegan Institute

“Simplicity is the ultimate sophistication.”

Leonardo da Vinci

The first steps taken by me to learn my tribal language took place in 1983. They were reluctant and tentative, akin to a schoolboy distraction on a beautiful summer day. In retrospect, the language embraced me and whenever I experienced an apostasy revealed its power to me. My Blackfoot language is thousands of years old, the conduit of uncountable years of interaction between my people and the Creator. It is not composed of mere words, but instead embodies everything about us to the beginning of Blackfoot time. Today, I am content with the knowledge, insights and privileges it has provided to me. I have become friends with countless people I may have never met otherwise because of it. Knowing people contributing to revitalization of tribal languages blesses my memories, and enlightens my heart. Today is an example of the beauty of sharing our mutual love for our tribal languages. I greet you, honor you and embrace you in the fellowship of our cause.

Today my wish is to encourage those seeking to revitalize their tribal language and to share what I have come to know over the past 20 years. I acknowledge the power of the few to do what many have failed, or refused, to do. I acknowledge the ageless human concept that within every tribe are the few who possess courage to find reason within chaos. I acknowledge the obstacles to revitalize a tribal language are profound, but also understand accepting the challenge is the only way to banish defeat. The tribal language revitalization movement was late in coming into our awareness, yet it attracted the good in good people with its promise of reconciliation. Although, tribal language revitalization programs possess a reality imbedded in all of us there is a deep and haunting question lurking in the shadows of the movement. The question is when a tribe's language is irrevocably gone will it matter?

David Treuer (2008), an Ojibwe translator and author, provides a slice of the answer in his *Washington Post* article, “If They’re Lost, Who Are We?” His concern is what the loss of tribal languages can bring to tribes. He writes, “at some point (and no one is too anxious to identify it exactly), a culture ceases to be a culture and becomes an ethnicity—that is, it changes from a life system that develops its own terms into one that borrows, almost completely, someone else’s.” Since I firmly believe culture emanates from language, I find myself agreeing with his premise.

It is not my intention to question any group's plans to keep their tribal language viable and dynamic. I am familiar with the spectrum of methods, intents and logistics in place throughout our universities, schools and communities. I speak only about what we did when the haunting question loomed in our midst 20 years ago. First, we accepted the premise the most sophisticated approach to

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revitalizing a tribal language is simplicity. Yes, we retrieved every dictionary, grammar, study and document about our language. Yes, we use electronic devices, have reviewed countless textbooks and methodologies related to our work and consulted with linguists. Yes, we staunchly recommend and use the Total Physical Response (TPR) methods of Dr. James Asher (2000) as the paramount teaching format in our classrooms. True, we despair on many an occasion when it seems nothing seems to be going our way. Yet, no matter what we do, aspire to do or fail to do, we remain steadfast and loyal to one rule, one rule only: teach our children to speak the Blackfoot language. It is our holy mantra, the sacred counsel of all our actions, planning and thinking. Teach our children to speak the Blackfoot language, because the transference of our language to our children must have precedent over everything else. Without children speaking your tribal language fluently nothing else will ultimately matter. The most sophisticated computer program cannot mimic the genius of a child speaking their tribal language. True tribal language revitalization ultimately rests with our children's ability to fill the abyss of language loss today in our tribal communities.

One of the most effective ways to teach children to speak our languages in my humble experience is in a full day immersion school or classroom. An immersion school's sophistication and effectiveness are also found in its simplicity. The quintessential immersion program is one room and a fluent speaker teaching children in a day-long interchange. The optimal model requires a private school, or a school within a school, designed exclusively for full day immersion. Unfortunately, this means the immersion classroom likely will not have full access to funds because of stringent regulations involved with federal, state and tribal funding sources. Despite this shortcoming, a private day-long immersion school possesses the valuable asset of freedom to teach children throughout the school day and school year their tribal language. As simple as the model is, many communities cannot meet the minimum requirements owing to lack of resources, or, stranger yet, because of preordained accreditation or certification requirements.

A full day tribal language immersion classroom in a public school system is exceptionally rare except in the most enlightened district. May I further illustrate my insistence on promoting full day immersion schooling as the ideal? In 1994, the generous people of 'Aha Pūnana Leo of Hawaii (see <http://www.ahapunana-leo.org/>), the foremost indigenous language program in the nation, invited the Piegan Institute's founders to visit their language program. We were brought to a one-classroom school where an older woman in an easy chair was speaking the Hawaiian language to a group of children sitting around her on the floor. The beautiful sounds of the language resounded with seemingly every child speaking at once to the teacher. Off to the side in a tiny kitchen was a middle-aged man preparing lunch in a large wok. He whispered to us it was his turn to provide the meal; an honor he said, since his child attended the school and it was the least he could do. His strong masculine bearing and humble pride in his task were striking in the feeling of completeness in the school. The important male role is part of the fabric of immersion schools. Our students' fathers, uncles, brothers

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and grandfathers daily presence in our school makes for a graceful balance. The school visit reminded me of my years in a one-room reservation school and the beauty of the learning environment came back in an instant: "School at Gramma's house."

This is the basic formula, a mantra: a room, a teacher and some children. Many of the attributes of our tribal languages are unspoken, but learned in the same manner as words. A large part of our communication is nonverbal. Interactive skills such as turn-taking, nonverbal confirmations and body cues must be included in the transfer of our languages to children, and immersion schools excel in this aspect. They provide the environment conducive to transfer of the nonverbal components of our language, as well as the sociolinguistic techniques in politeness, humor, compliment, empathy, anger and the spectrum of emotions expressed daily in our languages. One of the most powerful rationales for language revitalization is understanding the dangers facing Indian children disconnected, or disenfranchised, from their tribal heritage. I remain adamant the basic foundation for teaching our languages in the fullest manner possible is an all day immersion classroom. I can't tell you what to do, but only what we did while in an extreme situation.

In 1994, when we chose to follow the path of the Hawaiians with a full day immersion school, we possessed no funds, no teachers and no classrooms. We raised funds from friends, patrons and private foundations. We bought land to build a one-room school with the knowledge there was not a Blackfoot language teacher available to teach in it. We went ahead anyway trusting we would find a teacher once it was completed. In 1995, a master teacher of the Blackfoot language, Shirlee Crow Shoe, from our relative tribe in Canada, arrived in the nick of time to teach in the newly built school. Apun'ake, a young woman in our tribe, so much wanting to learn to speak our language joined as a volunteer, then as an understudy in the classroom. Today, she is a Blackfoot language teacher in our school. This fall, a young woman recently graduated from college will understudy to learn the language and ultimately teach. Whatever needs to be done can be accomplished. When parents wanted their children to stay in the school program, we built another school, then consolidated into one facility supported exclusively by a community of patrons and friends. We could not meet the basic requirements of the model when we started, and even today in many ways we continue to live in a paper house. Despite a yearly waiting list of applications, everything depends on the success of an annual fund drive to continue another year. At present, we find a lack of teachers our greatest challenge. Without fluent speakers of our language under the age of seventy we are dependent on our ability and resources to train replacements via the mentor-apprentice approach (see Hinton, Vera & Steele, 2002). Our most tentative hope is the day our graduates return to save the day. Tribal communities who have fluent speaking teachers of their tribal language available have an opportunity to go directly, and immediately, into day-long immersion schooling of their children. They are in an enviable position, but rue the day if they do not take advantage of their current situation.

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They risk becoming like us, forced to rely on the mentor-apprentice format, TPR and every other available means to keep our fragile programs going.

Focusing on the basic rule of teaching our children our language despite obstacles remains our treasured accomplishment. Today, 14 years later, our school is a modern multi-room facility with a kitchen and dining room. The grounds are landscaped and spacious. It is a long way from the one room school we built in 1995 in the simplistic style and purpose of the one we visited in Hawaii. It is easy to get distracted when sorting out what a language revitalization program should consist of.

Strange as it sounds, an unbending dedication to a traditional school model will only hinder those designing effective tribal language learning environments. May I suggest putting aside the temptation to pontificate in the educational jargon of the day and procrastinating until grant awards are secured. Instead, embrace the adage “show, don’t tell,” or risk a bureaucratic skid into wasteful confusion (Kipp, 2000). I encourage those with tribal language programs to determine if schedules, budgets, meetings and paperwork are taking time away from actually teaching your children their tribal language. In the quiet of the day, clear your mind of the clutter of technology and tiresome fallacy and determine if the distinctive mantra of teaching children to speak your language is still foremost in the program. Conducting a tribal language program is never easy, and operating a full day immersion school is exceptionally demanding. It is not cut out for the tribal program hitchhiker, the insincere or, most of all, the troublemaker. The constant search for financial support and dearth of qualified teachers and instructional materials are challenge enough without dealing with the negative rabble lurking at the periphery. Never pay attention to the armchair quarterbacks denouncing the academic and linguistic promise of the school, or questioning qualifications and purpose. Successful immersion schools will always be subject to skeptical and maladjusted mudslingers incensed about one thing or another. This is why I stand by the warning that immersion schools demand a strong protective form of sanctuary. A sanctum, a place free from intrusion, is crucial—regardless of promises of nonintervention. Without a special or protected status, immersion schools are subject to the same pressures as any tribal or public program. Over the years I have been saddened by telephone calls from tribal language programs caught up in community politics, funding cutbacks and, most distressing, threats from public school officials. Such reports, dismal as they are, support the wisdom of our decision to go the private school route, although it made us an orphan amidst a large family of federal, state and tribal programs. Our parent organization, the Piegan Institute, founded in 1987, was chartered as a private, nonprofit entity beholden only to itself and our language revitalization effort. Our charter states we are dedicated to “*Researching, Promoting, and Preserving Native American Languages.*” The board of directors is composed of three people and, with the exception of a replacement for the oldest member who retired, remains strong and cohesive. Although located on a reservation we are not part of tribal government, the tribal college or the public school system.

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We are an entity unto ourselves although we maintain pleasant relations with all the institutions of the area. As a result, we develop our programs along lines we deem effective, and although there were times it would have been nice to have the financial support of the various institutions, in retrospect, it would have compromised our work. Instead, the Institute obtains operational funds in the same manner as most nonprofit organizations. We pay professional salaries to our staff, and by the way, the fluent speakers of our language assisting us, regardless if they have a college degree or not, are paid at the top of our pay scale. It is a shame when the most important members of a tribal language staff, the fluent speakers, are relegated to accepting low status job titles and pay because of rigid certification or accreditation regulations. Another factor, which may seem odd to many, is the Institute does not allow formal governing or advisory boards in its operations. There is no school board, parent committee or student council. This does not mean parents, students and community members do not have a voice in the organization. In fact, they provide the needed consensus and mutual support to the school program whenever needed. Our avoidance of formal boards and committees is on purpose. Large boards of directors on our reservation remain popular governing formats. Unfortunately, despite their best intentions, many boards end up in disarray and in disputes capable of damaging even the most well-intentioned community initiatives. We avoid the format because an election of officers would introduce competition into our organizational structure and therein lays the rub.

Competition is a form of violence. It is difficult enough to maintain a cooperative atmosphere in any organization and open competition amongst a communal group is an invitation to discord. In our school every student, staff and volunteer is equal above and beyond anything else. Each child is learning the tribal language at their optimal pace, and introducing competition can become a serious distraction to the positive learning environment in the school. To illustrate, some students arrive at the language school with a prowess for their language; others less so, but in the world of language revitalization all are equal in importance. We avoid hierarchal concepts requiring choosing one child over another child. Our students do not compete against each other for ranking, instead they are encouraged to improve on previous accomplishments. Our school has no royalty, students of the week, teachers pets or punitive designations of failure. We do not issue grades or report cards, instead four times a year teachers send letters home based on daily observation logs.

These letters include ample lines of praise, since every child in our immersion school deserves our utmost praise just for being there. Our classrooms are similar in appearances as those in any elementary school. It is the content and context of what is being taught that is radically different. We teach academic subjects in the Blackfoot language because we accept multiple language acquisition skill building is a superior form of learning. We accept that learned knowledge will be transferred to English, or for that matter to any language the students are ultimately engaged in. Conservatively speaking at least 50 tribal delegations have visited our school over the past twelve years. The experience

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of being with students speaking our language always has an emotional impact on them in the same fashion of my own deep feelings in the Hawaiian classroom years ago. Visitors often comment on how obvious the methodology of day-long immersion is to them and seem to understand the promise is in mastering the model first then expanding the concept.

In the past 20 years, I have witnessed an enormous expansion of awareness to the importance of revitalizing tribal languages. The days of being ridiculed for expressing an interest in learning and teaching the language thankfully are over when reluctance and, in some instances, overt hostility, shadowed our fragile beginnings. The history of tribal language oppression is well documented, but what is not given enough credence is the effectiveness of the eradication processes used. In our tribe, the negative conditioning was so successfully ingrained that the taboo against speaking our language remained fresh in the minds of even second and third generation non-speakers of the Blackfoot language. An important facet of language revitalization is to de-program this ingrained conditioning for no other reason than to eliminate one more reason for hating ourselves for being Indian. In our Blackfoot language, the word *maani ta'piwa* originally carried the nurturing meaning "our children." At the turn of the century with the advent of schools and technology another dimension the endearing "our children" took on a detached definition as "new" or "young" people in meaning. Betty Bastien (2004) in her excellent study of the Blackfoot people, *Blackfoot Ways of Knowing*, quotes a grandparent saying, "We do not understand the young people, Maani ta'piwa, the new people..." The inference, and too often the fact of the day, is many of our children have disconnected from their tribal heritage to the extent they no longer know us, or most distressing, claim us. As David Treuer (2008) explains they derive their ethnicity from the tribe, but not their cultural heritage.

I believe until we fully embrace our languages as adults we too risk similar separation from our heritage as adults. In those communities where the language is seriously weakened this is often a difficult task, but nevertheless one of the most important aspects of language revitalization. We must also begin our journey back to the language homeland of our people if we expect the same from our children. It is accepted we must document our past, but not be incapacitated by it. It is not a sign of disrespect to reconcile our past with promises of the future.

The promise tribal language revitalization offers is reconciliation; a renegotiation of reality and a restoration of an intellectual beauty possible in the ocean of tomorrows. We must work to regain what never should have been taken away without permission by providing an opportunity for children to learn their tribal language in nurturing learning environments.

Were the wrong decisions, or choices, made when tribal history and cultural elements were finally incorporated into school curriculums, but tribal languages left out except as a recent afterthought? After years of studying history and language I realize they are not the same. Our languages, unlike our histories, are dynamic and adaptive. Our tribal languages represent who we really are. They are our interior essence of tribal reality and our spiritual blueprints. They are alive within us; we are alive within them. Our languages are adaptive, incorporating

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all we know since the beginning of our time. Think of how they describe our worlds; when our tribes first saw the horse, automobile and airplane. Think how our language stays with us no matter what inventions we encounter. It is only when we stop using them do they become inflexible and static. If we keep our language alive in our children, it will stay with them well past I-Pod, bio-fuel, MTV and the million other innovations coming towards them. Our languages can serve us to the end of time, because they were with us in the beginning of time. Our histories, on the other hand, are locked in the past, and although we carry their lessons, they slip further away with each new generation. Although our histories date far back beyond 1492, history books present a version of our existence seldom reflected in what our stories, told in our languages, tell us.

My tribe's written history, beginning in 1754, is nothing more than a cruel saga of how my tribe was denigrated into near destruction. Yet, our Blackfoot language chronicles a homeland existence of thousands of years of dynamic and pristine record. Which is more preferable to teach to our children? Drastic changes still confront us, but tribal members must take the initiative to control, at least to a conscious degree, what we seek to keep, and what we allow to become obsolete. Tribal groups who incorporate intelligent selections will enjoy a more healthy future than those engulfed by onrushing uncertainty. We must place our histories in perspective, and reconcile those changes that were of no use to us.

In the best of tribal language programs despite the ultimate rewards, there are only small, but exceedingly powerful consolations. It is wrong to expect instant success, or an utopian ideal embraced by everyone in the tribal community. Remember all the other stressful conditions in our communities yanking and pushing each and every one of us to and fro? They may go away someday, but in the meantime it is important to keep them away from our language programs. Our experience taught us to maintain a safe distance from the brawling around us. Stay away from the turmoil and instead embrace the teachings your tribal language can provide for you. Save your energy for the good work of language revitalization, and let the rest be. Never beg on behalf of your language for anything from anyone. Explain what is needed, speak from the heart and reasonable people will assist you. Do not denigrate your language with argument or allow even the mildest form of violence around it. The many forms of discord witnessed in a community are especially dangerous when allowed in a language revitalization setting. It is Gramma's house; treat it with the utmost respect.

Piegian Institute, although blessed with many supporters over the years, was founded by three people interested in researching the status quo of the Blackfoot language. One of the incentives can be traced, as they say, to seeing the writing on the wall. In 1985, a tribal language survey speculated approximately a thousand speakers of the Blackfoot language, all sixty years of age or older, remained out of fifteen thousand tribal members. In 2000, an Institute follow-up survey indicated a further, and significant, decline in the number of speakers. In 2007 less than ten speakers, all in their eighties, were able to accept an invitation to an Institute language gathering. A conservative estimate indicates students and

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graduates of the Piegan Institute's day-long immersion school program may now outnumber the remaining speakers on our reservation.

Although, it is difficult to completely enumerate how many speakers remain in our tribe, it is clear the number is now down to a precious few. Fortunately, the Institute had an extensive archive of historical and contemporary language materials and in-depth insights regarding the survey findings, so the introduction of the immersion school in 1995 became our most tangible means of addressing the findings of the surveys. Today, approximately 100 children have attended our day-long immersion school at least three years, and 15 have graduated after nine years in the program. At the end of the 2007-08 school year, 24 proficient level speaking students will complete their studies with one graduating on to a public high school. Importantly, the students achieve academically in all subjects as well as, or better than, their public school peers when they enter public schools or are given standardized tests. Yet, there remains an erroneous perception immersion schools lack academic validity. This fallacy exists despite student achievement statistics in Montana ranking reservation public schools at the bottom with 60% of their students unable to complete high school. We support the stance that our school is an exemplary learning environment in comparison to any school program. In 1999, a tribal member conducted in-depth research of our school for a graduate degree in psychology at the University of Montana. Her honor thesis showed near significant higher test scores for our students in a reservation and non-Indian classroom comparison. In 2004, a professor of curriculum from the University of Montana completed an extensive evaluation of our K-8 program with an exemplary assessment powerful beyond its scope with insights as to the merits of the school program. The director of Blackfeet Nation Higher Education recently wrote about the graduates of the immersion school:

I have seen these students transition to the public school systems on the Blackfeet Reservation and excel in academics. These students have earned membership in the National Honor Society, competed in state science fairs, participated in debate and drama, and successfully played in individual and team sports.

I could go on and include a decade plus review of extensive and positive media reporting on the school program, but wouldn't it be debate in a fashion? Can't I say immersion schools are powerful places for Indian children and leave it at that? Wouldn't it be better if you started one yourself and discovered what we did? A day-long immersion school, as simple as the one I described, can do wonderful things for your children, our children and our tribal languages. I say this after spending 20 plus years seeking ways to transfer our languages to another generation fully intact in the spirit of the countless first speakers who have gone before us.

Most of all and closest to the heart of the immersion school purpose is to know our students are the ones now sending our Blackfoot language prayers to the Creator at tribal ceremonies, gatherings and openings. Now that most of our

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first speakers are in their eighth decade and mostly homebound, our students, the newest generation of speakers of the Blackfoot language, are taking their places in the living heritage of the tribe. They are respected and contributing; new people who again have become “maanitapiwa,” “our children,” in the truest sense of the original meaning of the word. They will grow up knowledgeable of our tribe, and most of all leave our school with the language in their hearts, mind and spirit. I know this too, without the immersion school in our tribe I would be telling you a different kind of story today.

In summary, I share this reality with you. In 1994, none of the children in our tribe could speak the Blackfoot language and now there are those who can.

My work with the Piegan Institute is rewarding and certainly challenging. Still, I have learned to deal with our work on a daily basis. Those days when it appears everyone has gotten out of bed on the wrong side or when approached by a parent withdrawing their child because they are moving away to attend college or take a job in another town, I momentarily cringe. Then I remember it is a real world we live in, and most things are beyond my control. Still, I measure their child’s attendance at our school as an accomplishment and move on.

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Figure 1. University of Michigan Language Table participants



Wenesh Waa Oshkii-Bmaadizijig Noondamowaad? What Will The Young Children Hear?

Margaret Noori, University of Michigan

This essay discusses the practical realities of creating a bi-lingual home, specifically with an endangered language. It begins with a brief introduction to Anishinaabemowin and then describes language activism at several levels—from informal community instruction to full-credit post-secondary courses. Organized around the steps taken to produce fluency and transfer a full aesthetic and cultural understanding of the language, this essay attempts to convey the need for curriculum as well as community support for language revitalization.

In our house, with each passing exchange of meaning, we take, or we miss, an opportunity to use an indigenous language. We wake up, give kisses, tell jokes, tease one another, stop arguments or wipe tears; and with each act we make a choice to use English, or Anishinaabemowin. My goal is for all of us to make those choices un-self-consciously, to make them instinctive dreamtime choices that echo into the day. If we can honor the language and use it regularly, then like dreams remembered, it will guide and define us in ways that connect us to our home, our ancestors and to one another.

This short essay offers some of what I have learned while struggling to keep a language alive and in use in a busy modern household. Sometimes it is like waging war on English and you must have strong defenses, offensive strategies and an endless supply of patience and assistance. At other times it is the most natural and easy form of play, a blanket of comfort that shelters a small community from the larger, sometimes harsher, landscape. I will be honest, we don't yet have days where everyone speaks Anishinaabemowin all the time, and perhaps we never will. But we do try and I think that is what matters. We make space and give children a foundation for bi-lingual learning in the place where it matters the most, the home.

First, let me describe the landscape. Anishinaabemowin is a language shared by people living within, or connected to, over 220 separate sovereign nations that surround the Great Lakes in Canada and the United States. Twelve of those nations are located in Michigan (Lebeau, 2005). According to the 2000 US Census, there are 58,000 American Indians in Michigan. Washtenaw County, where we live in the city of Ann Arbor, is home to 1,161. Most interestingly, the highest number of Native Americans is not in any of the northern or western counties where the reservations are located. It is 20 minutes away from us in Southeast Michigan where 13,000 Native Americans live in neighboring Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties. People still expect reservations to be exotic places where old people speak another language and they expect that "Indians" stay on them.

When I go to work at the University of Michigan, I teach Anishinaabemowin to over 250 students. When we host a weekly language table (see Figure 1, opposite page) as many as 30 to 35 people show up. It is a place where the

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language is nurtured at all levels. Our weekly class meetings began six years ago around a kitchen table but grew in size and complexity. Teachers, elders and students now gather in a conference room on campus where coffee, a chalkboard and a copier are available. We currently meet for three hours every Thursday and host students from age 11 to 62. Anyone is welcome and some come from several hours away. The only requirement is a desire to learn and a willingness to listen and then practice speaking. We always begin with review of some basics. Then we make time for oral presentations, which range from simple statements to short dialogues or stories depending on the speaker's skill. When possible, we work to write short non-fiction pieces about important historical and current events. Teachers are expected to speak entirely in the language unless English is necessary to explain a concept. Students are expected to use the language in class and set goals for themselves, including plans to use the language outside of class.

Seeing the language as part of the wider world gives us a reason to nurture the language at home. Four hundred years ago, the area was protected and controlled by the Three Fires Confederacy which was, and still is, an alliance of Odawa, Ojibwe and Bodewatomi communities, all speaking only slightly different dialects of Anishinaabemowin.¹ Last summer, the Three Fires Confederacy hosted a gathering attended by over 2,000 people. Conducted in both English and Anishinaabemowin, the allied nations crafted a declaration stating that "the Spirit has always been the centre and foundation of the ways of our Ancestors... our children are living vessels and it is our responsibility to protect, nurture and cultivate the knowledge of our Ancestors for our children's future." They agreed that "in education, our children must have a way of learning that is based on Our Story, and our original ways of knowing and teaching" and that a clan system model should be used in teaching children the concepts of: Anishinaabemowin language, governance, lands and resources, judiciary, cultural based education, citizenship and the economy (Three Fires Confederacy, 2008). Watching young people at this gathering wander with their friends in and out of the lodge, I was reminded that they are always moving between two worlds. Most importantly, this declaration and the many prayers and lessons offered in Anishinaabemowin reminded me that to be successful in either world, they will need to leverage the best of both.

To access the dominant culture, we need only pay attention to the world around us. To access an older, less visible world, children need elders, teachers, role-models and a deep well of confidence. Not many kids spend time with elders today and sadly not many elders we know speak Anishinaabemowin. But they are there, retirees from General Motors, ladies who watch birds, former hockey players and some of the best cooks we know. The reservations in Michigan each have only zero to five first-language speakers, and those they do have are often over 65. Urban areas are more mixed. For example in Lansing, Detroit and Ann Arbor there are a few younger speakers who are willing to share what they know. Many of our teachers come from Walpole Island, Curve Lake or other Canadian communities. I am blessed with the opportunity to teach at the Univer-

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sity of Michigan with Howard Kimewon, who is a first-language speaker from Wikwemikong Unceded First Nation on Manitoulin Island in Lake Huron. This past year was a reminder for us that the cycle of lives is always turning. Irving “Hap” McCue who taught Anishinaabemowin for 35 years at the University of Michigan and contributed to the Eastern Ojibwa Chippewa Ottawa Dictionary walked on this past March. The teachers who learned the language as a first language are leaving, and we are entering an age when the teachers are second language students. In time, sociolinguists will certainly note shifting nuances in the way the language is used, but change is inevitable and fear of change is not a good reason to become defensive and inactive. Fear of the future is no reason to consider euthanasia. Some might prefer to let a language die. Certainly that was the intention of Colonel Pratt and generations of boarding school prefects and missionaries. Many have rightly reviled Pratt’s (1892/1973, p. 261) call for “killing the Indian and saving the man.” But few have given him credit for understanding something we would do well not to forget. Taking aim at the language was indeed an effective form of cultural genocide (see e.g., Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Tearing children away from their homes is how it was accomplished. History has proven it is incredibly difficult to maintain ethnic identity without the language running like lifeblood through every daily act. If we are to learn from this lesson, the language must certainly be restored. And more importantly, the educational system that took it away cannot be depended upon to bring it back. We should not look for an answer in politics, policy or pedagogy alone. We must find the answer in practice and action. To reverse the damage, the language must be returned to the children and the home.

As we strive to revitalize a language, it is important to consider what is known about producing proficient bi-lingual adults. Language is now described as a complex system that is dependent on many variables. Learners need to listen, understand, speak and creatively use a language in order to be considered truly fluent. Certain teaching techniques can help, but it is important to remember that there is no single solution for any individual or community. It is also important to understand language revitalization as a collaborative effort. “Language learning and language use are dynamic processes in which regularities and systems arise from the interaction of people, brains, selves, societies and cultures using languages” (Ellis & Larsen-Freeman, 2006, p. 577). This means that there are no wrong ways of doing things, only ways that produce different results. This also means that communities must foster interaction which depends on use of the language. More than simply learning a language, students and teachers must work together to make sure that the language is a part of the community—in homes, at work, at play, during significant events.

So, how does one really revitalize a language at home? What works? What doesn’t? What can others learn from our efforts? In our home we have one parent who is fluent and literate as a second-language speaker, one parent who is a proficient third language learner and a ten year old and five year old who are novice level speakers working on literacy. I view our progress as an evolution from walking to one day dancing, from the basic beginnings to participating in

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the shaping of a living modern language. Certainly there is much more to be learned and ultimately all that we do can be cast aside or stolen again by any future generation. But we believe every word is worth learning, part of a universe of knowledge worth sharing, so we continue to crawl, walk and run toward our goal.

Bmode – To Crawl

Knowing that we are working to create bi-lingual speakers who are all exposed constantly to English, the first step toward family fluency is understanding the tools available. Fluent speakers often tell learners to “think in the language.” To translate that for my family, I had to use applied linguistics and begin mapping the differences between English and Anishinaabemowin. It is simply not efficient to wait for adults to learn through total immersion. And really, can there be total immersion in any American home at this time in our present century? Unlike students who study abroad, or immigrants who find themselves nearly drowning in the language of a new culture, learners of indigenous language are faced with the opposite metaphor. We stand in a desert waiting desperately for each drop of water and encounter more mirages than reservoirs. Changing orthography, dialect debates, valuable data buried in library archives, all can present barriers that are hard to overcome. So we began with the basics and worked our way from puzzle pieces to a picture.

Although the rich complexity of verb conjugations, prefixes, suffixes and infixes is often celebrated and stands as a testament to the intellect of the ancestors, there is also a time for simplification, reduction and focus. For Anishinaabemowin, this begins with the importance of verbs and the meaning of the seven pronouns. Rand Valentine’s *Nishnaabemwin Reference Grammar* (2001) is an invaluable tool, but I just couldn’t say “let’s study personal pronouns of precedence and their adverbial-like bases” and get much enthusiasm. What I can say is, “verbs are the heart of Anishinaabemowin.” Then I can explain that instead of starting with the nouns, we begin with a root verb at the center of a sentence, or an event at the center of a story. The perspective is always one of circular observation. A speaker should be attempting to describe what is above, in front, behind and below. Like a network of nerves, words carry meaning outward. The term “root verb” is apt in this agglutinative structure. We have spent time talking about the types of verbs and the ways we can play with them to make them take on new meaning. When we are just eating we say “n’wiisinimi,” when we know what we are eating we say “n’miijinaa” if it is one type of food and “n’mwaa” if it is another. Rice and bread and corn are in a class often called “animate,” while meat, pizza and sandwiches are “inanimate.” Figuring out why items fall into one group versus the other is immediately explained as a futile task. Using them correctly quickly is a highly rewarded skill.

To understand the pronouns, we often turn to a set of teachings called the “Seven Grandfathers.” The use of the number seven is not unique to Anishinaabe culture, but it serves as an especially useful tool in teaching the pronouns, especially because several of them do not exist in English. For instance, there is

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a singular and plural form of the second person. To render this concept understandable to children we talk about “one of you” and “all of you.” There are also two forms of “we.” Again, to make sense of inclusive and exclusive markers we talk about “just us (not the listener)” and “all of us here (including the listener).” Thinking long and hard about who is the speaker and who is the listener fits with some of the actual Grandfather Teachings which are represented by seven verbs: Nbwaakaawin (Wisdom), Zaagi’idiwin (Love), Minaadendamowin (Respect), Aakwa’ode’ewin (Bravery), Debwewin (Truth), Dibaadendiziwin (Humility) and Gwekwaadiziwin (Honesty). In one of the songs we teach the children, we say, “Gdaa dbaadendizimi / We all should be humble. . . Gdaa naadamami ji ni ishpigaabawiying. / We should help each other raise up.” We are always working to connect the language to these traditional concepts. Another example is the shirt we recently created for students of Anishinaabemowin in our area. The front of the shirt is the familiar University of Michigan cheer, “Izhaadaa Giizhigowaande / Go Blue!” The back of the shirt reads, “Chipiitenimm Debendaagozijig / Respect the Locals.” These are just a few of the ways that we work at home to simplify and demystify the structure of the language. My peers might call this applied linguistics, my kids call it homework.

Bmose – To Walk

Just as one takes the language apart to explain it, you have to put it back together to teach students how to use it. This is where we cross disciplines from linguistics to curriculum and theories of education. The home and the big outdoor community lodge are models of multiple intelligences at work both in the instructors and the students. At home we are all students continually teaching one another. What the adults can read and explain once, the children are often better at remembering. Even my doctorate in linguistics is no match for the clever mind of a Kindergartner at play. I might imagine and document the ways language can change—she takes it and makes it her own. Most American parents are familiar with the exasperated sigh of a child who says “whatever” (with strong emphasis on the second syllable). I recently heard my youngest daughter use the Anishinaabe word “wenesh,” (meaning “what or how”) with the exact same intonation. It is for lightening fast minds like these that I have to create lessons or ways to practice.

The first step is to begin transferring as much of the day as possible into Anishinaabe. “Wenesh waa biiskaman? / What are you going to put on?” is common in the morning. We can say “miigwetch” for our meals or “gaye nishisnoo / it’s not fair” when we have to eat our broccoli. One wall has been made into a chalkboard and each week below the Anishinaabe name of the month the seven days of the week appear in Anishinaabe as well. The “ezhichige / to do” list is written below that. These may seem like mundane and obvious habits, but this is where the learning begins. To say “jiimshin / give me a kiss” each night before bedtime, or “boonikwishin / leave me alone” when you need some space. These instinctive utterances need to gradually be transferred from one language to another.

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The next step is to add other speakers and gain confidence in using the language during less practiced activities. As preparation for new experiences, we have translated many children's books into Anishinaabemowin and we read them often at home. Popular favorites, including *Zhaawskwaa Waawanon miinwaa Gokosh Wiiyaas / Green Eggs and Ham* and *Miimii Miikaan Giizhod Nimosh / The Pigeon Finds a Hotdog*, are excellent toolboxes when it comes time to cook your own Gizhod Nimosh with speakers from Wikwemikong.

Household dialogues are a great way to start but we also found we needed to graduate to more culturally significant non-fiction. When we spent time in Fond du Lac Minnesota we learned to make "nooskatchinagan / winnowing baskets" by tying "wiigob / basswood" around the edges (see Figure 2 below). Whole categories of specialized words will be lost if children aren't trained to always ask for teachings in the language. It is simply not enough to learn the arts and crafts of the culture without the original words. Not everyone still knows

Figure 2. Pat Northrup showing Raina Dow and Shannon Noori how to make a winnowing basket.



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these words, so it is important to respect the limitations of teachers, but often if a child doesn't ask, a teaching is not given. Teaching the importance of offering to carry information forward is as important as teaching the words themselves.

For all of this, the assessment is the ability to move through the day, traveling easily and without stress. When we first began to use the language at home everyone was so worried about making mistakes that "Anishinaabemowin Time" was not as fun. In fact, the first two years were much harder than any of us imagined they would be. However, it is important not to give up. One year is needed as groundwork and the second is when habits form. We often use Nokomis-nibaagiizis as a reminder to celebrate accomplishments. Looking up at Grandmother moon, the girls can sing in a language that stories say is understood equally by the birds and trees. Sharing a sip of cool water from a copper cup and eating a strawberry leaves and all, they are reminded that some things have been in this place long before they ever arrived and will remain here long after. Retelling the story of Shkaakaamikwe² and her four daughters who stand in the cardinal directions is part of a connection to the past that extends beyond anything the contemporary commercial world can offer.

Bmapto – To Run

After crawling through the lessons of structure and taking the first few steps in the form of planned lessons, it is time to think of running. "Bmapto / to run" is to take off moving so fast you don't have time to think about one foot stepping in front of the other or what to do with your arms. This happens when the language is used beyond the artificial playground we have created. Whenever we are able to understand a speaker or a situation that could only occur in Anishinaabemowin, I know we are running. To explain this phenomenon, I sometimes tell the story of a day in the lodge when a woman we had not yet met sat near my daughters. As the leader's long prayer in Anishinaabemowin began, she leaned over and whispered to my girls, "don't you wish you could understand him?" At first they gazed back slightly offended, thinking she was accusing them of not knowing what he said, but then my oldest daughter realized this woman twice her age was wistfully longing to understand and assumed they too didn't know the words. She leaned over and began to translate as the tobacco, the water, the food and each direction were blessed and the spirits were thanked. And as those words flowed from the leader to the listener through my daughter, I think she realized there was a reason for all the time we spent at home practicing the language.

Moments of spirituality and language revitalization are poignant and powerful. But it is important that children and adults both remember the language can go anywhere in this busy modern world. Our language has to keep up with our interests. It should follow mom and dad into the lodge, but it should also be part of a screaming crowd cheering in unison for the home team to win. The entire Great Lakes region is obsessed with hockey in a way that other parts of the country are not. Several of our teachers are former players and everyone has some kind of story about learning to skate. However, at the University of Michigan, the year the team went to the NCAA championships, we had one

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player who could recall phrases his Grandma used to use in Cree and five other team members enrolled in class. So, the kids counted goals, checks and penalty time in Anishinaabemowin and yelled “nitaaw mwebage / great skating” from the stands. Best of all, they learned the entire Fight Song in the language and in fact we then put it on the college-level final exam. Once again, although far less spiritual, there was a place where a sub-community was defined by the ability to use Anishinaabemowin and the power of pride is immense.

There needs to be a reason to speak Anishinaabemowin. Of course if you ask the girls on an average day they’ll say the reason is so that you can ask one another “g’gii boogit ina” (did you fart) in the supermarket without anyone else know what you are saying. But even that means they see the language as a way to laugh with one another when the world isn’t listening. They have an identity not easily shaken or manipulated by others. As Jon Reyhner (2006, p. 39) notes in his book on language restoration, “success in school and in life is related to people’s identity.” What better gift to give a child than a strong sense of identify?

Figure 3. Shannon Noori and Fionna Noori dancing at Language Camp



Niimi – To Dance

The last component of any successful language program, at the college level, or at the kitchen table is the ability to use the language creatively. This is by far the highest hurdle we have before us. To be honest, I rarely encounter published evidence of Anishinaabemowin as a modern language and I spend a great deal of time looking. There is an increasing array of vernacular exchange, on Facebook,

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via text messaging, in the form of dialogues created for the classroom and even songs that are original. But more often our resources are translation of great works or transcriptions of everyday speech. There is as yet, no collection of short stories, no novel, no instance of drama entirely in Anishinaabemowin. And so, as teachers we work to fill this void. The few instances of Anishinaabe literature that were created in the language (not translated to the language) are the result of teachers stretching their own boundaries. Because I have an Master of Fine Arts Degree in Creative Writing, my own contribution has been in poetry. I am the only member of my household who tries to publish in the language, but I am hopeful that my attempts will at least inspire others to make contributions of their own. Kimberly Wensaut (2007), a nearby teacher of Potawatomi, recently published “Jak she gego mine jo zhna gego / Everything and nothing,” a poem about remembering and humility. It is a lovely poem that makes perfect sense to me across a few differences in spelling. It stands as a reminder that we can understand all the dialects of our language. In fact that is how we know they are not separate languages. It made my heart sing to see it in print on the page and it made my heart weep now knowing the living Nokomis / Grandmother mentioned in this poem is another one of the elders who walked on in 2008. There is much for us to do and so little time in which to do it. As part of one humble attempt to give voice to our aspirations I wrote a love poem to the symbol of our community language classes. Titled, “Anishinaabemowin Dopwin / Language Table,” it plays with ideas of animacy and inanimacy and the notion that our prayers for change may one day be answered.

N'zaagitonaa eyaa'iyang, Anishinaabemowin Dopwin,
We love you, Language Table
gdo'miijim
your food
gdo'pabwinan
your chairs
dopwini kaadan
your legs
ikidowinan
the words
enendamowinan
the ideas
ezhi-baabiiwiyaang ezhi-maadookwiyaang ensa gizhigag
the way you wait for us and the way you share with us every day.

Giishpin bi izhaamigoyin,
If we come to you
bi namadabiyaang,
and we sit
miinwa gigidoyaang,
and we talk

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gdaa bi bimaadiz na?
will you be alive (for us)?

Giishpin semaa miinigoyin, aaniish ge ezhi naadamoyingiba?
If we offer you tobacco, what will you help us become?

Waabzheshii wii aawiyaang wii chi waasa waabandamaang ge ni ezhiwebag?
A marten looking far into the future?

Pukane wii aawiyaang wii nagamoyaang?
A grasshopper making a song?

Gimewan wii aawiyaang wii naamademeyaang oshkiwaaskoneing?
Rain on a new flower?

Anishinaabemowin Dopwin, N' Bazigeminaa,
Language Table, Our Sweetheart,

Gawiin pisagaag eta g'da'aawesii.
You are not only a flat board.

Wii Nakweshkodaading, ingoji g'daaw.
You are a meeting place.

Kinomageng ingoji g'daaw.
You are a university.

Kina nda'anamewinaanin miinwa nda'bwajigewinaanin
All our prayers and dreams

Ndo maamaawi'iyaami
gather there

biinjiiying kiin e-ayaawiiyin mitigo'ode.
inside your wooden heart.

N'zaagitonaa, Anishinaabemowin Dopwin,
We love you, Language Table,

kaa waabaamigoo miinwa, miinwa, miinwa, miinwa pane.
we'll see you again, and again, and again, and again forever.

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Conclusion

*Mewenzhaa...jiiibwa Giizhigokwe gii bi dagoshin maampii aakiing,
Skhaakaamikwe gii baabaabaabiinchiged biinish, gekpii kina goya
maajtaawaad.*

Long ago...before Sky Woman arrived here on earth, Mother Earth waited and waited until finally someone started.

So often when attempting to translate, I find the translator's nightmare and delight, something that cannot be rendered equally in two languages. "Mewenzhaa" is one such word. It's a bit like saying, "long ago and once upon a time which you should know about but I was not there"; it is an idea contained in a word. As Peter Burke once noted, "translation between languages is like the tip of an iceberg. It is the most visible part of an activity sometimes described as cultural translation." This is actually what I want children and adults speaking Anishinaabemowin to learn, that the act of moving between languages is one of moving between cultures. How much more fun is it to say "baabaabaabiinchiged" than "waited and waited?" Our words are an epistemology; our grammar is a map. Our stories are our history. Learning is infinite and communal. Diversity is the ability to benefit from multiple perspectives. These are the reasons we speak Anishinaabemowin at our house. Miigwetch gii bizindaawiyeg. Thanks to you for reading. I should note that the conjugation I chose implies you are not reading alone. So find a child, find a language and expand the ways you understand the world, quickly, before our linguistic options dwindle.

Mii'iw

Notes

¹For more detail about this alliance see Richard White's book, *The Middle Ground*, which should be required reading for all Michigan high school students. Instead, Americans are often still given only a pan-tribal national glimpse of Native American history.

²To hear the song to *Shkaakaamikwe* and read the full text, go to <http://www.umich.edu/~ojibwe/songs/motherearth.html>

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Someone Else's Language

On the Role of Linguists in Language Revitalization

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This paper questions whether language revitalization efforts need linguists, given the often divergent goals of linguists and language educators, and discusses some of the pitfalls encountered by well-meaning outsider linguists who are eager to be helpful to such efforts. It is suggested that linguists who do not speak an endangered language but wish to be helpful might find that they can make contributions that are not directly related to their expertise as linguists. The author also describes her experience as a founding member of the Navajo Language Academy and as a coauthor with Dr. Parsons Yazzie of the Navajo textbook, *Diné Bizaad Bínáhoo 'aah* (Rediscovering the Navajo Language).

Being invited to speak at the 2008 conference on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages was an honor about which I had mixed feelings. On the one hand, I was pleased to be thought of as someone whose work is relevant to people working to revitalize languages. On the other hand, I suspected that the conference organizers were hoping that I would share some wisdom about how important linguists are for language revitalization efforts, and I feared that I would disappoint them because I don't believe that language revitalization efforts need linguists. As Mr. Kipp said so clearly in his talk (see Kipp, this volume), what you need for language revitalization is a room and some adults speaking the language to some kids. In recent years linguists have been trying to find alternatives to the traditional model of research in which the linguist comes into a community, does research and leaves. Many linguists are eager to give back to the communities in which they do their research. However, linguists like me whose own languages are thriving often do not understand the needs of those whose languages are endangered, and so well-meaning linguists may struggle to find ways to contribute that are genuinely useful.

Linguists, language analysis and language learning

Linguists have a very specialized training in the analysis of language and are generally fascinated by languages, but it is not clear that their skills are the skills that a community needs for revitalizing a language. Linguists are interested in what all languages have in common and in what the properties of language can tell us about how the human brain works. Linguists are often very good at taking language apart and putting it back together, but just as you can be an excellent driver without knowing how your car's engine works, you can be an excellent language teacher without knowing how to do linguistic analysis.

In fact, the knowledge and perspective that one gets on language from studying it linguistically tends to be skewed toward the topics that bear on linguists' interest in language universals. This means that we are susceptible to a problem described by Virginia Woolf when speaking about the British view of American Literature:

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In our desire to get at the heart of the country we seek out whatever it may be that is most unlike what we are used to and declare this to be the very essence. (1952, p. 94)

A linguist's expertise is often in constructions such as relative clauses, multiple questions, quantifiers, etc. that are not generally appropriate topics for introductory-level language textbooks.

This point is important because people sometimes worry that they ought to work with linguists, despite finding linguistics arcane or incomprehensible. In fact, asking a linguist to help you develop a language program is a bit like asking a mechanic to teach you how to drive, asking a gastroenterologist to help you write a cookbook, asking a geologist to help you build a stone wall or asking a gynecologist how to meet women. Most linguists are trained as cognitive scientists and are more skilled at discovering mechanics than driving. I do not mean to say that what linguists actually do is misguided or useless. On the contrary, I have spent my life as a linguist because I think that linguistic analysis has led to fascinating insight about the human mind. It's just that learning to speak a language does not depend on these insights. Only speakers of a language know best how to speak it.

My mentor Dr. Kenneth (Ken) Hale spent his life training speakers of indigenous languages to be linguists. He didn't think you had to be a linguist to pass on your language. He just found that there are people in every community who are interested in linguistics, and he believed that the knowledge he had shouldn't be held as esoteric knowledge that only members of the majority culture can have. In fact, the first Navajo people that I knew were linguists: one of my first teachers at the University of Arizona was Dr. Ellavina Tsosie Perkins, and while I was in my doctoral program at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) I met a number of Navajo linguists who had worked with Ken over the years. Sometimes my students ask me whether the linguist's way of looking at language is part of a Western viewpoint, incompatible with the worldview of people from non-Western cultures. I tell them I have known people from numerous different cultures who were interested in linguistic analysis, and also that most people in Western culture aren't inherently interested in linguistic analysis, as I am reminded every fall when I teach Linguistics 101. The average University of Massachusetts undergraduate does not find it natural to pull languages apart. I find that in any group there will be some people who become fascinated with linguistics, and others who don't.

Ken Hale taught all of his students that languages belong to those who speak them, not to those who study them as outsiders. He taught us that if there are people in a given community who are willing to work with us on the linguistics projects that are important to us, we must be sure that we also contribute something that is useful to their community. Most linguists are eager to be helpful to the communities whose languages they study.

Eager outsiders are usually aware of the shameful history of people like us coming in to be "helpful," but each of us tends to assume that we are simply

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more enlightened than the missionaries, teachers, administrators and soldiers of the past. I think that anyone who considers herself or himself enlightened about a community that they do not know has learned the wrong lesson from history. Some of our ancestors were greedy, ignorant or self-serving, but many of them were eager to be helpful and were certain that they were enlightened about what Indians needed: They wanted to “help” by cutting children’s hair and taking away their traditional clothing, so they would look more “civilized,” by trying to exorcise the “demon” cultural customs, by teaching the “truth” about their religion, by training children’s tongues away from their “savage” languages. Many of our helpful ancestors worked long and hard to figure out what was best for Indian people and then try to get them to do it. There is just one way in which our ancestors rarely tried to be helpful: by listening to what Indian people said they wanted and then supporting these goals. I’m afraid that this is still the rarest form of outsider’s help, and as Leanne Hinton (2001, p. 5) says, “It is only if an indigenous speech community itself desires and initiates efforts toward language survival that such programs should exist or would have any chance of success.” In what follows I will discuss my experience as an eager outsider and will suggest ways that others like me might best contribute to efforts to stabilize languages that are not ours.

To begin the discussion, we can look at the discussion of the two roundtables on Stabilizing Indigenous Languages (SIL) held in 1994 and 1995. I assume that these symposia were quite productive and successful, judging by the impressive attendance, in the interesting papers collected by Gina Cantoni (1996) and the many interesting talks at this year’s SIL conference, some 15 years later. According to Cantoni, the symposia identified barriers to language revitalization, such as the perception that English is a better vehicle for success, teachers’ criticism of those who speak minority language at home and the tendency to teach isolated vocabulary items instead of complete language. In addition, the participants identified some “widespread misconceptions” (Cantoni 1996, p. vii) that impede language revitalization efforts:

- (1) Misconceptions identified at the 1994-95 symposia:
 - You have to give up your own language in order to master another one.
 - You need special training to teach your own language to your children.
 - Schools can take over the job of teaching a language if families do not teach it.
 - Writing a language is what keeps it alive.

Most linguists would agree that these are widespread misconceptions that impede efforts to stabilize endangered languages. My students in Linguistics 101 at the University of Massachusetts generally come in with these views as well as others like the following:

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(2) Other misconceptions about language:

- There is one “correct” way to speak, and all other ways of speaking are just sloppy or ignorant.
- Being bilingual holds a child back in school.

I, like most linguists, am convinced studying language carefully reveals that these beliefs are false. Linguistic research leads to the conclusion that

- Children can easily learn two languages if both are spoken around them as they are growing up; By age 12, which is when most schools begin teaching second languages, children are already beyond the “critical period” for naturally learning languages.
- Spoken languages are living languages and writing is not essential for keeping a language alive.
- To learn a language you must learn sentence patterns, not just words.
- Nonstandard dialects are systematic and have their own implicit grammar rules, which are just as logical as the rules of standard dialects.
- Bilingual children are superior to monolinguals in many cognitive tasks, and by about age 9 are completely equivalent to monolingual children in their skills in the school language

The viewpoint that results from studying language as a linguist is at odds with the usual viewpoint of the general public. Helpful linguists are often very earnest in trying to inform the public (or at least the population of their college classes) of the truth as they see it. This dedication to clearing up popular “misconceptions” leads to a conflict when the linguist goes to into another community to help with language issues. Naturally, people in Native communities often hold some of the same ideas about language and bilingualism as the general Anglo (non-Indian) population, along with their own culture-specific views about their own languages. This means that the helpful well-meaning linguist often sees her task as one of disabusing members of Native communities of their “misconceptions” about language and sharing the truth with them. Does this sound familiar?

So what’s a helpful linguist to do? Must we choose between ignoring endangered languages and imposing our view on a community? What some linguists do is wait until they are invited to “help” by a community, and then providing either training of community members or practical materials requested by the community. This tactic has led to some very productive collaborations and useful materials. But as Benedicto (2008) points out, even this scenario usually involves significant power imbalances that are very difficult to overcome. In particular, the practical materials and the training almost always reflect the views of the linguist, since linguists have the training to produce grammars and dictionaries but not videos, children’s books, flashcards, etc. (see the papers in Ostler, 1998, for a discussion of this issue.) Also, since real language maintenance can only come when members of the community bring up their children speaking

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the language, there is a danger that the presence of an outsider linguist who is writing a grammar or dictionary will give the impression that experts rather than parents are the key.

Even though I hold the views of the average linguist, I would like to take a look at these views in order to address the question of whether it is actually helpful to zealously correct the “misconceptions” of speakers of endangered languages. I will focus on two of the misconceptions: that there is one “correct” way to speak and that being bilingual holds children back. I think that it is important for us outsider linguists to remind ourselves of why these misconceptions are so widespread and consider how the grain of truth within them is relevant to the role of linguists in language stabilization efforts.

On misconceptions about “correct grammar”

Let's look first at the issue of “correct grammar.” Every introductory Linguistics course stresses the distinction between prescriptive and descriptive rules. All languages are complete systems of descriptive rules. Nonstandard grammar is a systematic and complete rule system. The kinds of rules that we learn in school, such as “Don't end a sentence with a preposition” are arbitrary and often less logical than the way people actually speak. No language is “deteriorating.” In fact, we can see that people have been claiming that language is deteriorating for at least 2,000 years, but there is no existing case of a living language that has become less expressive owing to deterioration. Daniels (1983) made this point clearly when he presented the following series of complaints through the ages:

1961: “Recent graduates, including those with university degrees, seem to have no mastery of the language at all. They cannot construct a simple declarative sentence, either orally or in writing. They cannot spell common, everyday words. Punctuation is apparently no longer taught. Grammar is a complete mystery to almost all recent graduates.” -J Mersand. *Attitudes Toward English Teaching*

1917: “From every college in the country goes up the cry, ‘Our freshmen can't spell, can't punctuate.’ Every high school is in disrepair because its pupils are so ignorant of the merest rudiments.” -C.H. Ward

1780: “The greatest improprieties...are to be found among people of fashion; many pronunciations, which thirty or forty years ago were confined to the vulgar, are gradually gaining ground; and if something [is] not done to stop this growing evil...English is likely to become a mere jargon.” -Thomas Sheridan

1st century BC: “Practically everyone...in those days spoke correctly. But the lapse of time has certainly had a deteriorating effect in this respect.” -Cicero

Daniels comments, “The earliest language ‘crisis’...that I have been able to discover occurred in ancient Sumeria.... It seems that among the first of the clay tablets discovered and deciphered by modern scholars was one which recorded

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the agonized complaints of a Sumerian teacher about the sudden drop-off in students' writing ability" (p. 33). As we can see by these comments, it seems that every generation fears that people (usually young people) are debasing and corrupting the language. Yet, people still communicate and literature continues to be produced. The truth is that living languages are always changing. Classical Latin "deteriorated" into French, Italian, Spanish, etc., just as Old Germanic "deteriorated" into the language of Shakespeare, and Shakespeare's language "deteriorated" into the language of W.B. Yeats, James Joyce, Jane Austin, John Updike and Toni Morrison. Attempts to freeze language at some supposedly perfect state are futile, as evidenced by the fact that the Academie Francaise, guardian of the French language, has revised their dictionary of the purest French eight times since 1803.

Because linguists are aware that living languages change, we become quite uncomfortable when a speaker of an endangered language asks us to help in efforts to dictate what the "correct" way is to speak the language. We will either make an effort to clear up the speaker's misconception, or we will ignore the request completely. We won't take such a request seriously. We may even feel a sense of despair: If the speakers of the language insist on resisting language change, the language cannot remain a living language.

I would urge outsider linguists to take concerns about language "correctness" seriously for several reasons. First of all, as the quotes above illustrate, people have been resisting change in English for centuries, but this has obviously not caused English to become endangered. To my knowledge, there is no case of a language going extinct because older speakers were overly concerned about the "sloppy" speech of the young. If young people have the motivation to learn the language, and resources are available for them to learn it, they will learn it and make the same creative adaptations that young people always make with a living language. Second, the vast majority of linguists are, like me, native speakers of a standard dialect of a majority language. My child will have all the advantages of naturally speaking a dialect that marks him as intelligent and articulate. He is in no danger of being the target of language prejudice. Moreover, I must confess that I correct him when he uses an "incorrect" verb form (taeched instead of taught, brang instead of brought). Isn't it reasonable for parents who speak an endangered language to want their children to speak in a way that elders in the community will find articulate? Given that widespread concern about "correct" language has been with us for millennia, perhaps it is not particularly helpful to spend a lot of time on preaching the linguists' truth about language correctness and language change.

On misconceptions about bilingualism

The second set of common misconceptions that I would like to look at are those having to do with bilingualism. As noted above, it is popularly believed in America that a child who is brought up bilingual will be behind her monolingual peers in school, will be confused by input from two languages and may have trouble achieving proficiency in any one language. For this reason, it is

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not uncommon for parents who speak a minority language to decide to bring up their children speaking the majority language.

Linguists know that studies of bilingual children tell a different story. For example, a recent University of Miami study of Spanish/English bilingual children (Pearson, 2008) found that bilingual first graders have a larger vocabulary than monolingual first graders; by fifth grade, bilinguals' English reading test scores were no different from those of monolinguals, and bilingual children are better than monolinguals in cognitive tasks involving metalinguistic awareness, divergent thinking and selective attention. In fact, Pearson reports that to her knowledge there exist no non-linguistic cognitive tests in which bilinguals do worse than monolinguals. Doesn't this mean that there is a pressing need for linguists to disabuse speakers of endangered languages of their misconceptions, so that they will bring up their children as bilinguals?

Maybe there would be in a world where speakers of minority languages were not socially stigmatized and school systems waited until fifth grade to give children language tests. In the real world, bilingual parents in America know that school systems care only about English skills and minority languages are not widely valued. Their children will be tested in kindergarten or first grade, and their knowledge of the home language will be generally ignored. A six year old who knows 8,000 words of English and 8,000 words of Spanish will be treated as "behind" a monolingual child who knows 10,000 words of English (see Slate, 2001). The child will be given special English language instruction and will be expected to be behind in other subjects. It is well-known that teachers' expectations have a significant effect on performance. Children's attitudes toward their own abilities and teachers' attitudes toward the children are formed well before fifth grade. A child could be treated as "deficient" based on her first grade scores, and this could have an irreversible effect. Parents are not deluded to worry about the effects of bringing their child up bilingual. It takes a very strong parent with ample time to advocate for her children to counteract these effects.

The point of these two examples of "misconceptions" is to illustrate that clearing up misconceptions may not be the best task for an outsider linguist who wants to be helpful to a community. For linguists like me who are not trained in writing dictionaries, collecting texts or developing pedagogical materials, this might mean that imparting our central area of expertise is not the most helpful thing we can do. Understanding this took me quite a while. I knew from the beginning that most Navajo people are likely to be about as (un)interested in theoretical linguistics as most University of Massachusetts students are. But theoretical syntax is what I know about. What else would I have to offer? Since there are numerous materials about Navajo that are incomprehensible to non-linguists, I figured that I could help by explaining general concepts of Navajo grammar to Navajo people who want to know them. This is exactly what put me in the position of "clearing up misconceptions," in other words, explaining the truth about language from the linguists perspective. Which is what precipitated the conflict that I'm talking about here. I have a desire to be helpful, like my nice well-meaning ancestors before me. But what if what I have to offer is simply

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not needed? Or to put it another way, what if what is needed is not what I have to offer?

As long as I restrict what I am willing to do to things that directly involve my expertise as a linguist, I am extremely likely to be doing what I think the community needs rather than what community members tell me they actually need. Of course when I am invited to teach Navajo speakers about grammar basics, I am thrilled to do so, but the Navajo community is fortunate to have Navajo people who are qualified to do such teaching. In retrospect, I think that the things that have made me most useful as an outsider have been independent of my linguistic wisdom. For example, one summer I babysat for a woman who was working as a consultant for me so that she could have time to pursue her own studies toward her doctorate. For the Navajo Language Academy, I volunteered to be treasurer, doing the bookkeeping and the paperwork for tax-exempt status so that the Navajo speakers would have time for their own linguistic work. People from the dominant culture have resources that might be more valuable than their linguistic expertise. We have access to people who would not listen to people from a stigmatized group. We have experience in expressing ourselves in the way that grant panels, college professors, legislators and school principals expect. We have jobs that allow us a significant amount of freedom to dictate our own activities. Gerdts (1998) gives a very useful list of things that a linguist might do to contribute to a community, and only some of these are directly related to a linguist's formal training (see also Rice, this volume). These things are at least as valuable as our knowledge about the true nature of human language. They put us in a position to clear up the misconceptions about endangered languages in our own culture, to work for change in the role of testing in schools, to seek grant resources for community members and to take on tasks that community members want but do not have the time or resources to do, such as getting coffee for meetings, bookkeeping, lobbying legislators, finding materials and supplies, setting up archives and mailing out flyers.

Navajo Language Academy

The Navajo Language Academy (NLA) is a nonprofit group that has its origins in workshops given by Ken Hale in the 1970s. It is made up of Navajo linguists and people like me who were inspired by Ken's work. He believed that only native speakers have the subtle knowledge required for complete insight into what the language tells us about linguistic theory, and he also believed that native speakers and not outsiders should be the ones to set the research agenda for their language. The goals of the NLA are to give Navajo teachers a working knowledge of Navajo grammar, to support Navajo speakers who want to do research on Navajo, to demystify linguistics so that Navajo teachers can interpret linguistically-influenced information such as the Young and Morgan (1994) dictionary of Navajo and to provide resources to help teachers who are involved in language teaching and language stabilization. Although there are a substantial number of Navajo people over 40 who are fluent in the language, recent surveys show that fewer than 10% of five year olds are fluent in Navajo (Platero, 2001).

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Since 1998 the NLA has been conducting annual summer workshops for Navajo teachers. Attendance has averaged about 20 students, and workshops generally last for three weeks. Classes at the workshop are not intended to duplicate efforts of other programs, such as the Navajo Language Program at Diné College (described in Slate, 2001) or the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) (described in McCarty, et al., 1997, 2001). Navajo classes focus on linguistics rather than on culture or literature, because it is intended to be a forum to continue and apply the work of Navajo-speaking linguists.

The NLA is far from achieving Ken's goal of an atmosphere in which speakers of Navajo set the research agenda, but we try in several ways. We have a policy that classes cannot be used for free data gathering for linguistic research projects. If linguistics research seminars result in publications, all who participated are equal co-authors. Any other research by outsiders must be conducted with paid consultants and researchers. We encourage participants to discuss things in Navajo without having to translate for outsiders. We try to have teachers of one class be students in other classes, so, for example, Anglo linguists participate as students in classes on Navajo pedagogy.

The Navajo teachers who attend our workshops report that they are interesting and useful. A number of participants have returned for subsequent years. We have gotten some grant funding for the research of Navajo scholars and to compensate Navajo elders who helped with the editing of a Navajo textbook.

On being a coauthor of a Navajo textbook

Many linguists now working with endangered languages are concerned with "the issues of power inequalities that arise when members external to the language community engage in linguistic projects" (Benedicto, 2008). However, as noted above we linguists also hold strong opinions about the nature of language and language learning, and so our solutions to problems of power inequity rarely involve discontinuing our own linguistic research if the community prefers other approaches to language. In this section I would like to discuss some ways in which my recent experience as the coauthor of a Navajo textbook illustrates some of the issues of power that outsider linguists need to deal with. First I will briefly explain my role as coauthor and some of the issues of power that arose, and then I will talk a bit about the book itself, which is quite different from the kind of textbook that a linguist would write.

After she had worked with me on linguistics projects for a number of years, Dr. Evangeline Parsons Yazzie asked me to work with her on an introductory Navajo textbook based on her college-level curriculum. Dr. Parsons Yazzie has been teaching Navajo at Northern Arizona University for nearly 20 years. She asked me to work with her because she thought that I could explain basic grammar concepts without getting bogged down in too much linguistic detail. My role was to explain a few important grammar concepts in a way that is accessible to high school or college students and to help with prose editing and continuity.

Many people assume that if a Navajo and a Bilagáana (European-American) are co-authors, the Bilagáana must be the "real" author, with the Navajo being

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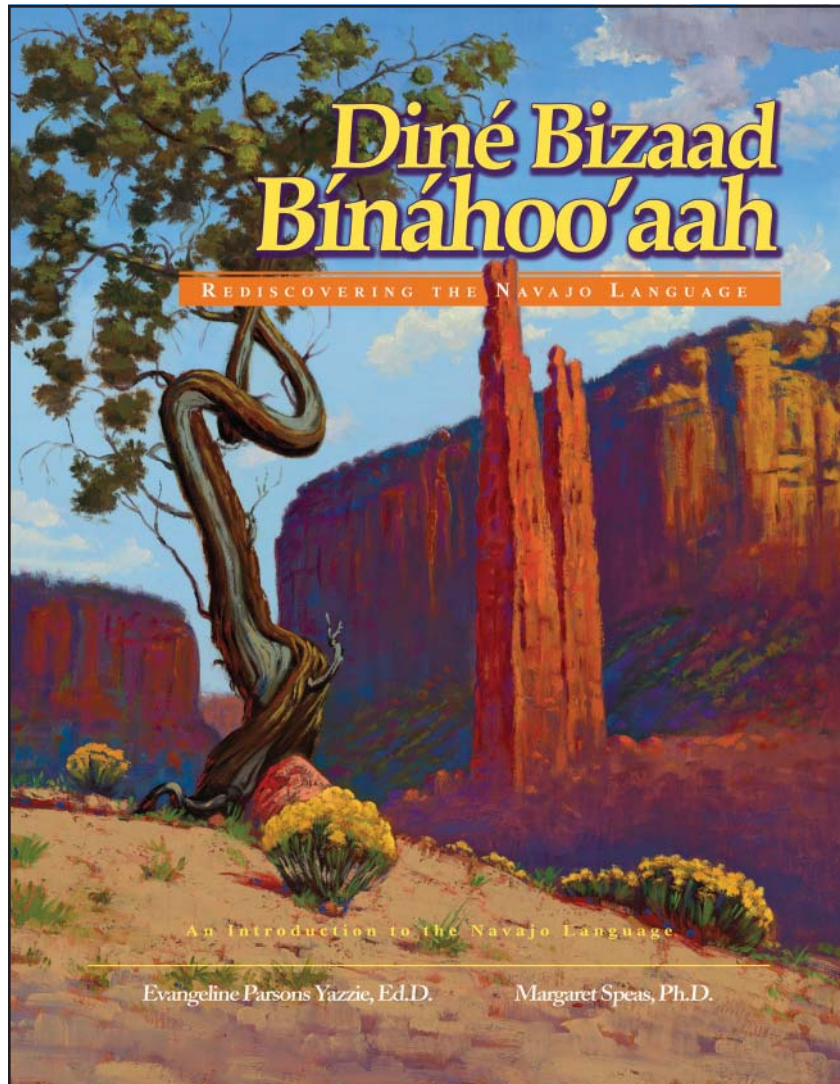
some kind of assistant. We found that people would sometimes persist in this belief even after being told that Dr. Parsons Yazzie is the primary author. In part this reflects the prejudice that minority scholars routinely encounter. Even when the actual authorship was known, I was accorded what I call “gratuitous prestige.” People would assume that a book written with a professional linguist must be of a higher quality than one written solely by a Navajo. The pervasiveness of this kind of prejudice is not news to any member of a minority group, but it is worth mentioning, because we found it more helpful to use it to our advantage than to try to pretend it doesn’t exist. In particular, I tried to use it in the role I took on as a go-between with our editors. Dr. Parsons Yazzie was writing the book to reflect the voice of Navajo elders, or of a Navajo parent teaching a child, using personal examples, repetition of important concepts and admonitions to students. Numerous times our editor wanted to revise the text into a more “neutral” (=non-Navajo) style and we found that the editor was able to hear explanations of the style when they came from me rather than from her, even though I know next to nothing myself about the speaking style of Navajo elders and parents. Outsider linguists can sometimes use their gratuitous prestige for situations like this, or for applying for grants or getting works published.

However, the assumptions that some people made about my role in the book also reflect the fact that when outsider linguists coauthor books or papers with speakers of endangered languages, the research agenda is virtually always set by the linguist. Even if the project is a grammar, dictionary or other non-theoretical work, the outsider linguist is almost always the one who decides on the topics, organization and voice for the work. Of course there is nothing wrong with this when a community asks a linguist to produce a dictionary or grammar for them. Presumably the community expects the linguist to advise them on the appropriate topics and organization. They may even expect and need the “expert’s” gratuitous prestige (Grinevald, 1998). However, before I became involved in this textbook, it had never occurred to me how rare it is to find a collaboration where the community member rather than the linguist controls the intellectual agenda.

Dr. Parsons Yazzie’s and my textbook, *Diné Bizaad Bináhoo’aaah* (Rediscovering the Navajo Language), is different in many ways from the kind of book that a linguist would write (see Figure 1). I think it will be successful because it was conceived and organized by a non-linguist. I’d like to discuss just a few of the ways in which the book is unlike one that someone like me would have or could have designed.

First of all, as a linguist I believe that the most important thing about learning a language is learning to speak. I am not at all concerned with whether the learner has a non-native accent. Dr. Parsons Yazzie designed her curriculum with the first two lessons (spanning a minimum of four weeks) devoted entirely to the Navajo alphabet and phonemes. This is shocking to most linguists, who would generally explain the sound system within a few pages and then move on. However, Navajo elders emphasize how important they feel it is for learners to pronounce Navajo correctly. Although most linguists would consider this to be based on a “misconception” as discussed above, Dr. Parsons Yazzie knew how

Figure 1: Cover of *Diné Bizaad Bínáhoo'aah* (Rediscovering the Navajo Language), Flagstaff, AZ: Salina Bookshelf, 2008



important it was for the community that the textbook reflect and respect the attitudes of Navajo elders. Moreover, most high school and college level Navajo classes combine students who have little to no exposure to Navajo with students who have heard Navajo and may even speak quite a bit but can't write Navajo. Those who have no experience with the way colloquial Navajo is pronounced often have an easier time learning the writing system, because they have not heard how the sounds actually blend together in casual speech. This can be very discouraging for the Navajo speakers. Spending a substantial amount of time

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on the sound system at the beginning of the course gives the Navajo speakers a chance to get used to the writing system, and it gives the non-speakers a chance to learn from the students who already can pronounce the Navajo phonemes.

Secondly, a linguist would be likely to organize a textbook in terms of linguistic structure rather than conceptual topics and would include information on culture as a supplement to the language lessons rather than as a basis for them. Language teachers who are not linguists are more likely to organize material around themes like clothing, weather, food, etc. One important goal of *Diné Bizaad Bínáhoo'aah* was to teach Navajo culture as a living set of values rather than a list of foods, clothing and customs or a description of traditional ceremonies and beliefs. A substantial number of Navajo parents who are Christian are very wary of allowing their children to take Navajo classes, because they worry that culture lessons will teach traditional Navajo religion. Organizing the lessons according to conceptual topics made it clear how many facets there are to Navajo culture that can be made relevant to young people today. For example, the chapter about clothing begins with the story of an elder that Dr. Parsons Yazzie interviewed in which the elder talks about the contrast between the attitudes people had toward clothing when she was young and the attitudes today. The chapters on family and kinship discuss the role that each family member plays in the upbringing of a child, and the chapter on the body includes information about Navajo views of health. Dr. Parsons Yazzie worked with Navajo elders on all chapters. As mentioned above, she tried to write the culture sections to sound like a Navajo elder or mother teaching.

Third, linguists are analytical and interested in discovering generalizations. My preference as a linguist would be to explain grammar points once and expect students to discover how the grammar rules apply to new examples. This is not the approach that Dr. Parsons Yazzie believes to be the most effective with her students. Ash, Little Doe Fermino and Hale (2001) report similar experiences in constructing Wampanoag language materials. Little Doe Fermino's Wampanoag students did not find it helpful to analyze verbal paradigms or syntactic structure. Parsons Yazzie designed the Navajo textbook to reflect a Navajo teaching style that includes repetitions of important points and emphasizes observation rather than generalization. I have to admit that it was sometimes difficult for her to convince me that my succinct analytical explanations were not appropriate for the book's audience, partly because I was anxious about what my linguistics colleagues would think about a book that does not conform to their conception of the linguistically-informed language textbook. But Dr. Parsons Yazzie's knows her audience, and I do not.

We linguists rarely question whether our conception of how to teach language is correct, even when it is a conception about the teaching of someone else's language. Even if we know perfectly well that we do not have training in language pedagogy, we tend to feel that one of our primary roles is to keep "misconceptions" from creeping into pedagogical materials. Because of our "gratuitous prestige" (and our often exuberant certitude), members of minority

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communities have a hard time having their voices heard above ours, and sometimes even allow our supposed expertise to trump their experience.

I do not mean to advocate that linguists should withhold their expertise or abandon their convictions about language. Dr. Parsons Yazzie believes that the book was enhanced by my expertise and analytical tendencies. I just mean to say that if we truly want to be helpful to someone with a goal of stabilizing their language, we cannot assume that we know best what is needed by a community that is not our own. Before working on this book I was not aware of how rarely listening was part of my interactions with Navajo specialists.

Conclusions

Over the past 20 years an increasing number of linguists have become interested in contributing to language revitalization efforts and have been trying to avoid destructive ways of interacting with speakers of endangered languages and to address (or at least acknowledge) the power imbalances that arise when outsiders try to be “helpful” to a minority community as also described by Keren Rice and Lenore Grenoble in this book. My own experience suggests that as we train the next generation of linguists it is important to teach them that what they have to offer to the communities they work with might not involve “clearing up misconceptions” or even developing materials that make direct use of their training as linguists. It is clear to all who work on endangered languages that only community-based projects have any hope of success, and linguists who are committed to language revitalization must be willing to do those things that communities decide they need, rather than telling communities what is needed. Hinton (2001, p. 51) gives very useful advice about language planning that can be used by community members on their own, but which is also a good blueprint for a linguist going into a community, because it lays a framework for the community to articulate goals, which the linguist should then listen to. Fortunately, as Ash, Little Doe Fermino and Hale (2001, p. 20) say, “There is reason for optimism because local language communities all over the world are taking it upon themselves to act on behalf of their imperiled linguistic traditions in full understanding of, and in spite of, the realistic perception that the cards are stacked against them.” In closing I would like to thank all of those who are working to pass on their own language to future generations, and who have found creative ways to partner with those who want to help with Someone Else's Language.

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Must There Be Two Solitudes? Language Activists and Linguists Working Together

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This paper suggests that there can be two solitudes that divide linguists and language activists and argues that there needs to be a mutual recognition that linguists and Indigenous communities need to work together to help revitalize Indigenous languages. It takes a community of people to revitalize an Indigenous language, and in order for linguists and language activists to truly work together, general principles such as relationships, respect, reciprocity and recognition are critical.

In Canada, there is a phrase that is sometimes used to signify the relationship between English-speaking Canada and French-speaking Canada, two solitudes. This term was popularized by Hugh MacLennan in the title of his 1945 novel, *Two Solitudes*. The publisher's blurb for this book says the following:

A landmark of nationalist fiction, Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* is the story of two races within one nation, each with its own legend and ideas of what a nation should be. In his vivid portrayals of human drama in prewar Quebec, MacLennan focuses on two individuals whose love increases the prejudices that surround them until they discover that "love consists in this, that two solitudes protect, and touch and greet each other.

A view that is sometimes found in the literature on language revitalization and the role of linguists in this endeavor is that linguists and language activists represent two solitudes, each with their own ideas, perhaps even their own legends, about what a language is and what language revitalization is all about. In this article I examine some of the differences in goals of language activists and linguists and ask if there must indeed be two solitudes, or if there is a way for the two to interact with each other in a positive and fruitful way.

Before beginning, perhaps a little about my background is in order. I have been involved in work for many years on Slavey (Dene), an Athapaskan language of northern Canada. In addition to linguistic fieldwork, I have taught workshops and courses on a variety of topics including literacy, grammar, language awareness, language documentation and language research. I have worked on dictionaries, both topical dictionaries and noun and verb dictionaries, as well as writing a grammar of the language and designing materials for teaching grammar. I was involved with a committee on the standardization of a writing system, looking at goals of standardization. I also worked with communities and teachers around issues of language awareness. I have also been involved in Aboriginal Studies at the University of Toronto, a program where language plays a key role. I have written on ethical responsibilities of linguists and have been an advocate at the Canadian Social Science and Humanities Research Council for the Aboriginal

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Research program. I oversaw the development of a website on fieldwork (www.chass.utoronto.ca/lingfieldwork) and developed an undergraduate course in language revitalization.

Some questions

Let me start by raising some questions that are important in considering whether two solitudes are inevitable. Here are a few: What is it that linguists want? What are their goals? What are they trained to do? What do they do well? Similarly, what is it that language activists want? What are their goals? What are they trained to do? What do they do well? Putting language activists and linguists together, we can then ask questions such as the following: How do the goals of linguists and the goals of language activists mesh with one another? Can they contribute to each other's enterprises? Importantly, in a situation where the linguists tend to be outsiders to a language community, what do linguists have to offer? These questions have been addressed in the literature in very recent years; see, for instance, the important works by Gerdts (1998), Shaw (2004), Czaykowska-Higgins (2007) and Dobrin (2008) and other references in those articles and in this one for discussion of these issues.¹ Much of what I offer here summarizes what these authors, and others, have contributed, bringing my own perspective from my own history to it.

A backdrop: An evolution in social science research over the years

Before responding to the questions raised in the previous section, it is useful to outline briefly the kind of evolution that has occurred in research in the social sciences over the past several years, as laid out by Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton and Richardson (1992). These authors trace the history of social science research from what they call ethical research, which basically involves research *on* a topic, to advocacy research, involving research *on and for* people, to empowerment research, which involves research *with*, or community-based research. Brief quotes on these models follow. See Rice (2006) for a somewhat more detailed discussion of how these different models have played themselves out in linguistics and for more references; this paper repeats some of what is in that work. See also Shaw (2004), Czaykowska-Higgins (2007), Grinevald (2007) and Yamada (2007), among others, for discussion of these different types of research models.

- *Ethical research*: "... there is a wholly proper concern to minimize damage and offset inconvenience to the researched, and to acknowledge their contributions. ... But the underlying model is one of 'research *on*' social subjects. Human subjects deserve special ethical consideration, but they no more set the researcher's agenda than the bottle of sulfuric acid sets the chemist's agenda." (Cameron, et al., pp. 14-15).
ON
- *Advocacy research*: "... a commitment on the part of the researcher not just to do research on subjects but research *on and for* subjects. Such

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a commitment formalizes ... a rather common development in field situations, where a researcher is asked to use her skills or her authority as an 'expert' to defend subjects' interests, getting involved in their campaigns for healthcare or education, cultural autonomy or political and land rights, and speaking on their behalf" (Cameron, et al., p. 15).

ON, FOR

- *Empowering research*: "... research on, for and with. One of the things we take that additional 'with' to imply is the use of interactive or dialogic research methods, as opposed to the distancing or objectifying strategies positivists are constrained to use. It is the centrality of interaction 'with' the researched that enables research to be empowering in our sense; ... we [propose three] ... statement[s] ...:

- (a) 'Persons are not objects and should not be treated as objects.'
 - (b) 'Subjects have their own agendas and research should try to address them'
 - (c) 'If knowledge is worth having, it is worth sharing.'"
- (Cameron, et al., pp. 22-24)

WITH, BY

The ethical model, called 'linguist-focused' by Czaykowska-Higgins (2007) in a paper on research models in linguistic fieldwork, is the traditional model of fieldwork, outlined in the classical book on fieldwork by Samarin (1967) and in other sources; see Newman and Ratliff (2001) as well as the new books on linguistic fieldwork (Crowley, 2007; Bower, 2008) for more recent perspectives. Over time, for various reasons, some of which are discussed later in this paper, many linguists have become involved in empowering research, or a community-based model.

In asking whether two solitudes are inevitable, it is useful to think about these different research models and where the linguist fits in; I return to this after discussion of the goals of linguists and language activists.

The perspective of the field linguist

What are the goals of the field linguist? While they are many and varied, depending on the individual linguist, the field situation, and numerous other factors, nevertheless there is a core that is recognized at least historically that provides insight into this question: it is often said that there is a 'big three' in linguistic fieldwork—the production of a grammar, a dictionary and texts. A grammar provides as thorough as possible a description of the sounds, words, sentences, discourse and so on of a language (see two recent edited books on grammar writing by Ameka, Dench & Evans, 2006 and Payne & Weber, 2006), a dictionary includes as much of the lexicon of the language as is feasible (see Frawley, Hill & Munro, 2002 and Amery, 2006 for recent discussions of dictionaries) and texts involve the recording, transcription, translation and annotation of texts from a wide variety of genres. While exactly what all this involves has been the topic

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of some debate in recent years (see e.g., Himmelmann's influential 1998 article on language documentation as well as papers in the recent book edited by Gippert, Himmelmann & Mosel, 2006) and technological advances have changed in many ways just how these goals can be accomplished, still these three types of work form the core of what linguists generally hope to accomplish through their linguistic fieldwork.

Linguists tend to become passionate about languages as objects of beauty and awe. This is beautifully put by Valentine, in the introduction to his 2001 grammar of Nishnaabemwin:

Writing a grammar is a profoundly humbling experience. Languages are almost unbelievably complex and represent the richest traditions that we as human beings possess. What remotely compares with them, whether we are considering the massively intricate and fluid physical gestures involved in the articulation of sounds, or the systems behind the thousands of possibilities of distinct expression in the verb system of a language such as Nishnaabemwin? A language is a natural object with a beauty and a capacity to inspire awe on the order of Niagara Falls or Lake Superior, if we take the time to appreciate it. Writing a reference grammar provides the enjoyment of thousands of hours of careful scrutiny, though at the same time one realizes acutely ... that a hundred linguists working for a hundred years could never get to the bottom of a single language. Nishnaabemwin is a language exceedingly rich in structure, inviting many levels of analysis - it is an inexhaustible source of pleasure and challenge for its students. (p. xxxi)

Frawley, Hill and Munro (2002) write in similar terms in describing the experience of creating a dictionary:

There is something at once both marvelous and practical about producing a guide to the mind, world, and behavior of a group of people. The benefits that accrue from such a handbook - literacy, preservation, history, discovery - only add to the excitement of seeing the published dictionary standing upright on the bookshelf. (p. 2)

Gerds (1998, p. 15) quotes Dixon (1997, p. 134), who speaks to the intellectual challenges and excitement of linguistic fieldwork:

It is hard to convey the sheer mental exhilaration of field work on a new language. First, one has to recognize the significant analytic problems. Then alternative solutions may tumble around in one's head all night. At the crack of dawn one writes them down, the pros and cons of each. During the day it is possible to assess the alternatives, by checking back through texts that have already been gathered and by asking carefully crafted questions of native speakers. One solution is

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seen to be clearly correct – it is simpler than the others, and has greater explanatory power. Then one realizes that the solution to this problem sheds light on another knotty conundrum that has been causing worry for weeks. And so on.

Comrie (2007) stresses the importance of core linguistic work, noting that documentation of a traditional language is required even when a linguist is committed to work on language revitalization because of the contributions that understanding the language can make to linguistics:

Let me now try to draw some conclusions from the above discussion, in particular with regard to linguists' work on endangered languages. Perhaps the most salient lesson for linguists is that the revitalization of a language does not obviate the need for documentation of the traditional language, since a revitalized language may differ quite extensively from the traditional language to which it corresponds, in particular through the loss of precisely those distinguishing features that make the traditional language of such paramount importance to linguistics. (p. 34)

The traditional concerns of linguists then are primarily with the language itself and, at least for many fieldworkers, the culture in which that language is spoken. In thinking about language loss, linguists often speak of the loss of languages as laboratories of study, the loss of linguistic diversity, the loss of intellectual and cultural wealth, and the loss of windows on the mind. See, for instance, Crystal (2000) and many of the papers in Grenoble and Whaley (1998), among numerous other references.

The perspective of the language activist

Having examined the goals of the linguist, it is appropriate to turn to the goals of the language activist and leader. People speak movingly about what their language means to them. A Dene Elder makes the following comment:

Nahezha gots 'é goinde. Nahegedúutth 'é goniddhę.

We are talking to our young and hoping they will understand.
(Thom & Blondin-Townsend, 1987)

For the speaker or would be speaker of a language, the language is to be transmitted. Perhaps at the core, language is a part of a deep spirituality, well represented in the words of the following from an Assembly of First Nations (1990) document:

Language is our unique relationship to the Creator,
our attitudes, beliefs, values and fundamental notions of what is truth.
Our languages are the cornerstones of who we are as people.
Without our languages our cultures cannot survive.

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Similar points are made by many others. In a 1992 work from the Assembly of First Nations, the importance of language is spelled out in a slightly different way:

Aboriginal language is an asset to one's own education, formal and informal. Aboriginal language contributes to greater pride in the history and culture of the community; greater involvement and interest of parents in the education of their children, and greater respect for Elders. Language is the principal means by which culture is accumulated, shared and transmitted from generation to generation. The key to identity and retention of culture is one's ancestral language.

Others find ways of expressing similar thoughts. Just a few additional quotes are given below; it would be easy to multiply these. The quotes here are largely from Canadian sources; they are echoed by remarks of people from around the world. See, for instance, Greymorning (2004), Abley (2003) and Harrison (2006) for presentations of views of community members in sources from a language activist, a journalist, and a linguist respectively.

We say we are pitiful. We, the Dene, are not well educated but for myself, I think we are still strong because we have our Dogrib language. We are rich because of it. All around us in other northern places and in the south, people such as the Cree are losing their languages. Today the Dogrib are still strong because of our language. We still speak Dogrib, and our children still speak in the Dogrib language. In the future, maybe in twenty to forty years when our children begin to lose our language, it will be a difficult time for us. A great culture will be destroyed. (Edward Erasmus in Martin, 1991).

Without the language, we are warm bodies without a spirit.
Mary Fox, Ojibwe Elder (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996)

Friends, we think highly of our ability to speak Mi'kmaq. If we lose this, it is for certain that we will lose Mi'kmaq knowledge.
Marie Battiste, Mi'kmaq Nation (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996)

The importance of the language for a culture and its value system is enshrined in educational philosophies, as shown by a 2007 statement below from the Cree School Board:

The Cree School Board will ensure that each student has the opportunity to develop his or her full potential as an individual and as a member of society.
We believe that:

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The Cree language and culture are the root of the Cree education system
We believe that the Cree child:

Is unique

...

Has the right to learn and be taught in his or her Mother tongue

Has the right to be taught and practice his or her culture and its value system

The Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples (RCAP) is a very important Canadian document produced by a commission charged with “investigating the evolution of the relationship among aboriginal peoples (Indian, Inuit and Métis), the Canadian government, and Canadian society as a whole. ... The Commission should examine all issues which it deems to be relevant to any or all of the aboriginal peoples of Canada.” This report includes a chapter on language, where the importance of language is summarized as follows.

Our languages, our spirituality and everything that we are was given to us and was carried before us by our ancestors, our grandparents who have passed on. When they couldn't carry it any longer and they went to join that spirit world, they handed it to us and they said 'Now you are the real ones. And you have to carry it.' Now they are in the spirit world. They are our past. Now we have a responsibility to carry that because we hear seven generations in the future. They are our future. They are the ones that are not yet born. (Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, 1996)

For the speaker, the learner, the language activist, language is part of their responsibility to their children and their children's children; it is an integral piece of the culture.

Comparing the goals of the field linguist and those of the language activist then, they are not the same: to put it simply and starkly, without the refinement that is clearly needed to fully understand the complex issues involved, one is concerned with the documentation and analysis of the language, the other with language as spirituality, culture and recognition.

Shifting research paradigms

In recent years, there have been ongoing shifts in social science research paradigms, as outlined previously. The methodology of linguistic fieldwork, like the methodology of other social science research, has been subject to deep scrutiny. For many linguists it is perhaps a combination of working in communities and the words of Aboriginal scholars that are influential in thinking about different ways of doing research. Smith (1999) has been highly influential in leading fieldworkers to rethink some of their goals. In Canada, the necessity of a shift in paradigms is spoken of directly by Aboriginal scholars. They talk of

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the need for universities to rethink their basic goals and to the importance of the direct involvement of Indigenous peoples in research that involves them:

Most existing research on Indigenous peoples is contaminated by Eurocentric prejudice. Ethical research must begin by replacing Eurocentric prejudice with new premises that value diversity over universality. Researchers must seek methodologies that build synthesis without relying on negative exclusions or on a strategy of differences. ... Nowhere is this work more needed than in the universities. ... These academic disciplines have been drawn from a Eurocentric canon...that supports production-driven research while exploiting Indigenous people, their languages, and their heritage. (Battiste & Henderson, 2000, pp. 132-133)

Ethical research systems and practices should enable Indigenous nations, peoples, and communities to exercise control over information related to their knowledge and heritage and to themselves. These projects should be managed jointly with Indigenous peoples, and the communities being studied should benefit from training and employment opportunities generated by the research. Above all, it is vital that Indigenous peoples have direct input into developing and defining research practices and projects related to them. To act otherwise is to repeat that familiar pattern of decisions being made for Indigenous people by those who presume to know what is best for them. (Battiste & Henderson, 2000, p. 132)

One can understand why issues might arise between linguists and language activists: these two groups often have different goals and, often, are coming from very different research paradigms. Can there be a meeting of minds?

Shifting priorities of field linguists

In recent years, as there has been debate about social science paradigms, there has been introspection by linguists about the role that the linguist plays in fieldwork, especially in communities where languages are endangered. In an influential article on the role of linguists in language revitalization that is one of the first major works in this area, Gerds (1998, pp. 15-17) writes of the distrust that linguists often face in doing fieldwork, and she asks why linguists might be misunderstood. She puts it very baldly: "I have come to the conclusion that some of the distressing unpleasantness [with the programs that have been developed] originates with me, the cultural outsider. ... Put simply, linguistic expertise is not sufficient for successful participation in a language program. The linguist must develop social and political skills to be an effective member of a language revitalization team" (p. 13). Gerds outlines a number of reasons why there might be distrust, including suspicion on the part of speakers of the motives of linguists and a lack of understanding of the goals of linguistic fieldwork. She further notes that much linguistic material is inaccessible to a layperson, including speakers of the language. In addition, linguists often do not learn to speak the languages

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that they study, and may be driven largely by theoretical interests. In some cases, linguists have not learned very much about the culture of the communities in which they work. On top of all of this, language teaching is what is often desired on the part of a community, and linguists often lack expertise in this area that is considered so vitally important. Gerdts concludes that linguists have much to offer language revitalization programs, but “their work can be made difficult both by shortcomings in their own training and experience and also by lack of knowledge on the part of the community about what linguistics is and what linguists do” (1998, p. 17).

As Gerdts outlines, suspicion and a lack of understanding of the goals of linguists are important factors in leading to the two solitudes of the title of this paper. One hears many comments made to academics about their goals; a frequent one is that people are tired of being the object of study. Indigenous people sometimes remark that everything else has been taken from them, and now the linguists are trying to steal their language as well. Linguists have been well meaning in trying to show that the languages in question are not primitive, but equally complex to dominant languages such as English. This well-meaning attempt may backfire though, leading to people saying things such as the following: Our language is too hard for our children to learn, it’s no wonder the children can’t speak it.

As communities and scholars have raised questions about traditional kinds of social science research, linguists too have begun to speak out about the kinds of interactions that might exist between linguists and communities. Berardo and Yamamoto (2007, p. 112) note that the tradition of linguistic description has its own culture and values, one that does not necessarily intersect with that of local communities: “the linguist does impose a linguistic approach to language description, which has been developed outside the values, attitudes, beliefs, assumptions, and traditions of the local culture.” Gerdts speaks to this, remarking that communities want control, “They want their language and culture back. They want control of all aspects of education and research. They want autonomy. They want to do the work themselves without help from foreign experts” (1998, p. 17). Grinevald (2007) addresses to the importance of linguists working together with communities, in empowerment and community-based models.

A future perspective in terms of the community also means considering the sustainability of the work done on the language, through empowerment of members of the community, particularly in the form of continued training of speakers and semi-speakers capable and interested, and participation and support to the production of language materials, with a view to producing material that is actually usable in the field and by the community. (p. 43)

Berardo and Yamamoto (2007) stress the importance of listening:

When we work with endangered languages, we are committing ourselves not only to documenting and describing the languages, but also

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to meeting the linguistic, social, and educational needs of the communities. Thus, it is especially important for us to listen to the voices of indigenous peoples. (p. 107)

And Valliquette addresses the issue that linguistic work is not benign, but can do harm, “What can professionals and community members do to preserve endangered languages? The answer is: much harm as well as good” (1998, p. 107).

In a book on language endangerment and language revitalization, Tsunoda (2005) includes a chapter called ‘Role and ethics of researchers.’ Among many other things, he reviews a list of principles issued by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra, Australia for ethical research with Indigenous peoples. These include the need for consultation, negotiation, mutual understanding, respect, recognition and involvement as well as an awareness of benefits, outcomes, and agreements.

In a recent paper focused on linguistic fieldwork, Czaykowska-Higgins (2007) reflects on four research paradigms, a linguist-focused model (basically the ethical model of Cameron et al. (1992) discussed previously), the advocacy research model, the empowering research model, and a community-based research model. This latter builds on Cameron et al. (1992) in assuming that “the linguist is but one of the experts in the research process, and that community members as well as linguists should be directors of and active partners in the research, as opposed to being simply empowered research subjects” (Czaykowska-Higgins, 2007, p. 7). Czaykowska-Higgins notes that linguists working with Indigenous communities are increasingly attempting to bridge the divide between linguist and community through the use of different models depending on goals, aspirations and needs of the community and of the linguist. She argues that there are a number of reasons why a linguist might choose engagement in and with a community, reasons that are grounded ultimately in ethical considerations. As she points out, choosing not to engage can have unintended and often negative consequences since linguistic research is not conducted in a social, political or cultural vacuum (2007, p. 10). In other words, reinforcing points made by linguists such as Valliquette (quoted above), Hale (2001, p. 76), Dimmendaal (2001, p. 55), Darnell (2005, p. 156) and others, some of whom are cited above, linguistic research is not a neutral activity. Czaykowska-Higgins goes on to say that linguists have skills to contribute to community goals and aspirations, giving them an ethical obligation. Shaw (2004, p. 184) also stresses this point, speaking to the necessity for local control. She further points out:

On the one hand, there are no guarantees that the recognition of mutually enhancing goals and the negotiation of respectful protocols for working collaboratively towards those goals can ensure the revitalization of a language. On the other hand, however, the consequences of a lack of commitment on either side to collaborate in such efforts effectively preclude its ultimate survival.

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Dobrin closes with the following remark about responsibilities:

If I understand my obligation to Apakibur villagers as fulfilled by giving them a dictionary or story books, I will have missed an opportunity to allow them power in the way they value it, within their framework of meaning. I will have won the battle to document another language before it dies, but lost the war over human diversity and linguistic human rights, because I will have disappointed the villagers' hopes that, in at least this one context, their globally peripheral voices were actually being heard. (2008, p. 320)

Bach (2003, p. 173) puts very bluntly the responsibilities of the linguist: "The days of such colonialist research are gone forever."

Just as the research paradigm for social sciences in general has evolved, so has the sense of what the responsibilities of the linguistic fieldworker are, and what the effects of fieldwork, both positive and negative, might be. A group that already existed has perhaps become more visible, or perhaps simply more outspoken, a group that we might call linguist activists. How the work of the linguist plays itself out is variable, depending on many different circumstances, as discussed by Czaykowska-Higgins (2007), but the model is one of partnership.

What might the linguist have to offer?

The linguists cited above, and many others, are part of a group that continue to rethink the role of the linguist in a community, stressing the need to attend to responsibilities to the community. In this section I look a little more concretely at what some of the things are that linguists might be able to contribute. Grinevald (2007, p. 41) addresses this question, speaking of the responsibilities of the linguist in fieldwork:

[T]he role of linguists in the overall dynamics of such projects may need humbling re-evaluation and readjustment, even though...one must keep in mind that the original and indispensable contribution of linguists remains the analytical study of the language. It may well be that...the most productive approach to the description of the language is one channeled through the training in descriptive linguistics of linguistic community members, for self-sustaining language work of the kind that can be of use to the community. This means that the field linguists double up as linguistics teachers, or are hired actually as full-time teachers with supervisors of linguistic work done by speakers themselves (the WITH and BY fieldwork frameworks...).

Grinevald seeks a balance between the analytical study of the language and the responsibilities to the community, a balance sought in one way or another by the others mentioned in this paper.

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One role of the linguist discussed by Grinevald is what she terms revalorization of the language:

Linguists contribute to the revalorization of the language itself, by their own scientific work, the proof that the language can be written, is worth studying and is rich in grammar and vocabulary. This revalorization of the language must be addressed both to the community members themselves and to the members of the dominant culture. (2007, p. 47)

See also Dobrin (2008) for a discussion of valorization and the role played by the outsider.

Gerdtts addresses the role of the linguist more specifically: the linguist has the training to do the analysis and produce the kinds of reference materials required for a language revitalization program. “the importance of the linguist or team of linguists and the materials that they produced or helped produce is an essential part of the program. . . . to provide tokens of analyzed language and the necessary reference materials” (1998, p. 17). She provides a list of the kinds of work that a linguist can do:

- write reference materials and other scholarly works
- collect and archive materials
- help secure funding
- help produce educational materials
- train other linguists, including Native linguists
- help train teachers
- help teach the language
- serve as mediators between Natives and universities
- act as advocates for Native language programs
- serve as researchers or expert witnesses on matters involving language (e.g., place names, genealogies, ethnobiology, labels and translations for museum exhibits) (Gerdtts, 1998, p. 14)

Another list of what linguists can do is given in the same volume in an article by Valiquette (1998, pp. 109-110):

- recognize their position as an outsider
- convince the community that there is a problem of language loss, that the responsibility lies with the community, that there are ways to preserve the language
- guide the community in choices:
 - focus on L1 or L2?
 - emphasis on oral or written?
 - teachers—community members? speakers?
 - centre of teaching as school or community?
 - tools (e.g., grammars, computers) required?

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- training
- language assessment
- “outside work”
- linguistic work
- material (e.g., texts, songs): training to record community genres

Valliquette stresses how important it is for a community to make informed choices and accept responsibility for them.

Tsunoda (2005) summarizes and adds to these lists, stressing the need for linguists to give copies of their materials to the community. He notes also that the linguist has responsibilities to the general public.

While these various lists capture the kinds of things that linguists are probably best prepared to do, the various authors cited in the previous section all make clear that what is important is discussion and negotiation, in a framework based in trust and respect. None offer a single answer, recognizing that there is not a single balance and what that balance is can be established only through time and the various factors discussed already, not through a checklist or recipe of any sort.

The need to negotiate: Some concrete examples

What are some of the kinds of things that might be negotiated? There are many that might have to be thought about depending on the situation. I list here just a few that might come up.

For one thing, western trained scholars tend to value literacy. Do all value literacy? Should literacy be a goal?

For another, western tradition places much value on standardization of a writing system, and people often decry poor spelling. What does it mean to standardize a writing system? Is it an immediate goal?

And another, there are many ways of teaching a language. What is appropriate in the particular circumstances?

And one more. What is it that is taught? Is it the language of the Elders? Is it culturally relevant vocabulary? Is it modern, up-to-date vocabulary? Is it the language of the younger generation? These are only a few of the very many alternatives.

And yet one more: What is an appropriate orthography? How much should it be based in the orthography of another language? Do orthographic decisions made for related languages affect the choice of orthography, or are they irrelevant? Are there grounds for choosing one particular writing system or another if one appears to be linguistically superior in some way to the other?

And one last one, as discussed earlier, one likely goal of a linguist is to produce a dictionary, grammar, and texts of a language. One can ask questions about these various kinds of work. For example, what is a dictionary? What goes in a grammar? Who is the audience for these kinds of works? Can one dictionary or grammar meet all needs? Turning to texts, how should a text be presented? How is it laid out on the page? What language or languages are used?

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It might seem like there are straightforward answers to these questions, but in fact these questions, and many others, each raise a range of challenging issues for all involved. For some recent discussion on some of the complexities, see Nevins (2004) and Dobrin (2008).

In the following section I follow up on the final issue raised above, examining two dictionaries, both of which I myself consider to be outstanding, to probe some of the issues that might arise around dictionaries.

An example of dictionaries and what can be different depending on goals

One might think that a dictionary is a dictionary is a dictionary, and that a single dictionary is all that is needed for a language. Yet dictionaries can differ considerably in their goals. This is obvious when one looks at a few different English language dictionaries: the dictionary might be aimed at children, at adults, at second language learners; it might or might not include etymologies; examples of a word in use may or may not be present; it may be an English dictionary, a Canadian English dictionary, an Australian English dictionary; and so on.

In order to illustrate some of the differences that can exist between dictionaries, I look briefly at the definition of the word ‘muskrat’ in two different, and, as I said above, to my mind, outstanding, dictionaries of Athapaskan languages. The first is a dictionary of Kaska produced by the Kaska Tribal Council (1997, p. 30). The entry for ‘muskrat’ is given below:

muskrat

tanust'é' (tunoost'è')^{FORT WARE}
tanwust'ā (tunwoost'a)^{FORT WARE}
tanust'á' (tunoost'à')^{FORT WARE}
tanust'eā' (tunoost'èa')^{FORT WARE}
tenusdē^{LOWER LIARD}
tenusdié'^{GOOD HOPE LAKE}
tenusdē'^{LIARD}
tenusdié'^{LIARD, FRANCES LAKE, PELLY}
dzana^{ROSS RIVER}
dzana^{MOUNTAIN SLAVEY}
tehk'ā (tehk'a)^{FORT WARE}
tahk'a^{MOUNTAIN SLAVEY}
his/her muskrat
matunusdié'^{GOOD HOPE LAKE}
matenusdē'^{LIARD}
matenusdié'^{PELLY}

1. Kahseh nan ki'q' tū zedle'' gūlīn ekúh tenusdié' nan gunela'. *When earth first appeared, there was only water when muskrat made earth.*^{LIARD}
2. Sejōni tenusdié'lá' ts'e'dāne ma'ējé' kegedetl'ūn tādet'ē dzenēs ts'f'. *Ts'édāne tš gutie kuhlā dege. Old people tie the front feet of a muskrat on a children's shirt for three days so they will really work hard.*^{LIARD}

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There are notable features of this dictionary, and I mention just a few. The dictionary includes multiple pronunciations of words, different forms of words, and different dialects. Many entries are accompanied by statements in the language as to the importance, the role, and so on of a particular entity. Thus the entry above includes not only words from various dialects of what is generally identified as Kaska (Lower Liard, Good Hope Lake, Liard, Frances Lake, Pelly, Ross River in the entry above), but also words from what are generally identified as two other languages, Mountain Slavey and Fort Ware Sekani, with this latter presented in more than one orthography. The two sentences at the end of the entry above provide insight into the history and use of the muskrat. Other information is given in other entries, including the location of places and the words for the sounds that some of the animals and birds make.

The second dictionary, the Koyukon dictionary, is an amazing piece of work, authored over the course of a century through work of Jules Jetté, a missionary in the early part of the 20th century, and Eliza Jones, a speaker/linguist who has been involved in work on the language for over thirty years. The word for ‘muskrat’ is one of the subentries under the entry for the stem for ‘long’ as it literally means ‘that whose tail is long.’ The entry from pages 432-433 of the dictionary is given below:

naal *n^y-z /be long/

bekenaale (n.) muskrat (*Ondatra zibethicus*), lit. ‘that whose tail is long’
“Other current terms are *dzenh kaadenlededle*, *kk’odemaay*, *bekaa’ deltsude*, *mekenaadeelek*, *todetsule*. *Bekanaal de’aak* a muskrat parkie, *bekannal ts’ede* a muskrat blanket. Muskrat skins being the common material for parkies and blankets, when no special material for parkies is mentioned, the article is understood to be of muskrat skin. The skin of the back is stronger and heavier, and the fur of a dark brown color, that of the belly is lighter and weaker, with a cream-colored fur, having a pearly gloss. Hence the backs and bellies are not usually employed for the same article. The backs are used for a strong durable one; the bellies for a light, pretty one ...

“The muskrat is used as food, and is palatable, if the abdominal wall is removed before cooking, this containing apparently the musk glands, or some of them. Eating the tail of a muskrat (prepared as a beaver tail) is believed to bring good luck to the one who eats it.” (b-22)-JJ

“They search lakes and small streams for its [the muskrat’s] tracks, and then try to locate the “feed house” which it builds over the ice, for the tunnel is generally near this.” (1942:109)-RS

“Young people are not allowed to eat the muskrat tail, because it would cause them to shoot poorly. Its tail wiggles and quivers when it swims.” -EJ

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Features of the Koyukon dictionary include rich linguistic information, both historical and current. This entry contains statements from the literature about the muskrat, as well as statements from the authors of the dictionary (JJ is Jetté, EJ is Jones, RS is Robert Sullivan) about the muskrat. The dictionary also includes drawings, photographs and wide-ranging information that is of both linguistic and cultural interest.

These two dictionaries share many properties. Both are bilingual and both contain entries for many of the same words. Both include information that is not typically found in an English language dictionary, and in this sense represent a combination of an English language dictionary and an encyclopedia. Nevertheless, the two dictionaries are quite different, and it is interesting to compare them not only for their content but also the goals that underlie each of them.

The Kaska Tribal Dictionary addresses its goals directly:

This dictionary came together because the vision of the Kaska people was endorsed by the Government of Canada, The Government of the Yukon, and the Government of British Columbia. The Kaska vision of their future includes their language and the languages of all the native people in their traditional territory.

The dictionary arose out of direction from the chiefs and the speakers of the languages, and their sense that one way of aiding the survival of a language is to record the vocabulary of that language along with its cultural context. (Kaska Tribal Council, 1997, p. 1)

The *Koyukon Athabaskan Dictionary* is not so directly explicit as to the goals. In the Preface by James Kari (2000b) there is detailed discussion of the kinds of entries that it contains:

The Koyukon Athabaskan Dictionary draws upon the extensive Koyukon ... materials recorded by Jesuit missionary and scholar Jules Jetté (1864-1927) from 1898 to about 1922, as well as the extensive vocabulary and grammatical materials recorded by Koyukon scholar Eliza Jones from 1974 through 1999.

The main section of the dictionary (pp. 1-749) contains 1,778 entries and sub-entries for more than 8,800 vocabulary items. The vocabulary covers all aspects of Koyukon life and is illustrated by more than 2,700 mini-essays and descriptive comments by Jetté, plus more than 90 of his drawings, diagrams, and photographs. There are also another 500 cultural and grammatical comments by Jones, as well as extensive comments by other experts and specialists.

Over 1,600 verb themes are presented in the KAD, most of which can appear in hundreds of derived verb forms. The KAD vocabulary is exemplified by more than 17,500 example sentences. The English-to-Koyukon Index (pp. 839-1060) refers to nearly 19,000 items in the main entries. (p. xxvii)

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In addressing the user, Kari says the following:

The *Koyukon Athabaskan Dictionary* contains a vast amount of information. It can be used for random browsing and for the enjoyment of reading the information about Koyukon language and life. Also the KAD can be used to memorize sets of words, to practice reading the language, or to practice forming words and sentences. Beginning users of the dictionary need not be distracted or intimidated by abbreviations and the more technical features of the format. As you become a more advanced learner of the language, you can learn more about these technical features. (2000a, p. xxxvi)

In another section of the introductory material to the dictionary, Krauss comments on the size and complexity of the dictionary, remarking that the dictionary has limitations:

Above all, given its sheer size and complexity, it cannot be easy to use or handy for the beginner or schoolchild or anyone without experience with dictionaries. ... Also in spite of its size, this dictionary can make no claim to be complete. ... We realize, of course, as noted above, that though this work is incomplete, it is at the same time far too extensive and complex to be easily used or practical for students of the Koyukon language below college or perhaps secondary level. For primary educational purposes, it will of course be necessary to develop a whole generation, so to speak, of appropriate materials. We intend and expect this book to be a rich source of information from which to derive a great variety of teaching materials and lessons: on Koyukon grammar and vocabulary, including student dictionaries of all sorts, and on many aspects of Koyukon culture. (Krauss, 2000, p. lxxx)

The introduction of the *Koyukon Athabaskan Dictionary* implicitly lays out its goals: both breadth and depth of coverage of the language. The work by Jetté was quite extraordinary, and coupled with the outstanding work by Jones, the dictionary is unparalleled in scope.

The audience for the Kaska dictionary is the speakers and future speakers directly, and much is done in the dictionary to meet the needs of this audience. The audience for the Koyukon dictionary is different, as pointed out in the quotes above. This dictionary is not really designed for the beginner, but rather it serves as a resource for the development of further materials for teaching and learning the language, as Krauss notes. The different audiences for the different dictionaries lead to rather distinct types of entries in the two works.

As a final example of the differences between the dictionaries, consider the ease with which an entry can be found. The Kaska entry for the word ‘muskrat’ is directly under ‘muskrat.’ In the Koyukon dictionary, on the other hand, even if the user knew what the word for ‘muskrat’ was in Koyukon, they would not

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find it directly since the word is listed as a subentry of the stem in this word, namely ‘be long’ (it is easy to find the word ‘muskrat’ in the English index of the dictionary, and this index includes the page number of the full entry).

The Kaska dictionary and the Koyukon dictionary represent two very different types of work, each with their own strengths. Which do we choose? They aim at very different audiences. The goals of a dictionary project need to be carefully thought through in order to create a dictionary that will satisfy the needs of the audience, and the needs of the linguist and those of the speaker are not necessarily one and the same.

Some examples of projects with communities and linguists in Canada

Can linguists and language activists work together successfully to bridge the two solitudes? As already discussed, such work involves negotiation of responsibilities, recognition of each other’s strengths and interests, a recognition of the challenges of the different kinds of work, and many other things. Many of the works cited in this paper end by exhorting the linguist to involve themselves in work with communities. For instance, Gerds (1998, p. 21) ends her paper on the role of the linguist by saying that she hopes that other linguists will make the choice that she has, and that “the field of linguistics, the universities, and the communities will make an effort to help the scholars that make this choice.” Shaw (2004) remarks that the goals of linguists and communities are not mutually incompatible, but rather are mutually enhancing. Czaykowska-Higgins (2007, p. 22) concludes by saying that “in the future, as more linguists engage in collaborative research with communities, collaborative kinds of research models will become more readily understood and accepted within the Western academic world. Linguists in the 21st century have more opportunities for choosing how to practice linguistic research than they had in the past. New types of knowledge, new benefits for linguists and for communities are likely to result. It is a very interesting, exciting, and challenging time to be a linguist.”

More concretely, what might actually be done? Some lists of possible ways in which linguists could contribute were given previously in this paper, and in this section I outline a few of the kinds of projects that have been undertaken under an explicitly community-based model of research. When I first began working on this topic several years ago, in the late 1990s, very little had been written on the kinds of work that was being done in this model (the work was going on; it simply was not much written about); more is available now. For instance, the second issue of the new journal *Language Documentation and Conservation* (December 2007) includes two articles that contain detailed descriptions of the kinds of work that are ongoing. One, by Otsuka and Wong, discusses a language revitalization project undertaken by the Tokelauan community in Central O’ahu, Hawai’i. The linguists worked with the Tokelauan community to design a questionnaire to examine language competence, use and attitudes, something that the community was interested in. The second article, by Yamada, describes collaborative work with a Kari’nja community in Suriname. Yamada worked closely with a community member, Chief Ferdinand Mandé, in developing various

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projects including a daily language hour, the production of films and collaborative analysis of grammatical topics of interest to Chief Mandé as a teacher of the language. In addition, they provided linguistic training of interest to language learners and worked on a pedagogical grammar and thematic dictionaries.

Below I outline briefly a few other projects. These are all being carried out in Canada under the auspices of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council.

An ongoing project is the development of a website for East Cree, found at www.eastcree.org. This project involves a linguist and a number of speakers of East Cree. The website has stories on it both to read and to listen to. It includes a basic reference grammar with sound files, a dialect map and information about syllabics. There are lessons, a dictionary, rich resources and a closed forum for creating new words. The team includes a linguist, a computer programmer, a web designer, cataloguers, storytellers, editors, translator and Elders. The goal is set out: to involve more speakers and Cree youth in documenting the language, to investigate new technologies in culturally appropriate ways and to promote Cree language survival. Also available through this web site (<http://eastcree.org/en/grammar/ling-atlas.swf>) is a Cree language atlas, where speakers of Cree from across the country can add their own way of saying things.

Another outstanding project is called COOL (Cayuga: Our Oral Legacy), with a website available at www.mun.ca/cayuga/home/. This team consists of a language activist, a linguist, an administrative assistant, a coordinator for transcription, community representatives, Cayuga speakers and Elders, student transcribers from the community and web designers. From the start, this team posed a number of important ethical questions; Should the Cayuga language be recorded and written down? If so, who can listen to the recordings? What should be done with written versions if the language is written down? Should materials be translated into English? What constitutes respectful treatment of the language of speakers' expertise? With these questions in mind, this team set out to transcribe recordings of Cayuga conversation, and create a particle dictionary, Cayuga grammar and reader.

A third team is involved with work on Innu-Aimun in Labrador (www.innu-aimun.ca). Similar to the others, this team includes a linguist, a project manager and representatives from various groups. The team set as its goals to consolidate and extend linguistic documentation and applied materials, to build on research to make it accessible to the community, to train Innu community members, to teach literacy, to build new media and to enable community leadership in research. Various lesson books and compact disks (CDs) will be produced, as well as workshops in vocabulary development and literacy training.

These projects have much in common: there is a common linguistic component, consisting of transcription, the development of grammatical materials and vocabulary, with training in all areas. Each project is designed for to meet the needs of the particular community. Many projects involve surveys and the production of materials. All involve linguists with long involvement in the community, a depth of knowledge of the language in question and a continuing

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commitment to work with community members. Each project has changed over time, to meet changing needs. Projects involve written and oral materials and visual materials such as CDs and videos, and training is at their core.

To end

I began this paper by suggesting that there might be two solitudes, dividing linguists and language activists. Must there be two solitudes? The answer to this is maybe not, if there is mutual recognition that a linguist cannot on their own save a language; it takes a community of people to do that. In order to truly work together, general principles such as relationships, respect, reciprocity and recognition are critical.

Berardo and Yamamoto (2007, p. 116) point out that “We are at a time when collaborative and cooperative efforts among Native language speakers, linguists, educators, and advocates can lead to successful Native language revitalization, maintenance, and fortification.” They thus believe that the two solitudes can be overcome, as do the many other linguists cited in this articles. Words expressing solitudes have been spoken by Indigenous peoples and academics both; most of the words in this paper about bridging those solitudes come from academics. Let us hope that those words represent the sense of the linguists and the language activists both, and that the two groups can find a common meeting ground and ways of working together with each other, whatever struggles that might bring, recognizing that the linguistic work is important if it is properly framed, however that might be interpreted for the particular situation.

Note

¹The Proceedings of FEL XI, *Working Together for Endangered Languages: Research Challenges and Social Impacts* (Foundation for Endangered Languages, 2007), edited by Nicholas Ostler came out after this paper was completed. It includes several papers of relevance to the theme of this paper.

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Brief History of the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposiums

Gina Cantoni was the driving force behind the 1st and 2nd symposiums held at Northern Arizona University (NAU) in 1994 and 1995. The symposiums focused on creating an agenda for reversing language shift and featured some of the leading figures in the field of minority language preservation. Papers, speeches and session summaries from these symposiums were published in *Stabilizing Indigenous Languages*.

The 3rd Symposium was hosted by Richard Littlebear and held in Anchorage, Alaska, in 1996 and brought together mostly Alaskan Native educators. The 4th Symposium, “Sharing Effective Language Renewal Practices,” was held in 1997 at NAU and cochaired by Evangeline Parsons Yazzie and Jon Reyhner. A selection of papers from this conference was published as *Teaching Indigenous Languages*. The 5th Symposium on “Strategies for Language Renewal and Revitalization,” cochaired by Robert St. Clair and Evangeline Parsons Yazzie, was held in Louisville, Kentucky, in 1998. Papers from this conference were published in *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages*.

The 6th Symposium, held in 1999 at the University of Arizona in Tucson, was sponsored by the 20th Annual American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) and was cochaired by Teresa McCarty and Ofelia Zepeda. Papers from this conference were published by the Center for Indian Education, Arizona State University in 2006 as *One Voice, Many Voice—Recreating Indigenous Language Communities*. The 7th Symposium on “Language Across the Community” chaired by Barbara Burnaby was held in 2000 in Toronto, Canada. The conference proceedings is titled *Indigenous Languages Across the Community*.

The 8th Symposium on “Merging Tradition & Technology to Revitalize Indigenous Languages” was cochaired by Gary Owens and Jon Reyhner and held in 2001 at NAU. The 9th Symposium was held in 2002 at Montana State University, Bozeman. The 10th Symposium was hosted by the Ho Chunk Nation in Wisconsin Dells, Wisconsin. Selected papers from the 8th, 9th and 10th conferences are included in *Nurturing Native Languages* published in 2003.

The 11th Symposium was held in Berkeley, California, in 2004. It was chaired by Leanne Hinton and hosted by the Advocates for Indigenous California Language Survival and the University of California at Berkeley. The 2005 Symposium was held at the University of Victoria in Canada. The 2006 Symposium was chaired by Lori Quigley and held in 2006 at Buffalo State College in New York and was co-hosted by Buffalo State College’s School of Education and the Seneca Nation of Indians. The 2007 Symposium was held in Mount Pleasant, Michigan, and was hosted by Eastern Michigan University and the Saginaw Chippewa Tribal Nation and chaired by Margaret Noori.

For the 15th Symposium, we returned again to Northern Arizona University. The 16th Symposium is scheduled for Arizona State University in 2009 and the 17th at the University of Oregon in 2010.

Linguistic Cages and the Limits of Linguists

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Language documentation has largely been driven by the needs and goals of the community of (external) linguists, with less attention to the needs of communities of language users and potential speakers. The result is a mismatch between the materials produced by linguists and the needs of communities. Yet in order for any revitalization program to be successful, it must be driven by the community. The present situation calls for a reassessment of the goals and methods of linguistic research on endangered languages, with a need for research agendas to be collaboratively determined, with potential results shaped from the ground up by communities themselves. The varying differences between individual situations and between individuals within single communities means that there will no be single solution across all language settings.

We have been observed, noted, taped, and videoed. Our behaviors have been recorded in every possible way to Western Science, and I suppose we could learn to live with this if we had not become imprisoned in the anthropologists' words. The language that anthropologists use to explain us traps us in linguistic cages because we must explain our ways through alien hypothetical constructs and theoretical frameworks.

—Cecil King (Odawa)
(cited in Ranco, 2006, p. 64)

We have reached a time in the history of language revitalization when it makes sense to step back and assess where we are, what we have learned and how we can best work together. There are simply not enough linguists and not enough language activists for us to be able to afford to work separately or, even worse, at cross purposes. That said, it is important to keep in mind that linguists and language activists generally have fundamentally different goals and different attitudes about the best way of accomplishing them. In most, if not all cases, language shift is the result of a history of colonization, unequal power relations, and other imbalances. This is the background against which language revitalization takes place, and for an external linguist to ignore this background is not only disrespectful and mindless, it can be very detrimental to the work that both sides want to accomplish. For many communities language revitalization is a primary goal, and in many instances a pressing one. Language documentation and description—generally the primary goals for linguists—are at best secondary goals for communities. Yet these goals need not be mutually exclusive. Moreover, the history of Western science means that many external linguists are guilty of building linguistic cages as charged by Cecil King above, and it takes a deliberate, focused effort to rethink paradigms of research and Western methodologies so as to ensure that community members are full members of research projects and

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their questions and issues create and drive research agendas even when external linguists are involved.

In the 15 plus years since Hale et al. (1992) published the now famous call to arms to linguists to work on endangered languages, much has changed in the way that linguists approach this field, and yet much has remained the same. First, it can be noted that for linguists the study of endangered languages as a movement, by which I mean a concerted effort to work against time, is considerably more recent than work by communities on revitalization. Linguists have, of course, been studying languages that happened to be endangered for a long time, but the publication of Hale et al. (1992) is seen by many as the beginning of their involvement in language revitalization. It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when language revitalization began as a widespread phenomenon. The current Māori revitalization movement can be traced to the 1970s, with the inception of the first tribal program (Whakatipuranga Rua Mano ‘Generation, 2000’) and the opening in 1977 of the first bilingual school, and the subsequent opening of the first Māori language nest (Te Kōhanga Reo) in 1982, although its roots go back to the 1970s as well (King, 2001, p. 121). Mohawk revitalization began in 1970, with Mohawk language instruction introduced for 15 minutes per day and found its real impetus as a response to the French Language Charter, or Bill 101 (see Grenoble & Whaley, 2006, pp. 86-94). Linguists often cite the 1992 publication of Hale et al. as the call to linguists to study endangered languages. Even though the Māori revitalization movement was probably not the first revitalization program, it is certainly one of the most visible internationally and marks the beginning of a broader trend among communities to take back control of their languages, a trend (or a battle) that continues today.

In this paper I outline linguists’ changes in attitudes and approaches and consider the possibilities and challenges of their work. I focus on two distinct groups, external linguists and community-member language activists. A third group, community-member linguists, is generally well-positioned to work on language revitalization and constitutes a valuable resource in revitalization. Many (external) linguists see training more community members in linguistics as key to this work. Still, many community linguists face some of the same challenges as external linguists. Those who are anchored at academic institutions outside of the community may need to face the same kinds of research and teaching expectations that external linguists do, and yet may feel even greater pressure from their communities to spend all or most of their time doing revitalization work.

At the outset I should say that it is a mistake to think of any of these as entirely homogenous groups. Linguists who work with endangered language communities show varying degrees of expertise, commitment and sensitivity to the issues. Different individuals have different strengths and different interests. At the same time, although there are similarities across communities, there are differences, and often very significant ones. Each community needs to be considered both individually, in its own right, and with respect to other communities. The experience of language shift and the need for language revitalization is an

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important bond. As Ahlers (2006, p. 60) argues, “the situation of language endangerment and existence of ongoing revitalization efforts is contextually relevant to all Native Americans; it is part of the landscape of their use and knowledge (or non-knowledge) of their heritage languages.” The commonality of experience can unite people. In fact, the similarities between communities can mask differences, and it would be foolish to think that an approach which succeeded (or failed) in one instance will necessarily have the same impact in another. By the same token, it is not the case that communities themselves are homogenous or necessarily united in their goals, ideas, attitudes and so on. There can also be tremendous individual differences within single communities. As a result, there is no one-size-fits-all solution, and it may be that different groups within different communities will choose to take different paths. This can fracture a community or it can help foster mutual respect; it all depends on how the community as a whole handles these differences.

As an example, in the Mohawk immersion program at Kahnawake, about half the families in the community enroll their children in the Mohawk immersion school and about half do not (although more would enroll if there were adequate resources; see Hoover, n.d.). Initially, however, when the program first began, there was hesitation among some families to enroll their children, fearing that language immersion might be detrimental to their overall development. Thus attitudes have changed over the course of time owing to the success of the program, although some households still opt out. While the “success” of a revitalization program is difficult to define, let alone measure, the Kahnawake immersion school is one of the most successful revitalization programs I know. Hoover and the Kanien’kehaka Raotitiohkwa Cultural Center (n.d.) report the results of a questionnaire-based survey conducted in Kahnawake to measure language proficiency and language attitudes. They found an increase in language use among the youngest generation, clearly a result of language revitalization efforts. Specifically, community members aged 60 and over showed a fluency rate of 88%. In contrast, those from ages 20 to about 40 showed only 20% fluency. A marked increase was found in the younger generations, ages 19 and less, with fluency rates of about 50%. While it should be noted that the survey covered a relatively small number of people—a total of 369 households were included in the study—the fact is that such small numbers reflect the reality of language endangerment. The increase in language use among the youngest speaker group is a clear result of active revitalization measures. But if the community had insisted on total participation, resistance could have made any program too charged to implement; somehow, differences were negotiated. That said, for every story about how different parts of communities have successfully negotiated these differences, there are at least as many about communities whose programs have become stalled because the difficulties caused by such differences.

Ethical linguistic research starts with community involvement. In fact, it is imperative to keep in mind that “non-involvement in a community is not a neutral position, but rather one that can reflect a particular political stance” (Garcia, 2000, p. 91). Linguists and community members need to work together and yet mis-

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understandings on both sides can quickly make that collaboration more difficult than it needs to be. In the remainder of this paper I map out my understanding of some of these differences. They can be ameliorated by a basic awareness of the differences, mutual respect and ongoing commitment to collaborating, which includes renegotiating goals and strategies as projects develop.

The community and revitalization

In order to be successful, a revitalization program must be driven by the community of people who do or will use the language. This almost always requires one or more language activists, or “drivers” (see e.g., King, this volume). Successful drivers are leaders with good organizational abilities and sensitivity to both individual differences and collective needs. Before beginning a revitalization program, it is critical to conduct an honest assessment of goals and resources (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). Resources are very broadly defined here and include, first and foremost, the key resource: the number of speakers, with an assessment of their levels of knowledge of the language and of their commitment to learning and/or using the language. Part of the assessment should include a study of language attitudes, as these can have a profound affect on the viability of any revitalization program. An evaluation of literacy, in the target language as well as in the language of wider communication, is also critical. All of these are areas where linguists can offer help and expertise and can be valuable collaborators. Assessment of other resources and factors, including financial resources, the potential impact of religion (see e.g., Parsons Yazzie, 2003) and the possible reaction from local and regional governmental offices is also very important, but linguists are of less help here. External linguists who have worked in other settings and other communities can, however, offer the knowledge they have gained there which may be very useful. But again, I cannot overemphasize that experiences from elsewhere do not necessarily translate into successes in other communities; external linguists are well advised to be careful not to confuse such knowledge with solutions and not to appear to be dictating solutions to community members.

Linguists: What they can contribute?

Linguists can be valuable colleagues in language revitalization programs. This is very clear in those cases where the language is under-described and a community does not have the necessary materials or teachers to teach the language. Linguists are specifically trained in elicitation and linguistic analysis. They are trained to take large amounts of linguistic data and make sense of it, to find the rules that govern how each language operates. They are not, however, trained in language pedagogy or the development of pedagogical materials, things which often interest communities above and beyond everything else. They are not trained to write textbooks. If anything, they tend to be trained to write linguistic descriptions that far too often are inaccessible to the communities who want to use them most. Oddly enough, perhaps, linguists are not even trained in creating dictionaries or even orthographies. Instead they are trained

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to use the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), which does a generally good job of capturing a language's sounds but requires specific training. Languages are not written in IPA; linguistic transcriptions are. Many communities who are working on language revitalization want dictionaries above and beyond and everything else, and linguists are not trained in dictionary making. I do not know of a graduate program in the United States that includes a course in building a lexicon, although they all have courses in semantics. Here we see a wide gap between linguistic theory and practice among language users. This is an ongoing problem for documentary linguists who find that the training and demands of their profession, coupled with the fact that they use a technical metalanguage in their research, cuts them off from the very people they work with.

What emerges from this is that the training of linguists needs to change to meet the demands of both documentation and revitalization. Canonical field methods classes often focus on elicitation techniques and basic description. The resulting linguistic descriptions generally fall short of meeting the interests of language learners who want pedagogical materials, which have an entirely different focus. Only recently, and in limited places, has training included the use of technology. Because technology is changing rapidly, it is difficult for linguists to keep up with all the changes unless they are deeply interested in technology itself.

Moreover, traditional field methods classes have also failed to discuss how to work in communities. This stems from a number of reasons—pressure to work on language description coupled with lack of time; the overall differences between individual communities and sites can make it hard to generalize; and just a general lack of attention to the importance of this aspect of training. The push for language documentation has changed this, and a number of non-canonical programs have been developed outside of the rubric of more standard doctoral (Ph.D.) programs in linguistics. Ph.D. programs change slowly, and in the face of this relative inflexibility a number of alternative training programs have sprung into existence. The inauguration of the Ken Hale Chair at the 2005 Summer Institute of Linguistics marks a serious commitment on the part of the Linguistic Society of America to recognize the value of such work and to teach a field methods course during the Institute. In 2008 the University of California, Santa Barbara, launched a summer training Institute on Field Linguistics and Language Documentation (InField) to help fill in the gaps. Similar programs are taking place outside of North America. One on-going program is the Endangered Languages Academic Programme (ELAP) at the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in London. This program, which specializes in language documentation, has recently added a track in language revitalization (<http://www.hrelp.org/courses/>). The birth of such programs is strong evidence of a new way of thinking in linguistics and a new way of training future linguists.

Further evidence comes from the funding agencies which support the documentation of endangered languages. Most of these now require that linguists collaborate with communities. These days, it is difficult to get funding without taking community considerations into account. Key funding agencies for work

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in endangered language communities, such as the Endangered Languages Fund, the Foundation for Endangered Languages, and the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project, specify the need for a relationship with the community and put a premium on work done by communities. A few excerpts from their websites make this clear:

The **Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project** (<http://www.hrelp.org/>) has among its explicit goals the need “to create a repository of language resources for the linguistic, social science, and language communities,” the intent of this is to create resources which communities can use for their own purposes (such as revitalization programs or creating pedagogical materials). HRELP gives priority to “projects that will document social and cultural contexts as well as formal aspects of languages, and projects that are likely to enhance expertise in field linguistics, including among members of language communities.”

The **Foundation for Endangered Languages** (<http://www.ogmios.org/home.htm>) “is keen to see the work it supports benefit directly the linguistic communities under study” and applicants are required to state how they plan to collaborate with communities. Furthermore, “all proposals are welcome, but in making awards the Foundation is especially keen to support work within endangered language communities themselves.” Although the wording here supports the general presupposition that external linguists, not community members, will be applying for funds and conducting the work (note the statement about “communities *under* study,” FEL does continue to say that “as part of this policy, FEL is prepared to comment on draft proposals from communities or community linguists, pointing out weaknesses and potential remedies (without prejudice) before the selection.”

The **Endangered Language Fund** (<http://www.endangeredlanguagefund.org/>) similarly states that it “provides grants for language maintenance and linguistic field work. The work most likely to be funded is that which serves both the native community and the field of linguistics.”

Strategies for success

One key step in successful collaboration is what can be called prior ideological clarification (to use a term borrowed from Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998; see also Kroskrity, this volume), not only within the community but also, critically, between community members and linguists. Specifically, the various parties or stakeholders need to clarify what their own goals are, what the challenges are, and what the priorities will be. If this is truly a joint process, the stakeholders can then move to determining how to approach their goals and how to overcome potential obstacles. This ideological clarification must be an ongoing process in any collaborative venture, as goals, challenges and opportunities will inevitably shift as the work progresses.

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Smith (1999, pp. 126-8) identifies four key aspects of the community-oriented research projects:

- (1) The community defines the needs and definitions of the research;
- (2) they must be collaborative;
- (3) the process of research is as important as the outcome; and
- (4) local institutions must be involved and help coordinate the research.

These are critical and important themes, and clearly follow on the research-ethics paradigms for indigenous research. For university-based indigenous research programs, she suggests five principles:

- (1) That we, as indigenous academics, promote research that will “make a positive difference,”
- (2) that we develop research that will influence indigenous education policy;
- (3) that we train indigenous researchers;
- (4) that we disseminate research to our indigenous communities through publication and contact; and
- (5) that we create an environment for change within the institution where we work. (Smith, 1999, p. 131).

True collaboration requires that all linguists be aware of both sets of principles and work with community members to achieve them. They are ambitious and will not be achieved quickly, but even the act of working toward them will have a tremendous impact.

All of that said, perhaps the single most important component for successful collaboration is mutual respect, mutual respect for differing goals, differing approaches, and differing methods.

Conclusion

Language revitalization is frustrating, slow, and difficult, and yet of the utmost importance. Learning a language is hard work under the best of circumstances and students generally need strong incentives to learn a second language to a point of real proficiency. For most students in the United States of America, language programs try to provide strong external incentives, like a study abroad program in the country where the language is spoken. One of the reasons that in-country immersion programs are often very successful because student learners are forced to use the language to communicate. In communities where there is a need for language revitalization, you inherently do not have the best of circumstances. Revitalization usually takes place in situations where language attrition is underway, so the target or local community language often needs to be learned as a second language, even sometimes by the language teachers (see e.g., Hinton, 2003).

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There are special needs in language revitalization that are simply not found in other second language programs. These include the need to create a community of speakers, not a problem if the target language is Spanish or French. Successful revitalization centers around the need to create a need for the language and initial attempts to do this may feel forced or artificial to learners, who have functioned their entire lives in a language like English (see e.g., Noori, this volume). For this reason, so many revitalization programs begin with ceremonial uses of language, which do not translate well into another language and whose import is deeply anchored to the original language.

There are also a number of myths surrounding language learning, which are generally conflicting but collectively stand in the way of successful revitalization. A very common one among potential speakers is that since the language is part of their heritage, they are hard-wired to learn it or that it is in their blood or DNA and so it can be easily learned. In fact, of course, how hard or easy it is to learn a language depends on the individual, how different or similar the first language and second language are, how well the individual learns languages in general (a skill which decreases in people beginning at about age 12), levels of exposure to the language and how motivated the learner is. An often reported misconception is that the children will naturally learn the language because they always have. That is true only if it is being spoken to them. Alternatively, many potential speakers are overwhelmed by the thought of learning their language, convinced that it is “too hard” to learn. Unfortunately this idea is often spread by well-intentioned linguists, who have worked to overcome the stigma attached to indigenous languages, including such erroneous ideas that they have no grammar, are not real languages and so on. Linguists can do much to dispel or create such myths, but they must first be aware of them and the impact of their rhetoric (Hill, 2002, p. 120).

Ranco (2006, p. 73) asks whether it is possible that “indigenous traditions be involved in the subjective making of ethical relationships, as opposed to being only the object of them?” This question lies at the heart of the issue of collaborative work. Although it requires a complete rethinking of research paradigms on the part of external linguists, I do believe that we are now in the process of doing that. Through better training, increased sensitivity and respect, we can hope that the notion of linguistic cages created by external scholars will cease to exist.

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Goals of the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposiums

- To bring together Indigenous language educators and activists to share ideas and experiences on how to teach effectively Indigenous languages in homes, classrooms and communities.
- To provide a forum for exchange of scholarly research on teaching Indigenous languages.
- To disseminate through the Internet and monographs recent research and thinking on best practices to promote, preserve and protect Indigenous languages.



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Language Renewal as Sites of Language Ideological Struggle The Need for “Ideological Clarification”

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Drawing on 25 years of linguistic documentation and language renewal research in the Western Mono communities of Central California and the Arizona Tewa community, this paper explores the conflicts over the beliefs and feelings about languages and the importance of early-on resolving these conflicts at a local level to enhance language revitalization efforts.

Though the work of language renewal properly focuses on the production of critical resources for purposes of documentation (e.g., grammars, dictionaries) and on activities of instruction and transmission (e.g., creating practical orthographies, indigenous language pedagogies), those who have engaged in these activities recognize, often too late, the fundamental need for dealing with “ideological clarification”. This notion covers the conflicts of “beliefs, or feelings, about languages” (Kroskrity, 2004) that are the inevitable outcome of the interaction of indigenous, colonial, post-colonial, and professional academic perspectives. The differences between these points of view are displayed and even magnified by language renewal activities. I first became aware of this concept while reading the well-known behind-the-scenes study by Nora Marks Dauenhauer and Richard Dauenhauer (1998) of their decades of experience working with various Tlingit, Haida, Tshimshian-speaking communities in Southeastern Alaska. They traced many of the difficulties and failures of these projects to noting that they, as language activists, had prematurely assumed that community members had achieved an “ideological clarification” that would provide unambiguous support to language renewal yet later discovered that there was little or no such clarification. Instead they found a “broad gap between verbally expressed goals, on the one hand (generally advocating language and cultural preservation) and unstated but deeply felt emotions and anxieties on the other (generally advocating or contributing to abandonment)” (Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998, pp. 62-63).

My goal here is to affirm the importance of recognizing this language ideological dimension to language renewal activities and to further develop the concept of ideological clarification by linking it more explicitly to language ideological theory and practice (Schieffelin, Woolard & Kroskrity, 1998; Kroskrity, 2000a, 2004). Treating language renewal activities as “sites” (Silverstein, 1998a) for ideological struggles and as stages upon which differences in language beliefs and practices are often dramatically displayed, I focus on the necessity of recognizing and resolving ideological conflict that would impede local efforts at linguistic revitalization.¹ Though theory guided, this chapter also draws on a comparative analysis of a variety of Native American communities as well as on my 25 years of linguistic documentation and language renewal research for the Western Mono communities of North Fork and Auberry in Central California and

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on very recent efforts to begin a linguistic revitalization project for the Arizona Tewa (Village of Tewa, First Mesa, Hopi Reservation) after conducting long term field work there. By so doing, I hope to demonstrate both the practical benefits of attending to this theoretical orientation and the fortified notion of ideological clarification that it enables.

Ideological clarification: Basic concepts

Though the notion of ideological clarification is compellingly applied by the Dauenhauers, they do not explicitly define it. This appears to be true of other scholars who have used the phrase including, for example, Joshua Fishman:

Furthermore, RLS [reversing language shift] movements must realize from the very outset of their *ideological clarification* [emphasis mine] that ethnolinguistic authenticity and identity must be associated not only with Xish versions of modern Yish-dominated pop-culture and consumerism (which can be pursued in any language, including both the local Big Brother and English) but, even more importantly, with a continuing ethnohumanistic, ethnoreligious and ethnocultural constellation of beliefs, behaviours and attitudes. Only such a constellation will ultimately provide a rationale going beyond the economies of scale inherent in the materialist view of those who have essentially concluded that ‘if you can’t beat them, join them’. It is only the conviction that one’s own-language-in-culture is crucially different ... that makes RLS worthwhile. (2001, p. 17)

As in the case of the Dauenhauers, Fishman observes the importance of ideological clarification as an apparent achievement of community consensus about the linkage of language renewal to other projects of cultural revitalization. What I find problematic about these previous applications of “language ideological clarification” is their relative lack of theorization. Rather than attempting to anchor it on a firmer conceptual foundation, the notion seems to float on ambiguous assumptions of cognitive consensus and inappropriately monolithic conceptions of contemporary communities (Silverstein, 1998b). A better foundation for this concept can be supplied by the theory of language ideologies especially in its more restrictive sense (Kroskrity, 2004). Language ideologies “refer to the situated, partial, and interested character of conceptions and uses of language” (Errington, 2001, p. 110). Though it has precedents in the ethnography of communication and types of sociolinguistic analysis that invoke power and social inequality (Kroskrity, 2000b), language ideological analysis synthesizes an interest in inter-relatedness of linguistic awareness, linguistic beliefs, feelings, and practices, and relations of political economic power. Elsewhere, I have described this movement as consisting of a number of analytical dimensions and several of these are especially relevant here (Kroskrity, 2004). Perhaps the most important of these interrelated dimensions is the recognition that language ideologies “*represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a*

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specific social or cultural group.” A community’s conceptions of its language are critically influenced by its position in political economic and other relevant cultural systems. Those who have political economic power will rationalize inequality by viewing their language as superior and their linguistic practices as exemplary. Those whose languages do not enjoy the hegemonic support of nation-states must either resist by locating authority in alternative, local sources (e.g., House, 2000; Gomez de Garcia, Axelrod & Lachler, in press) or submit to dominant views that equate linguistic vitality with linguistic superiority thereby conceding their own linguistic inferiority (Dorian, 1998).

Though it is critically important to recognize the political economic grounding of language ideologies, it is also necessary to recognize the *multiplicity of ideologies* that routinely collide within and across communities during acts of language renewal. Within Native communities there are widely held cultural beliefs about language to be sure but there are often also significant differences due to generation, gender, kinship group, cultural stance, and differential adherence to non-Native religions like Christianity that are often linked to pejorative views of indigenous languages (e.g., Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer, 1998; House, 2000). Language renewal activities not only involve the decolonizing need to eliminate pejorative views from the outside but also involve the confrontation and contestation that arises when indigenous communities must forge language policies in collaboration with government officials and professional linguists (Collins, 1998; Meek, 2007, forthcoming). In such contexts, the multiplicity of contending ideologies contributes greatly to a heightened awareness of linguistic and discursive practices. Language ideological research attends to *members’ awareness* and notes when such beliefs and feelings are largely taken-for-granted aspects of “practical consciousness” or when they are elevated to the “discursive consciousness” (Kroskrity, 1998) of speakers who can now more fully talk about and discuss previously submerged beliefs and feelings. This recognition that awareness does vary and change is potentially very important in language renewal contexts since it alerts researchers and language activists to “read” ideologies not only from the voices of community members but also from their embodied linguistic practices.

So, then, how might we redefine “language ideological clarification” in a way that is both more explicit and theoretically contexted? Language ideological clarification is the process of identifying issues of language ideological contestation within a heritage language community, including both beliefs and feelings that are indigenous to that community and those introduced by outsiders (such as linguists and government officials), that can negatively impact community efforts to successfully engage in language maintenance and renewal. This process of identifying and raising consciousness about linguistic and discursive issues enables appropriate discourses to occur between community members, or between members and either linguists or government officials who have differing opinions. Ideally these discourses would promote actual resolution—a clarification achieved—or foster a tolerable level of disagreement that would not inhibit language renewal activities.

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Some examples of the need for ideological clarification

Though work on language renewal understandably accentuates the positive and minimizes the difficulties (e.g., Hinton & Hale, 2001), there is clearly a need to learn from instances of ideological struggle and to examine and compare case studies that relate problems encountered in language renewal to beliefs and feelings within Native communities about their heritage languages. In addition to the justifiably famous study by the Dauenhauers (1998), there are other notable examples of the sort of ideological struggle suggested above for the Hopi (Hill, 2002), Northern Arapahoe (Anderson, 1998), Kaska (Meek, 1997), Navajo (House, 2002) and White Mountain Apache (Nevins, 2004). Margaret Field and I expanded this corpus of case studies when we sought to produce a collection of case studies of Native American/First Nations communities that deployed the notion of language ideologies and in so doing discovered that a common theme in many of these case studies was the role of language revitalization as a site for producing and revealing ideological display and contestation (Kroskrity & Field, in press). Studies in this volume demonstrate that local ideologies involving variationism, utilitarianism, the genetic fallacy and the ideology of contempt (Dorian, 1998) for languages with little “market value” can pose obstacles for such languages such as Kiowa, Northern Shoshoni, Kaqchikel Mayan and Western Mono (Neely & Palmer, in press; Loether, in press; Reynolds, in press; Kroskrity, in press). Other studies suggest that local ethnotheories of language socialization (Bunte, in press) on San Juan Paiute) and of revalorization of indigenous languages as “sacred” or exclusively associated with elders (e.g., Meek, 2007; Gomez deGarcia, Axelrod & Lachler, in press, for Cochiti) may place heritage languages more at risk by reducing the number of environments as well as the numbers of speakers in which and by whom they can be appropriately used. A few brief examples must suffice here.

Kiowa Heterographia. Neely and Palmer (in press) have produced a valuable study of an apparently dysfunctional plurality of writing systems for what is today a small population of Kiowa speakers in various Oklahoma towns. They estimate that there are only about 10-20 highly fluent speakers out of the 50-200 that have some conversational ability. But despite the small population, the lack of a localized heritage language community and a variationist “respect” for diversity along kinship, regional and institutional lines has produced and promoted about a half dozen partially overlapping but nevertheless distinct writing systems. Three of these have significant traditions of use. As Neely and Palmer observe:

- 1) the Parker McKenzie system, used at the University of Oklahoma since 1992;
- 2) the Alecia Gonzales system, an English-based orthography used at Anadarko High School since 1990; and
- 3) the hymnal booklet published in the SIL system in the 1960s is also still used.

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Given the importance of standardizing native literacy to language renewal efforts (Hinton, 2001, p. 240), Kiowa practices of promoting multiple orthographies, or what Neely and Palmer term heterographia, and rationalizing them in “discourses of authority and ownership” pose a real challenge to effective linguistic revitalization. Under the present system, Kiowa is providing a symbol of identity for some Kiowa people, but it is not fulfilling an intratribal, intergenerational communicative function for the larger heritage language community. Clearly the target of ideological clarification is the need for a common orthography. If people can recognize how their feelings of ownership and authority that underlie their allegiance to particular writing systems are also obstacles to the creation of a more effective and widely shared Kiowa orthography, they can engage in the appropriate dialogs and discussions that can ultimately produce clarification.

Northern Shoshoni ‘Elder Purism’. Though the Northern Shoshoni of Idaho also have many orthographies, the most severe threats to their language, as analyzed by Christopher Loether (in press), are generation based ideological differences and dysfunctional patterns of intergenerational linguistic transmission. In communities of about 12,000 members there are still about 5,000 speakers. These communities have tended to emphasize the utilitarian aspects of their heritage language in their local ideologies and have discounted its role as a symbol of Shoshoni identity. For young people, such language ideologies promote a sense of the irrelevance of their heritage language to their contemporary economic needs in an English language dominated world and encourage a view of the heritage language as tied to local cultural practices of the past. In such a view, elders are not only exemplary speakers but also the only authoritative speakers. While every viable language must change with time, elders often perform their authority by freely critiquing the Shoshoni spoken by younger generations. The net effect is a Shoshoni “elder purism” in which elders display linguistic authority but discourage younger speakers from adapting their heritage languages to the contemporary world. In such cases, elder purism, like other forms of linguistic purism in language renewal contexts (Dorian, 1994), has a damaging effect on any program of language renewal that would aim to multiply speakers and expand the contexts of use. Here an intervention in the name of language ideological clarification would attempt to create intergenerational dialogs that would promote a greater awareness of the ideologies involved and the unintended consequences associated with the practices of elder purism such as the overt critique of younger speakers and the negative view of condemning the need for extending indigenous language into the contemporary worlds of younger speakers. Rather than condemning such uses as non-traditional and inauthentic, elders should appreciate that healthy languages continuously change and adapt to changing historical and social circumstances.

San Juan Paiute Language Socialization. Based on long-term field research with the San Juan Paiute, Pamela Bunte (in press) has produced a provocative study of how local theories of language socialization can create problems for language renewal. Living within the confines of the Navajo Reservation, this group has experienced considerable heritage language loss even though it has

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recently achieved federal recognition. Though most adults were secure in their knowledge of the language, they did not actively promote environments in which younger speakers could actively speak. They assumed, like many other Native groups such as the White Mountain Apache (Nevins, 2004), that passive exposure to adult models of speaking—no matter how often or rarely displayed—should be sufficient to promote an understanding of the language that could be effectively retrieved and deployed later in their lives. Such local beliefs were supported by an occasional case of a Paiute elder who had not spoken Paiute publicly for decades (preferring Navajo for this function) but who could speak the heritage language fluently in hearings devoted to federal recognition due to his or her exposure to that language as a child. In Paiute theory, such words could “come on the wind” as a result of passive exposure. This belief was combined with a strong ideological preference for “respecting” the autonomy of individuals—even children—and not forcing them to speak Southern Paiute when they preferred to speak English in an expanding range of contexts. Together these ideological preferences were promoting a language shift and providing an excuse for adults not to act even though they were become increasingly alarmed with the reduction of heritage language use in their community. Though the majority persisted in practices associated with a belief that language learning was accomplished primarily through observation, some members sought to intervene either by bringing in external advocates (Hinton, 2002) of language renewal or by returning to indigenous traditions. Leanne Hinton and Nancy Steele (Karuk) were invited to the community to talk about the master-apprentice program—an effective transmission strategy in which adult learners play a very active role. In a far different strategy, some members of the community promoted a return to traditional, long storytelling sessions that would be attended by both adults and children (Bunte, personal communication). In these instances community members helped to create their own ideological clarification by conducting discussions among themselves in which they produced a compromise acceptable to all. Though reliance on words borne by the wind was not condemned or even disputed, members felt that it could do no harm to try these alternative interventions to better ensure the continuity of their heritage language.

Successes and dilemmas in my own renewal research

Though comparative case studies of ideological concern are meaningful to all who work in language renewal projects, I think it is quite natural for us to feel that we learn the most from those revitalization situations in which we were directly involved. Here I want to briefly discuss some successes and dilemmas that I have encountered in my two major long-term research projects over the past 35 years. Though I have described each of these communities much more extensively elsewhere (Kroskrity, 1993, 2002, in press), some observations from past work in the Western Mono communities of North Fork and Auberry in Central California and more recent attempts to engage in language renewal work for the Arizona Tewa of the Village of Tewa, First Mesa, Hopi Reservation in N.E. Arizona are instructive here.

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The Western Mono community consists of about 1,500 members in several neighboring Central California towns. Within this group about 200 people have some knowledge of the language and about 40 of them can be regarded as highly fluent (Kroskrity, 2002, p. 172). In 1980, I helped to create the UCLA Mono Language Project in response to a request for technical, linguistic assistance from Rosalie Bethel, a distinguished elder, community leader, and language activist from the Western Mono community of North Fork. Though she did not have linguistic training, Rosalie Bethel had an acute sense of the importance of documentation for a heritage language that seemed to be losing all of its everyday functions to English (Kroskrity, in press) and when I first met her she showed me two shoeboxes filled with index cards containing Mono words that she had written using her own intuitions about how to adapt the Roman alphabet to her language.

The first major accomplishment of our joint project was the creation of a practical dictionary (Bethel et al., 1984) that incorporated Bethel's pioneering efforts. Though the goal was to produce a dictionary of maximal use to the community, community members and linguists contended over two issues that seemed to reflect conflicting ideologies. One of these issues was what I have come to call the "variationism" indigenous to the community. Members of the Mono community resisted the kind of standardization that is critical for the creation of a successful writing system by continuously pointing out phonological variation and lexical differences that were attributed to geographical and/or kinship network differences. In most cases we found we could accommodate this by adding additional information to lexical entries. For example, in the entry for *mutsipl* 'flea' we could note the North Fork pronunciation but also annotate the term indicating that it would be *mujipl* in the Auberry region (Kroskrity, 2002, p. 181-182).

While variationism challenged this and other conventional practices of standardization, it did not prove to be as much of an obstacle as did community beliefs and feelings about Mono literacy. Some community members, especially the oldest generation, questioned whether Mono could or should be written. Middle aged members, who were literate in English wanted a writing system that was like English though they seemed not to realize how inconsistent spelling conventions for English are or that Mono routinely used sounds that were not included in that alphabet. The linguists and community members met on several occasions to better accommodate community expectations. Though the linguists initially wanted an orthography in which one phonological unit would be represented by one letter, we had to admit that community members had a point when they wanted to write the diminutive suffix *-tsi* (following written English) rather than *-ci* (following traditional Americanist practices). But though the community finally succeeded in getting the linguists to understand their perspective as users of written English, the linguistic team was less than successful in convincing many community members that all of the folk writing conventions for writing Mono were inadequate because they could not consistently represent the distinctive sounds of Western Mono. Though this was difficult enough, further

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complications arose when some members complained that even the revised orthography was not transparent enough. Though the dictionary provided a “guide to pronunciation” that included examples of each letter in the Mono script, some members complained that they wanted pronunciation information for each entry (not unlike English language dictionaries) and still others seemed stunned by how to pronounce written Mono at all. They were so unaccustomed to seeing Mono written and, for many, so unaccustomed to hearing spoken Mono that they seemed unable to even begin to decode these exotic representations. Since Rosalie herself never learned to write the orthography she sympathized with those who acted like they could never learn to pronounce the written language.

But when we were invited to participate in the Iowa Multimedia Workshop for Endangered Languages at the University of Iowa in the Summer of 1996, I quickly recognized that this new medium would allow us to produce a guide to pronunciation that was “self-pronouncing.”²² Anyone could navigate the completed CD-ROM that we began that year and turn to a pronunciation guide in which they could click on any letter and experience the actual pronunciation as recorded in a Quick-Time movie of Rosalie Bethel pronouncing a sample word for that letter. These movies included important visual information about pronunciation such as the lack of lip rounding for the central high vowel that we wrote as a “barred i” [ɨ̄] in the Western Mono orthography.

Our published version of *Taitaduhan: Western Mono Ways of Speaking* (Kroskrity, Bethel & Reynolds, 2002) won acclaim among language renewal specialists (Kroskrity, 2001) and temporarily attracted enough attention from community members that our orthography became more widely used within the community. Though we never completely eclipsed the multiplicity of folk orthographies, we seemed to be out-competing them—at least for a short period of time. However, as operating systems for MAC and PC evolved they soon rendered our CD-ROM unplayable. And now, I am told, the removal of our CD-ROM from the marketplace of orthographies has produced a resurgence of folk orthographies that is now explained by community members as the inevitable outcome of regional and familial differences—an orthographic reincarnation of the ideology of variationism. The lesson here seems to be that ideological clarification is not a one-time achievement but rather an ongoing process in need of periodic fine-tuning.

Though working with the Western Mono provided me with a variety of experiences some of which could be regarded as successful while others continue to provide ongoing dilemmas, it is the prospect of beginning language renewal research with the Arizona Tewa that is most responsible for my sense that the “language clarification” is not merely a useful concept but a necessary one. In the Village of Tewa, First Mesa, Hopi Reservation and in neighboring villages live about 700 descendants of the Southern Tewa who moved to the Hopi area after refusing to resettle their home villages after the second Pueblo Revolt of 1696. This community, as I detailed in earlier research (Kroskrity, 1993), has retained a discrete cultural identity and is the only group of more than 100 Post-Pueblo Revolt diaspora groups to maintain its heritage language rather than

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opting for complete assimilation with the host groups. This fact is not lost on most Tewa who recognize the language as an important symbol of their identity in many ways but perhaps most notably in their expression, “*Naavi hiili naavi wowac’i na-mu*” ‘My language is my life’. But today despite the importance of the heritage language, few young people are acquiring it. When I first conducted research in the Arizona Tewa community in the 1970s, half of all Tewa homes were raising children with some regular exposure to the Tewa language. But after a decade of not working in the community I was almost simultaneously contacted by younger community members, representing two distinct “factions” of the community. Each expressed an interest in my helping them develop a language renewal program. For me this represented a profound change since 30 years earlier I had offered my services to the community only to be told that the linguistic materials I was producing, while valuable, were not necessary for the transmission of the language since children were learning it in their homes. But by 2007, the number of Tewa homes in which the heritage language was regularly used had dropped from 50% to less than 10%. It was now obvious to all that the community’s distinctive heritage language was now severely threatened.

But though I was “invited” by these young people, I was soon informed that I would ultimately need a more official permission that could only be granted after making a successful presentation of a project proposal to each of two very different gate-keeping groups. The clan leaders from the most important clans of the *Munae Te’e* (Plaza Kiva) informed me that they were the traditional guardians of the community and that any project involving the Tewa language should be cleared with them. Though appropriately curious about the kinds of linguistic data I had collected over two decades of research, they sternly advised me to recognize their traditional authority and to ignore an alternative gate-keeping group. These leaders wanted me to disregard a group that was institutionally represented by the Village of Tewa Community Development (CD) process. Members of this group advised me to regard them as the legitimate group since they represented the vast majority of the Village and not merely a traditional elite. My previous research in the community was conducted from 1973-93 and during that time Dewey Healing served as my key consultant. As a Corn Clan elder with a vast knowledge of language and traditional culture and as an accomplished singer and songwriter, Healing had perceptively recognized that the language was in trouble and welcomed me, as a fledgling graduate student in linguistic anthropology, into his home. Though he died almost 20 years ago, he was still recognized as a distinguished Corn Clan elder (as well as a former Hopi Tribal Council Chairman)—and most *Munae Te’e* leaders still regard him as one of them. But Healing’s sons, and many of his relatives, were not part of this group, belonging instead to clans located in the *Pendi-te’e* (‘Outside’ Kiva). Though they were very interested in facilitating my work and in having me continue the documentation work I had begun with their father, they urged me to go through the town hall-like CD-process in which community members as a group would be called to a large meeting in order to hear the proposal, ask

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questions, make possible counter-recommendations and otherwise influence and approve an acceptable proposal.

In meetings with members of both these groups, I continually emphasized the need for a project in which all community members who could, would contribute their linguistic knowledge for the purpose of creating such resources as a practical orthography, a practical dictionary, sample narrative texts, a non-technical grammar of the language, etc. While this seemed to not pose a problem for the majority, represented by the CD process, the clan leaders did seem to have concerns about just whose language should be documented and who would have access to the products produced. Though I did not press them too far on this because it was clear that we would need to postpone our meeting until I could work up actual samples of the kinds of documentation I had already produced, I was struck by the profound need for “ideological clarification.” Though I cannot yet provide a success story here, I am optimistic that by bringing people, who are in apparent ideological conflict, into dialog with one another and with me as a professional linguistic anthropologist that we will ultimately come to understandings about access, the representation of intra-village difference, the need for native literacy and the need to produce practical resources for the entire community. For the Arizona Tewa, I interpret the need for ideological clarification as especially real. Not only is this type of ideological clarification a prerequisite to the kind of large-scale support from the community that is necessary for such projects, but a failure to achieve ideological clarification would result in the probability that any language renewal products produced for the community would only become instruments of social division rather than resources for uniting it.

Concluding remarks

My goal here has been to both clarify and fortify a notion of “ideological clarification” and to suggest its relevance for linguists and activists interested in Native American language renewal. By treating ideological clarification, not as an afterthought, but rather as a precondition and an ongoing process for successful language renewal, communities can avoid, or at least minimize, the kinds of conflict and breakdowns in cooperation that can prove disastrous for such projects. Tying a notion of ideological clarification more tightly to language ideological theory is not merely an exercise in keeping up with a more current theory but rather it provides a demonstrably better conceptual tool for anticipating, understanding, and solving problems.

Three emphases in ideological theory—awareness, positionality, multiplicity—fortify a notion of ideological clarification to make it more useful. “Awareness” is critical because bringing linguistic beliefs and practices that may be taken-for-granted and moving them into discursive consciousness is often a critical step in being able to recognize problems, discuss them, and engage in dialogs. By recognizing that our beliefs and feelings about language(s) emerge from our “position” in a cultural group or a nation-state, we are better able to understand them and to appreciate why others, who do not occupy a similar position, may have different views. By expecting a multiplicity of perspectives

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within a group and different language ideologies, we are better able to anticipate who needs to be dialoging with whom (e.g., younger and older generations, elders and teachers, traditional leaders and non-traditional representatives) in order to better achieve an elusive but important goal of ideological clarification.

Notes

¹Michael Silverstein (1998a, p. 138) describes the importance of sites in the following manner: “the site of institutionalized ritual and ritualization provides an essential place where societies and social groups, in effect, articulate the ideological, whether positively, as in the kiva, or negatively, as in the *kros*.”

²Our project was invited by Brenda Farnell who facilitated the workshop and whose exemplary work, *Wiyuta: Assiniboine Storytelling with Signs* (Farnell, 1995) inspired our group to do a performance based CD-ROM.

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SILS 15 Conference Flyer



15th Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium

LANGUAGE IS LIFE: STRATEGIES FOR LANGUAGE REVITALIZATION

**High Country Conference Center, Northern Arizona University
Flagstaff, Arizona, May 2 & 3, 2008**

The National Geographic Society's Enduring Voices Project notes that every two weeks another of the world's languages is no longer being spoken. The Project identified five language "hot spots" around the world where Native languages are most rapidly being lost, three of which are in the Americas: the Northwest Pacific Plateau, the Southwestern United States and Oklahoma, and Central South America.

For the past 15 years, the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposiums have been disseminating information about effective practices to teach and learn Indigenous languages. Held across the United States and Canada, these symposiums have brought together community language activists, language teachers and linguists to share and disseminate ways to revitalize our precious Indigenous linguistic heritage so that it will not be lost to our children. The 15th Symposium is proud to announce three distinguished keynote speakers:

Dr. Christine Sims (Acoma) teaches at the University of New Mexico and has worked for the last quarter century with tribes in areas of language planning, language teacher training and language revitalization. She co-chairs the Indigenous Special Interest Group for the National Association for Bilingual Education as well as the New Mexico Bilingual Advisory Committee.



Darrell Robes Kipp (Blackfoot) is the co-founder and director of the Piegan Institute on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana. Founded in 1987, the Institute's mission is to research, promote and preserve the South Piegan (Blackfoot) Language. He designed the Cuts Wood School immersion program. This privately funded school is one of the exemplary models of tribal language revitalization. He has worked with indigenous communities in New Zealand, Hawai'i and the Balkans and with over one hundred American Indian tribes. He is a noted historian and filmmaker and belongs to the two oldest Blackfoot societies: Okan Medicine Lodge and Medicine Pipe.

Dr. Peggy Speas is a Professor of Linguistics at the University of Massachusetts Amherst. She is a founding member of the Navajo Language Academy, which promotes scholarship on the Navajo language and supports Navajos in their efforts to keep their language alive and strong. She is the co-author (with Dr. Evangeline Parsons Yazzie, SILS 15 Symposium Co-Chair) of *Diné Bizaad Bináhoo'aa'ih* (*Rediscovering the Navajo Language*).



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Changing Pronunciation of the Māori Language Implications for Revitalization

Jeanette King, University of Canterbury

Ray Harlow, University of Waikato

Catherine Watson and Peter Keegan, University of Auckland

Margaret Maclagan, University of Canterbury

L'accent est l'âme du discours, il lui donne le sentiment et la vérité.

'Accent is the soul of a language; it gives feeling and truth to it'

—Rousseau (n.d., 61)

Over the last century, the pronunciation of the Māori language has changed. An analysis of these changes indicates that the phonology of the dialect of English spoken in New Zealand is having a far-reaching impact on a number of aspects of Māori phonology. Implications of these changes for Māori language revitalization and the revitalization of other languages are discussed and preliminary developments in the production of a pronunciation aid are presented.

The sound system of a language is an important part of each language's identity. We know this at a community level because older generation speakers of all languages typically complain about innovations in pronunciation made by the young. Our written record shows us that older generations have been making statements like this for centuries, so pronunciation change is nothing new. However, the attitudes of older speakers tells us this: if it really didn't matter about how we pronounced a language, older generations wouldn't bother commenting about it. The way we pronounce a language says a lot about who we are.

Because ongoing sound change is a feature of all languages we also know that there really isn't much we can do to stop such change. Gordon (1998) suggests that it often takes up to 30 years from the beginning of a phonological change for members of the community to become consciously enough aware of it to comment negatively about it. However, by that time it is too late to do anything about it.

We also know that second language speakers of any language bring the phonological system of their first language with them when they come to learn and speak their second language. One of the ways we can usually pick a French person speaking English is because they have problems with the <th> sound which does not exist in the French sound system. Instead, French speakers use the closest sound they have in their phonological inventory: <z> thus rendering <the> as <ze>.

For all these reasons it is important for those of us working in the revitalization of heritage languages to pay attention to aspects of pronunciation especially with regard to vowels because they are particularly important in carrying the different accents that make up languages (see Wells, 1982). The MAONZE (Māori and New Zealand English) project¹ is looking at changes in the pronunciation

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of the Māori language over the last 100 years. In this chapter we present details of how we have undertaken this analysis and describe some of the results we have obtained for vowels and diphthongs. In the discussion of our findings we present a list of implications for language revitalization worldwide.

Method

The catalyst for the MAONZE research project is the existence of recordings of seven Māori men, born in the 1880s, made between 1946 and 1948 by the Mobile Disc Recording Unit of the New Zealand Broadcasting Service.² These speakers are referred to as the Mobile Unit speakers. We have used these recordings, consisting of interviews in both Māori and English, as a baseline for comparison with recordings made by the project team between 2001 and 2004 with ten older Māori men (born in the 1930s, termed Kaumātua) and ten younger Māori men (born around the early 1980s, termed Young). These more recent recordings include informal interviews in both Māori and English (about an hour of each language) as well as the reading of word lists and reading passages.

The early recordings have been digitized, and the more recent recordings have been made on digital equipment, in our case Sony TCD8 DAT recorders. The recordings are down-sampled to 22.05kHz and are transcribed into the Transcriber program (available free from the internet on <http://trans.sourceforge.net/en/presentation.php>) which allows us to time-align the sound files and the transcription. The Transcriber files are then converted into textgrid files for acoustic analysis using the program Praat (version 4.125, Boersma & Weenink, <http://www.fon.hum.uva.nl/praat/>). Data is entered into Excel and statistical analysis is performed using SPSS, SYSTAT 12 and R (<http://www.r-project.org/>).

To date the project has focussed on analyzing changes in vowel and diphthong pronunciation and these results are presented here. Analysis of changes in consonant production has been limited to investigation of the increase in aspiration (as measured by increases in voice-onset time) in the traditionally unaspirated stop consonants /p, t, k/ (Maclagan & King, 2007) and loss of diversity in the pronunciation of <wh> (Maclagan & King, 2002).

The vowel system

Māori has five vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ each of which has a long vowel variant which, phonetically, occurs when two of the same vowels occur alongside each other within the same morpheme. This length difference is phonemic, that is, can be used by Māori to distinguish different words. Following Wells (1982) we have assigned key words to each short and long vowel. Key words are useful in situations where sound change is occurring to avoid confusion when talking about the set of words which contain a particular vowel. The five short and long vowel pairs have been named thus: PI/PIKI, KE/KETE, WĀ/WAKA, MŌ/MOKO and TŪ/TUKU. Note that long vowels in Māori are orthographically indicated with a macron above the vowel.

Diphthongs occur in Māori whenever a vowel pronounced lower in the mouth occurs before a vowel pronounced higher in the mouth. Results for an analysis

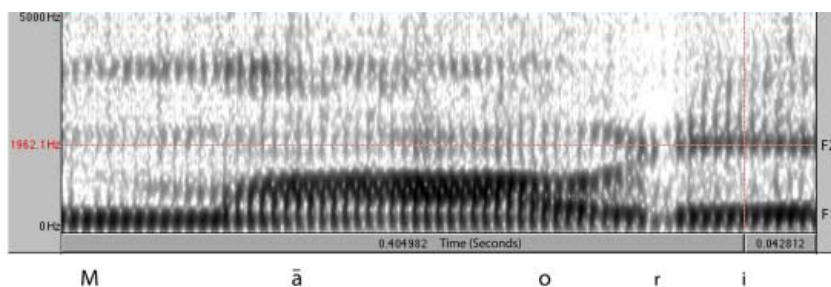
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of five of these diphthongs are presented below, with the key words MAI /ai/, WAE /ae/, PAO /ao/, RAU /au/ and HOU /ou/ being used to refer to these sounds.

Vowel analysis

Vowel pronunciation is described through reference to the vertical and horizontal position of the tongue in the mouth when the vowel is being pronounced. That is, vowels are characterized by both the height of the tongue in the mouth and which portion of the tongue is raised at the time. Measurements of the formants produced by the sound waves of the vowel reflect both these aspects and allow us to produce diagrams of the vowel space of individual and collective groups of speakers. Figure 1 shows a spectrogram picture produced by the computer program Praat of a speaker pronouncing the word ‘Māori’.

Figure 1. Spectrogram in Praat of speaker pronouncing the word ‘Māori’



The difference between the /o/ and /i/ sounds shown in Figure 1 can be seen in the contrast between the first two formant values for each vowel. The formant values are indicated by the dark bars on the diagram. The frequency of F2 of /i/ (1962 Hz) is shown in the left hand grey margin. The /o/ sound has a low first formant (F1) value (indicating a raised tongue) and a low second formant (F2) value (indicating that the back part of the tongue is raised). In contrast, while the /i/ sound also has a low F1 value (indicating that the tongue is raised), it has a high F2 value, indicating that it is the front part of the tongue which is raised.

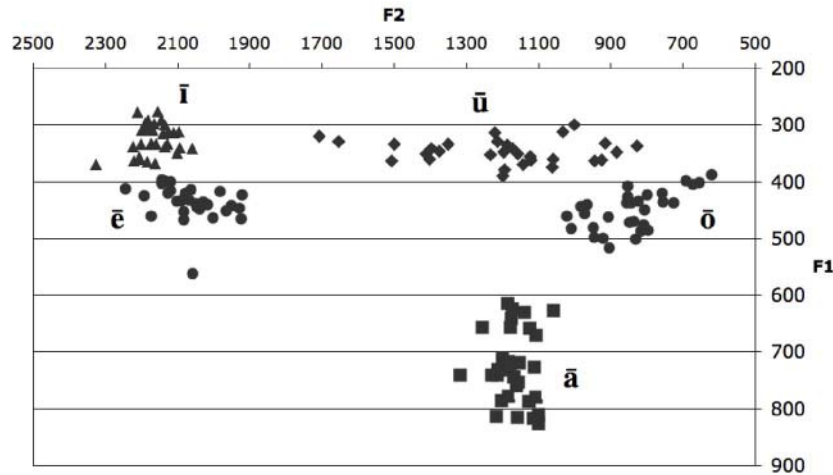
In conducting the vowel analysis the formant values of thirty tokens of each vowel were measured for each speaker. However, with some of the rarer vowels such as *pi*, it was not always possible to obtain thirty tokens. In addition, a maximum of five tokens of any one word were analyzed for any particular vowel in order to ensure the final sample was representative of the possible variations for that particular vowel. Because vowel length was also being measured care was taken to avoid tokens of vowels in phrase final position, tokens occurring alongside other vowels and tokens in words affected by speaker hesitation. However, with rarer sounds, where it was difficult to obtain thirty tokens, it was sometimes necessary to include such tokens. In those cases measurements of vowel length were excluded from the length analysis. Measurements were taken in the steady state portion of the production of each vowel. As well as F1 and F2 measurements, values for F3, fundamental frequency F_0 and vowel length were also taken.

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Vowel results

Figure 2 shows the vowel space of one of the Mobile Unit speakers' long vowels where each of the tokens measured for each of the five vowels is shown.

Figure 2. Māori long vowel space of one Mobile Unit speaker showing token distribution



Note that both axes, which display F1 and F2 measurements, are shown in reverse order so that the final diagram is representative of the mouth space, with the left side indicating the front of the mouth and the right side the back of the mouth. Tokens produced near the top of the diagram are indicative of a tongue position near the roof of the mouth and tokens produced near the bottom are indicative of a lowered tongue position.

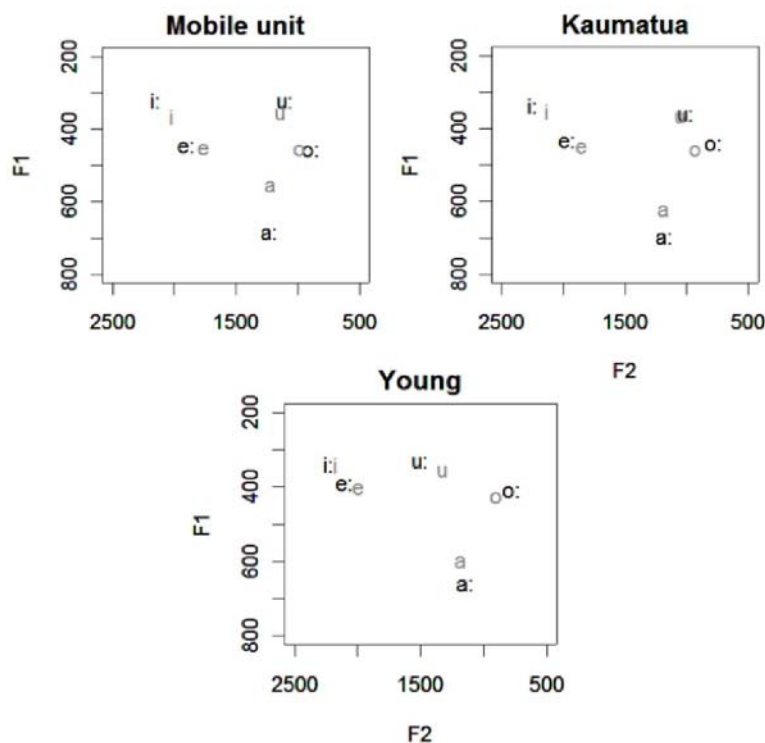
Results for each group of speakers were combined and averages obtained. Figure 3 shows the change over time in the pronunciation of the long and short vowels in Māori from our oldest speakers through to the youngest. The means for the long vowels in these figures are shown in the darker shade while means for short vowels are shown in the lighter shade.

Starting with the oldest (Mobile Unit) speakers we note that in all instances long vowels are pronounced more peripherally than short vowels. As we progress to the next set of speakers, the Kaumātua, note that the main changes are a reduction in the difference between *wā* and *waka* and a raising in the mouth space of the *kē* and *kete* pair towards *pī* and *piki*. These two sets of changes continue to advance through to the young speakers and are joined by a fronting of the *tū* and *tuku* vowels and raising of the *mō* and *moko* vowels. Although most evident amongst the youngest speakers, the beginning of the fronting of the *tū* and *tuku* vowels can be seen in Figure 2 where fronted versions of *tū* are evident (usually after /t/) amongst even the oldest speakers (this also applies to *tuku*). This feature is more fully discussed in Maclagan et al. (2005) and Harlow et al. (in press). From the Mobile Unit speakers through to the youngest speakers we can

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also see the short vowels becoming more peripheral and being produced nearer to the corresponding long vowels.

Figure 3. Long and short vowel means of Mobile Unit, Kaumātua and Young speakers

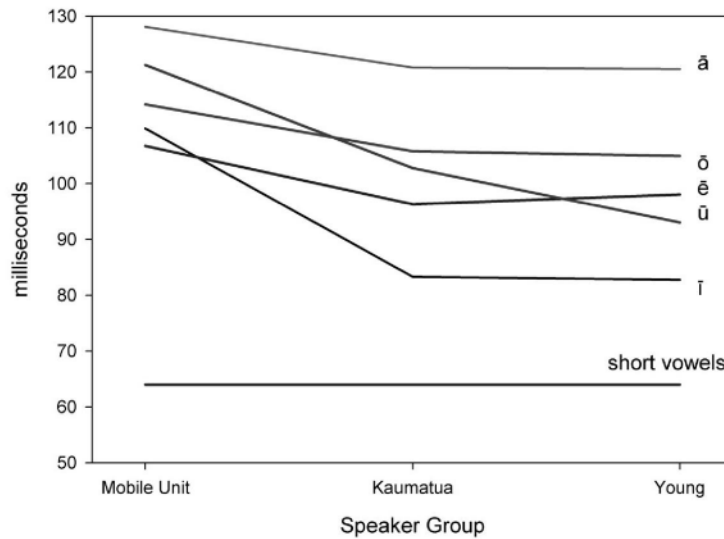


Although changes such as these could be naturally occurring ones, we note that changes with KE/KETE and TŪ/TUKU parallel changes which have occurred in New Zealand English over the corresponding time period. As the New Zealand English DRESS vowel has risen, so has the pair of Māori vowels KE and KETE, which are produced in a similar place in the mouth. Similarly, the New Zealand English GOOSE and FOOT vowels are fronting (Maclagan & Hay, 2007), as is the corresponding Māori pair, TŪ and TUKU. Thus, while we cannot rule out language internal change (Labov, 1994), it is likely these changes in Māori have been strongly supported by changes in New Zealand English. This is confirmed by the fact that an analysis of the English of our speakers shows that for each group their English is similar to the English of similarly matched non-Māori speakers of English. Thus it is likely that their vowel production for English is influencing their pronunciation of Māori (Watson et al., 2008).

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Noting that the differences between most of the short and long vowels in Māori were reducing we also looked for changes in the length of the vowel pairs. These results are shown in Figure 4:

Figure 4. Average vowel length by speaker group



Values for the short vowels over the three groups of speakers have remained relatively constant at just over 60 milliseconds. The long vowels of Mobile Unit speakers were typically about twice the length of short vowels, consistent with the analysis that long vowels phonemically consisted of two of the same short vowels. However, over time this distinction has reduced substantially, with the vowels pronounced higher in the mouth, *PI* and *TŪ*, in the advance of this change. This reduction in the difference between four of the short and long vowel pairs is likely to be an influence from New Zealand English where the corresponding long vowels do not have short and long vowel variants. It is notable, however, that the length distinction between *WĀ* and *WAKA* has generally been preserved. This is probably partly due to functional load as *WĀ* occurs much more frequently than other long vowels and to the existence of a short and long vowel pair *START* and *STRUT* in the corresponding New Zealand English vowel space.

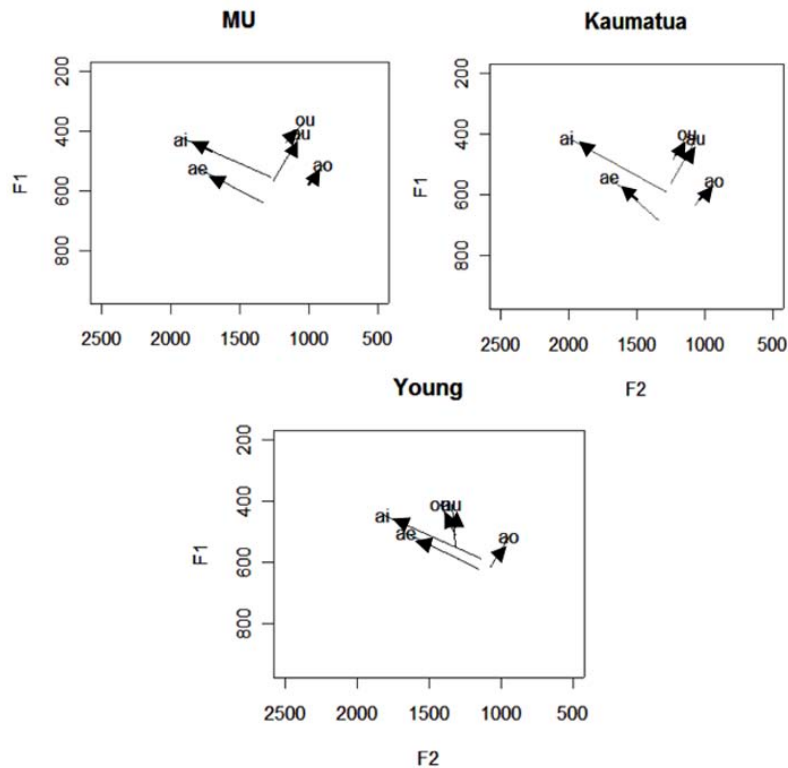
Diphthong analysis

The project also undertook an investigation of the pronunciation of five of the most common diphthongs in Māori: *MAI*, *WAE*, *PAO*, *RAU* and *HOU*. Anecdotal evidence suggested that the pronunciation of two pairs of these diphthongs were merging. The results of the analysis are shown in Figure 5. The diagrams show the starting point for each diphthong with the arrowhead showing the direction of travel and the diphthong end point. The first diagram shows that the Mobile

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Unit speakers keep both the starting and end points of the two fronting diphthongs MAI and WAE separate. Following this pair over time we see changes occurring in the speech of the Kaumātua leading to the situation with the Young group where both the start and end points have become very similar.

Figure 5. Diphthong plots of Mobile Unit, Kaumātua and Young speakers



The results are similar for the two diphthongs which end with /u/: RAU and HOU. The Mobile Unit speakers keep the start point of each of these diphthongs separate but by the time we get to the Young speakers this distinction has been substantially diminished. Added to this, these diphthongs have also been affected by the fronting of the TUKU vowel, with the end point of RAU and HOU fronting over time. These mergers seem to be affected by New Zealand English in which there are only two diphthongs, GOAT and PRICE, covering the vowel space of the pairs RAU and HOU and MAI and WAE respectively.

Implications

The results of the vowel and diphthong analyses suggest that Māori may be heading towards a phonological inventory of six rather than ten vowels and fewer distinct diphthongs. When considering the diphthongs in particular there

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will continue to be increased homophony between pairs such as *tae* (to arrive) and *tai* (tide) and *pou* (post) and *pau* (to be used up). However, as these pairs illustrate, context avoids any problems with ambiguity as often these pairs occur as different parts of speech.

With the short and long vowel length differences collapsing we would also predict uncertainty as to the shape of word stress. Already there are indications for length of vowels to be assigned by a template where the first syllable in a three syllable word is stressed and lengthened (following the way English indicates stress). Thus “takoto” is now often being pronounced as “tākoto”, “taringa” as “tāringa” and “tikanga” as “tīkanga.” The extent of the uncertainty about word shape is also indicated by the fact that “tīmata,” which traditionally has a long vowel in the first syllable, is often pronounced “timata.”

These sorts of changes indicate that there are likely to be changes happening in the rhythm of Māori (*te mita o te reo*) and this is supported by anecdotal evidence from older native speakers. Conventionally, Māori is regarded as being ‘mora-timed’ in contrast to the stress-timed rhythm of English. (Mora-timing means that each short vowel and any preceding consonant take up approximately the same amount of time.) Results so far indicate that the Māori language is moving to a more syllable-timed rhythm, and may well be moving towards a stress-timed rhythm. Currently the MAONZE project is extending its project to analyze women’s speech as well as investigating changes in the rhythm of the language.

Pronunciation aid

A practical offshoot of the MAONZE project is work on designing a computer based pronunciation aid for Māori language learners. The aid is based on the principle generated from this research that the oldest generation of native speakers should be the model for pronunciation. However, it is impossible to supply native speaking teachers to all learners. Existing cassette based pronunciation aids typically allow learners to listen to exemplars and try to copy what they hear. However, such aids rely on the learner’s own ability to interpret what they hear, reproduce it and evaluate their own efforts. As most teachers know, the listening skills of learners can often be less than ideal. The computer program being developed aims to overcome some of these traditional shortcomings in the learning of pronunciation.

Figure 6 illustrates the components of the computer based aid developed by Gutla (2006) and Rivers (2006). The prototype has been named M-PAi, an acronym of the phrase **M**āori **P**ronunciation **A**id. The acronym also plays on the Māori word *pai* which means ‘good, correct.’ The pronunciation aid uses a database of recordings of a number of speakers speaking a list of Māori words. Word recognition software allows the program to be ‘trained’ to recognize the extent of variations in the pronunciation of each word amongst the speakers. The learner uses a microphone to record their own speech and feedback of their efforts is provided through speakers attached to the computer and in on-screen ratings.

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Figure 6. System diagram of M-PAi pronunciation aid (from Gutla, 2006)

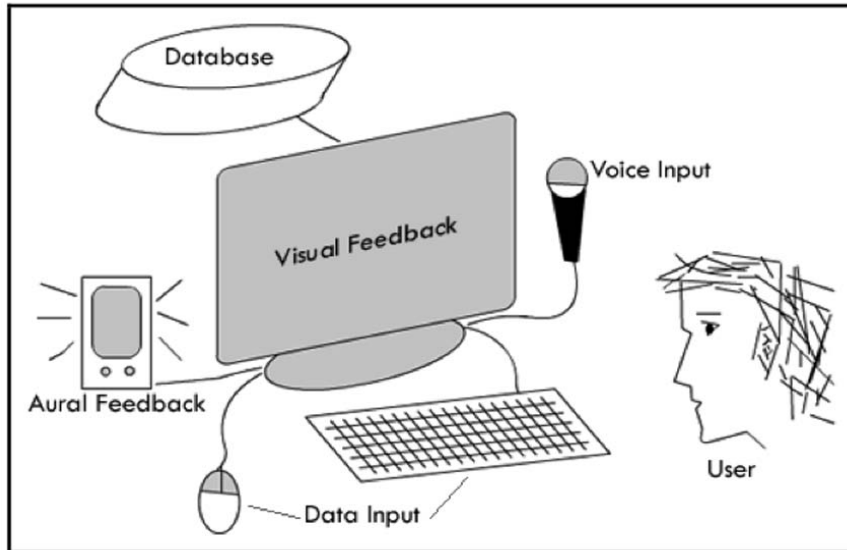
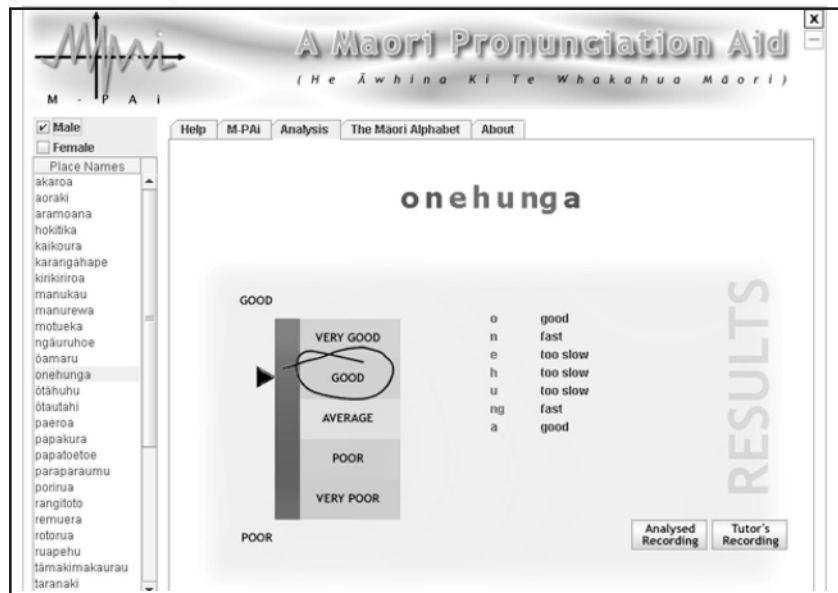


Figure 7. Screen shot of M-PAi pronunciation feedback (from Gutla, 2006; Rivers, 2006)



The learner is able to set recording options, which include the ability to loop a repeated recording of their effort to pronounce a word alongside a recording of one of the database speakers. This enables the learner to directly compare their pronunciation with that of the model speaker. Feedback can also be provided

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by the word recognition part of the program. Figure 7 shows a sample feedback screen shot for the pronunciation of the word *onehunga* where the learner receives an overall rating for the word they have pronounced as well as feedback on individual component sounds in the word.

The database currently being tested consists of a range of common words with examples of all long and short vowel and diphthong sounds. Thus the learner can drill themselves on a complete range of vowel and diphthongs, including the less common sounds. This pronunciation aid is still in the development phase, but initial testing has elicited positive responses from learners. Eventually it is hoped to produce a program that can be readily adapted for use with other languages.

Discussion

The results of this analysis give us a number of useful pointers about the sound systems of indigenous languages undergoing revitalization.

1. Sound changes will parallel changes in the dominant language

Firstly, because a language undergoing revitalization will include at least one second language learning generation, the sound system of these speakers' first language will have a powerful effect on the revitalized language (Flege, Schirru & Mackay, 2003). In the case of Māori we have seen that changes in the pronunciation of vowels tend to parallel changes that are already occurring with vowels produced in a similar part of the vowel space in New Zealand English. What would these results imply, say, for a language such as Navajo with four basic vowels /i, e, a, o/ which may be either long or short? American English, unlike New Zealand English, has long/short pairs for /i/ (FLEECE and KIT) and /u/ (GOOSE and FOOT), but not for /a/ or /o/. We would therefore predict that the length distinctions for /a/ and /o/ would be more at risk than those for /i/ and /u/.

2. Phonemes which do not occur in the dominant language could be lost

Although not presented here, the MAONZE analysis shows that the traditionally unaspirated Māori stops /p, t, k/ have become increasingly aspirated, mirroring the fact that stops are not unaspirated in English (Maclagan & King, 2007), and <wh> which used to be a bilabial fricative is now an English-like /f/ (Maclagan & King, 2002). To continue with the Navajo example we would therefore predict a number of further changes in the Navajo vowel system. Each of the four Navajo vowels may also occur as nasalized and with one of four tones (high, low, rising, falling). Since these variations are absent from the phonemic inventory of American English we would predict that these distinctions would gradually be lost, because nasalization is purely contextual in English where vowels are nasalised between nasal consonants as in *man* or *moon*, and English does not use tone to distinguish vowels.

3. Changes in vowel length may produce changes in rhythm

In indigenous languages where vowels have both a long and short variant which is not part of the dominant language, there will be changes in vowel length, most

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typically resulting in long vowels becoming shorter. This change will most notably affect high vowels which are usually shorter than low/open vowels in English (Peterson & Lehiste, 1960, pp. 701-02). These sorts of changes will affect the rhythm contours of words with the result that stress rules and patterns for the language are likely to change.

4. The oldest generation of living speakers should provide models for pronunciation

While we know that it is impossible to stop changes occurring in languages, awareness of the types of changes that are likely to occur means that we can pay particular attention to these areas when teaching pronunciation. In particular learners should ideally be exposed as much as possible to pronunciation models generated by older native speakers. As this type of exposure is often difficult to arrange, a pronunciation aid that allows learners to record and compare their pronunciation with such exemplars will be useful.

5. Pronunciation change can generate alarm amongst older speakers

Despite the fact that the sound systems of all languages are constantly in a state of flux, change of the type discussed here, that of an indigenous language undergoing revitalization, will be likely to be of an order of magnitude greater than that typically encountered in a language which isn't under the same stress. Accordingly, while we know that older speakers of most languages typically complain about the pronunciation of younger speakers we could expect an even greater concern amongst native speakers of endangered languages. For example, native speakers have been noted to comment with respect to Māori '*pai ake pea mena ka waiho taku reo ātaahua kia mate noa*' (perhaps it would be better to leave my beautiful language to die).

Those working with the revitalization of indigenous languages need to be aware that these feelings may be strongly held and devise strategies appropriate to the situation which ensure the continued cooperation of older generations in language revitalization. In particular, language teachers need to be made aware of the types of pronunciation changes which are likely and which have probably already been noted anecdotally. They also need to be able to develop skills which enable them to helpfully teach learners, while being aware that they will not be able to stop pronunciation change.

In that the sound system of a language conveys important aspects of the speaker's identity it is clear that the sort of changes likely to occur in languages undergoing revitalization will reflect important changes in the identity of new generations of speakers.

Notes:

¹The MAONZE project acknowledges funding from the University of Canterbury and the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand. For more information see our website at: <http://www.ece.auckland.ac.nz/~cwat057/MAONZE/MAONZE.html>

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²The MAONZE project acknowledges Radio New Zealand Sound Archives Ngā Taonga Korero as the copyright owner of these sound files.

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Language is Life

The Worldview of Second Language Speakers of Māori

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Second-language adult speakers of Māori form the large bulk of proficient speakers of the language. The engagement these adults have with the Māori language is motivated by a strongly-held worldview centered on personal transformation which enables them to engage with and maintain a relationship with the Māori language. This worldview appears to have a different focus to that held by national and tribal language planners and speakers of other indigenous languages.

One factor that languages undergoing revitalization have in common is a group of language fanatics, people who are passionately dedicated to revitalizing their heritage language. In New Zealand there are many Māori who are devoted to becoming fluent second language speakers of Māori. These people are typically involved with the teaching profession and have children who they are raising in a Māori speaking environment. These people are the necessary intermediate stage: the second language speaking generation which is needed to produce a new generation of first language speakers of Māori.

The zeal which these adult second language learners have for the language is something that they have sustained for a number of years. What motivates people such as these to become fluent second language speakers of their heritage language? Are they motivated by the idea of saving their language? Or is their motivation more personal? This paper examines the worldview of second language adult speakers of Māori in New Zealand and contrasts their perspective with that of language planners and speakers of other indigenous languages.

Background

Māori is the only indigenous language of New Zealand and has been the focus of intense revitalization efforts since *kōhanga reo* (language nests) were instituted in the early 1980s. Although older native speakers have always played a key role in these revitalization efforts, much of the passion and commitment has come from a cohort of second language speaking adults. According to a recent survey, 14% of the Māori population are able to speak the Māori language well or very well (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006, p. 5). The bar graph in Figure 1 shows by age band this group of proficient speakers of the Māori population.

The bars show that the highest proportion of the best speakers are found amongst the very oldest generations. The positive impact of immersion schooling can be seen in the increasing numbers of proficient speakers amongst the youngest generations. The line graph gives a generous estimate of what proportion of these fluent speakers are native speakers, that is, those for whom Māori is their first language. Again, the proportions are highest in the oldest and youngest cohorts. However, the bulk of the proficient speakers in the parenting and

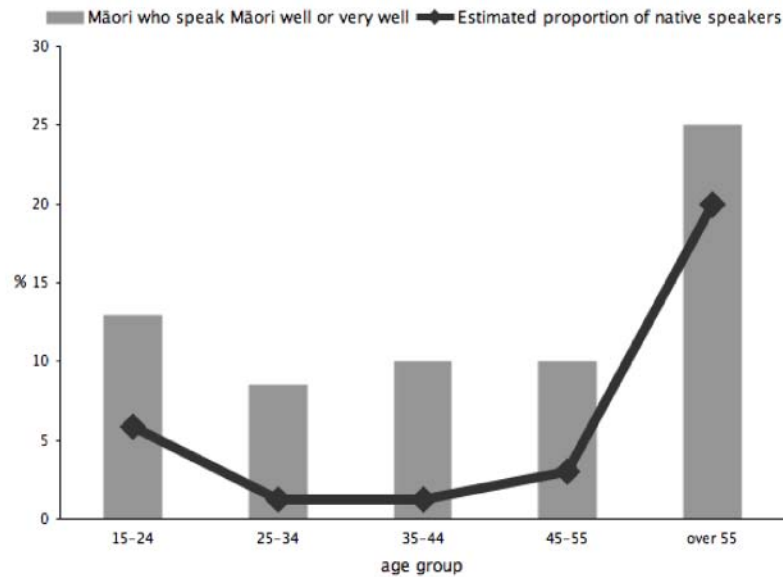
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teaching generation are second language learners of Māori. It is this key group who are the focus of this analysis.

The motivations for second language learning

Second language acquisition literature describes how learners are motivated by either integrative or instrumentive motivation when learning a second language. Integrative motivation is where the speaker wants to identify with the group speaking the language, whereas for instrumentive motivation the speaker is motivated by academic, economic or social benefit. This literature on second language acquisition (SLA) has largely developed out of the study of the acquisition of second languages by immigrant communities. Migrants typically learn large dominant languages that are spoken by the majority of the population, and this is quite a different situation from that of people learning a minority language undergoing revitalization. Accordingly, White (2006, p. 104) finds that SLA theories “fall short when examined in and applied to Native American contexts ... [and] it is unmistakable that a new way of thinking about language revitalization is necessary.” This paper aims to make some progress in moving towards finding a new theory of motivation that more accurately reflects the situation of revitalized languages.

Figure 1. Highest Māori speaking proficiency by age with estimated proportions of native speakers



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Method

The following analysis is based on interviews with 32 Māori informants, 17 male and 15 female, aged between 17 and 44. Seventeen were teachers or teacher trainees. The informants were from a range of tribal areas and a mix of urban and rural backgrounds, and the interviews were conducted between 1997 and 2002.

An earlier analysis examined the metaphors used by these informants to talk about their relationship with the Māori language (King, 2003). These metaphors allow the informants to talk about three aspects of their involvement with the Māori language: an initial state of being without the heritage language, an engagement with the language, and a continuing relationship with the language. Accordingly, we can postulate that these adult language learners need a powerful rhetoric and worldview to sustain an ongoing commitment to their heritage language. An analysis of the interviews reveals that amongst these adult second language informants their sense of ongoing commitment draws on four elements:

- a quasi-religious worldview
- New Age humanism
- connection with ancestors and Māori culture
- connection with a kaupapa Māori philosophy

The following four sections will look at these elements in turn and illustrate some of their major features with supportive evidence.

Quasi-religious worldview

Māoritanga¹ itself has become a sort of religion. (Mead, 1979, p. 63)

Among the informants it seems that the idea of learning and being committed to the Māori language is like being committed to a religious belief. A number of informants expressed the idea that involvement in Māori language immersion situations had a spiritual dimension, and it seems that for many of them Māori language is a spiritual quest for identity, health and wholeness. For one informant, Rau, being involved in learning the Māori language opened up a new world:

I te wā ka tīmata au i te ako i te reo, he ao anō ... te ao mārama.

(Rau)²

When I started to learn the [Māori] language, it was another world ... the world of light.

The quasi-religious nature of the informants' relationship with the Māori language is also revealed through their use of the word *wairua* (spirit) when talking about the Māori language:

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He haerenga i runga i te wairua tēnei. (Karihi)³
This is a spiritual journey.

In the following example Karihi is talking about a time when he was drinking heavily, before he became involved with the Māori language:

Engari, nā te kaha o tōku mahi, i kore au i tipu. I kore tōku wairua i tipu. (Karihi)
But because I was heavily engaged in that activity I didn't grow.
My spirit didn't grow.

This quote implies that Karihi's *wairua* is now growing because of his involvement with the Māori language. In other words, the Māori language was associated with improving the spiritual aspects of his life. This description has resonances of a conversion experience, a powerful emotional and spiritual awakening, signalling a change in a person's life.⁴

For second language learners such as those in this study the word 'renaissance' aptly describes their experience. "Renaissance" is derived from the French word *naissance* which in turn is derived from the Latin word *nascentia*, both of which mean "birth" (Thompson, 1995, p. 1163). Renaissance therefore literally means 'rebirth.' The experience described by many of the informants of their engagement with the Māori language sounds very much like a spiritual rebirth, in that they link the Māori language with major life changes and a feeling of ongoing spiritual connection and joy. This confirms Golla's (2003, p. 3) observation, "From the point of view of the individual it must be a conversion experience, not a citizenship exercise."

New Age humanism

New Age and humanist beliefs are pervasive throughout the Western world and have had particular import on indigenous renaissance movements in the last 30 years. Despite being given the name 'New Age movement,' New Age ideas are not one coherent, stable set of beliefs but the phrase is a convenient term applied to the grouping of a number of inter-related, though also widely different groups of beliefs and practices, ranging from channelling to crystals and holistic health (Barker, 1989, p. 189). What New Age movements have in common is that they place "great emphasis upon self-knowledge, inner exploration, and the participation in a continual transformative process" (Melton, 1992, p. 173).

Two of the words associated with New Age rhetoric that have particular resonance for the informants in this study are *transformation* and *personal growth*. Transformation is associated with the LIFE IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, for in this rhetoric we are said to be on a life journey throughout which we are expected to change and grow, 'growing' evoking the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor. The path and growth metaphors are pervasive throughout society and it is difficult to have a discussion on human activities without using one or both. That is, the path and growth metaphors often underpin our conceptualiza-

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tion of the world. These two metaphors are the two of the three most common metaphors employed by the informants in this study to describe their relationship to the Māori language (King, 2007). In the following quote, Rau uses both metaphors to explain that her involvement in learning Māori began with the idea of supporting her son who was in immersion education:

Me haere au i runga i taua huarahi hoki ki te āwhina i a ia. Āe. Ka tīmata au ki te puāwai hoki. (Rau)

I should also go on that path to help him. Yes. I also started to flower.

New Age transformation is often linked to learning through the use of phrases like “life is learning” (Lewis, 1992, p. 7-8). Informants for this study often say that their involvement with the Māori language is a life-long one:

Āe, i whakatō i te kākano. I tahuna te ahi. Kei te kirikā tonu te ahi. Āe, te ahi kā roa, me kī, mō te reo. (Lovey)

Yes, the seed was planted. The fire was lit. The fire is still burning.

Yes, it's a long burning fire, let's say, for the language.

New Age beliefs connect with secular humanism through the central idea of the focus on the inner life of the individual and the “belief that people have the answers within” (Elliot Miller cited in Basil, 1998, p. 16). It is not hard to find these sentiments articulated by Māori: “I now know the outside doesn't matter, the substance is within” (Nehua, 1995, p. 26). This will be discussed in more detail in a later section.

Association with ancestors and culture

There is almost a metonymic relationship between a language and its culture. (Ahlers, 1999, p. 137)

A heritage language is a link to the past, that is, to the ancestors and a traditional way of life. This aspect of heritage language revitalization is one that is commonly stated in the international literature and it is not surprising that it is one of the key ingredients of the worldview which provides the informants in this study with the impetus to engage with and maintain their involvement with the Māori language. For example, Te Hata credits his decision to learn the Māori language to the guidance and support of ancestral forces:

Tērā pea ko tōku kuia, tōku kaitiaki, e kōhimuhimu nei ki ahau. (Te Hata)

Perhaps it was my grandmother, my guardian, whispering to me.

Kyle describes the Māori language as a path linking him to his ancestors who have passed on:

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Koirā taku hiahia, kia mōhio ai ki ā rātou kōrero. Āe, me te whai i te huarahi o ōku mātua. (Kyle)

And that's my desire, to understand their speech. Yes, and to follow the path of my parents.

It is interesting to note here that while the informants' knowledge of the Māori language can't be credited to intergenerational transmission, the impetus and desire to learn the language can be. That is, the idea of being inspired by parents, grandparents or ancestors allows the informants to link their use of the Māori language with preceding generations. An impetus is also provided through the idea that learning the language provides a connection with those who have passed on.

A link with ancestors and culture is obviously a link with identity, thus evoking integrative aspects of SLA theory, however as can be seen from the quotes in this section, this 'integration' is often more metaphysical than corporeal.

Adherence to a kaupapa Māori philosophy

Joshua Fishman concludes from observing language revitalization initiatives in many parts of the world that successful efforts are “**Invariably Part of a Larger Ethnocultural Goal**” (emphasis in original, 1991, p. 18). He writes, “Reversing language shift is basically not about language, certainly not *just* about language; it is about adhering to a notion of a complete, not necessarily unchanging, self-defining way of life” (Fishman, 2000, p. 14). Thus, it is not surprising that similar aims are expressed as part of Māori language initiatives in New Zealand. Indeed, one of the aspects of the powerful worldview articulated by the informants in this study is revealed in their stated adherence to kaupapa Māori (Māori philosophy):

He mea nui tērā ko te wairua kia eke ki runga i te kaupapa. (Karihi)

That's a really important thing, having the spirit to get on board the kaupapa.

The informants describe the Māori language as being an integral part of the kaupapa Māori philosophy. This sentiment is expressed by Piringākau who is talking about how others are aware of the philosophy of the Māori language immersion teachers' programme he is part of:

Mōhio tonu rātou ki te kaupapa o tēnei kaupapa. Ko te reo (Piringākau).

They really know the philosophy of this kaupapa. It's the language.

Through the 1990s academic articulation of kaupapa Māori has emerged from two disciplines: educational theory and research methodology.⁵ In these forums kaupapa Māori is linked with aspirations for Māori sovereignty, as illustrated in this definition of kaupapa Māori by Graham Smith:

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- the validity and legitimacy of Māori is taken for granted.
- the survival and revival of Māori language and Māori culture is imperative.
- the struggle for autonomy over our own cultural well being, and over our own lives is vital to Māori survival. (Smith, 1992, p. 3)

Kaupapa Māori is an important part of the worldview of the informants but, for them it is not a worldview primarily focused on social change. Instead the informants have a more personalized perspective. The next section contains a more detailed investigation of the individual focus of the informants.

Individual focus

Besides needing a strongly articulated and forceful worldview, as discussed in the previous sections, another aspect of the informants' experience is that it has a highly individualized focus.

Since the informants were being interviewed about their experiences in becoming a fluent speaker of the Māori language, we might expect that the emphasis in their words will be on themselves and their own experience. However, even when invited to talk about a wider language revitalization perspective, the informants tended to bring the conversation back to themselves. They were more comfortable talking about their own experience. The following translation of a quote demonstrates that the focus for newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori is primarily on themselves with a secondary focus on their family and students:

That's how my desire for my language grew. It began with me, you know, quite selfish, at the beginning.... So, now, and before, I didn't think about the Māori speaking group within the wider Māori population. I think, who are they to me? They aren't anything to me. But, my students and my friends, they are the most important people to me. (Anaru)

Anaru feels no responsibility to a wider grouping. His focus is on the immediate circle of people important to his life. To him the Māori language is 'my language', something that he relates to personally. The Māori language has a role in his life, but he does not presume to express that he has a role in regard to the Māori language. Or, in other words, the Māori language is more important to Anaru than he feels he is to the Māori language.

Eighteen of the informants were asked whether they felt that they were part of a language revitalization movement. Although twelve informants ostensibly answered 'yes' to this question, in general their responses show they were hedged or diffident in their answers. I could get very few informants to wholeheartedly agree that they felt part of a 'movement' that was solely focused on language revitalization:

Kāore au e whai ki tētahi 'movement.' (Rau)
I'm not following any 'movement.'

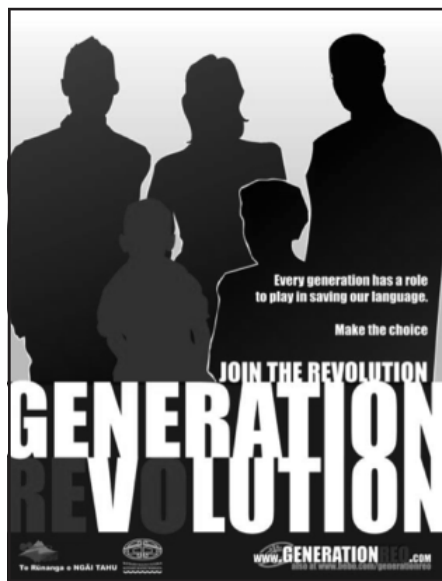
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The worldview of these adult language learners is based on their experience as individuals, which is not surprising in a context where the language is spoken well by 65,000 speakers. In other words, these individuals do not feel directly responsible for saving the Māori language, but they do feel that the Māori language is their personal salvation.

Language planning

In New Zealand there are two groups which undertake language planning: government (through Te Puni Kōkiri and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori) and tribes, through various tribal groups. These language planners are well versed in the international literature on language revitalization and are aware of the role that each speaker plays in the ultimate success or otherwise of revitalization efforts. In recent publications there are indications that these planners are either unaware of the internalized worldview of second language learners (as described above) or wish to augment this worldview with a wider sense of responsibility. For example, a recent government report commenting on a study of newly-fluent adult speakers of Māori, noted that “some participants appeared to lack urgency and appreciation of their role in Māori intergenerational transmission” (Chrisp, 2005, p. 177). The implication here is that it is important for second language learners to have this wider focus.

One tribal group that is determined to raise the awareness of speakers is Ngāi Tahu which aims to have 1,000 Māori speaking homes in their tribal district by 2020 (see www.kmk.maori.nz). One of their latest developments is a website which has very useful and supportive information on creating an immersion environment in the home (see www.generationreo.com). In conjunction with the website a series of advertisements have also appeared in the tribal magazine *Te Karaka*, one of which is shown below.



This advertisement is clearly aimed at encouraging tribal members to speak Māori by pointing out the importance of having a sense of responsibility to the language. The advertisement implies that this sort of moral imperative is the most effective way of encouraging a sustained commitment to the Māori language. However, this assumption is open to question, given the results of the analysis with the key target group, presented above.

Obviously language planners are concerned about the future of the language and want to stress the value of the language and the role the speaker has in revitalizing it. They are

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naturally more focussed on the language and what the speaker can do for it, rather on what actually motivates the speaker. However, it is unclear whether invoking a moral imperative towards the language which the speaker may not share may be as effective as appealing to more internally focussed motivations already held by the speakers.

North American situation

What motivates second language speakers of Māori seems to differ from the motivations of second language speakers of North American languages. In an informal survey⁷ of second language speakers from a range of (mainly) North American languages the most common reason given for learning a heritage language was a feeling of responsibility towards the language. Nine of the 16 respondents gave responses of which the following is typical: I am learning my language “because of my feelings of responsibility to the language, to its continuance, to my people, to the coming generations and to my ancestors.”

Conversely, in similar informal surveys amongst my Māori language students, I have been unable to get anyone to respond in a similar manner. This discrepancy could be explained by the fact that those representing the North American languages surveyed were teachers and tribal language planners and keenly aware of their role in revitalizing their language. However, while this indeed may affect the results to some extent, it is worth noting that all but two of the languages in this informal survey have fewer than 10,000 speakers and six are moribund. This suggests that the size of the language speaking population may be having an effect on respondents’ motivation. That is, the fewer people who know and are learning the language the more the learner is motivated by a beneficial effect on the language (as in the North American situation), and that conversely, the more people who know and are learning the language, the more the learner is motivated by a beneficial effect on the individual (as in the situation with Māori). That is, the size of the language speaking population may account for differences in a more externally or internally focussed motivation. These differences may also be partly explained by the fact that language activism in New Zealand occurred earlier than it did in North America and is focussed on one language rather than a large number of languages.

As with the Māori informants, integrative reasons for learning the language were also important. The second most frequently stated reason for learning a heritage language was to do with identity (‘if we don’t speak Xaayda then how can we say we are Xaayda people’) or culture (‘if we lose our language our heritage and culture would cease to exist’).

Discussion

We have seen that the second language speaking Māori adults in this study do indeed have a powerful worldview, one that allows them to move from a state of being without Māori language to one where this becomes an important and ongoing focus of their lives. We have also seen that there is an individualized perspective to the informants’ experience, one that differs from others also

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involved in the language revitalization process, such as language planners and speakers of other languages being revitalized which have smaller numbers of speakers. The experience of the Māori informants can be encapsulated in the phrase ‘personal transformation.’ Each of these two words relates back to the two aspects explored in this analysis, in that the powerful worldview of the informants largely revolves around the concept of a ‘transformation’ experience and the focus on the individual can be encapsulated in the word ‘personal.’

This analysis suggests a number of pointers towards a more appropriate theory of second language motivation with regard to heritage languages:

1. **Language fanatics are important.** Successful second language speakers of heritage languages can invariably be described as ‘language fanatics.’ Such fanaticism is not a factor amongst migrant communities learning a language of wider communication. In order to be a fanatic you must have a strong worldview.
2. **Cultural identity is an important motivator.** The strong worldview of second language speaking adults is, in all cases, motivated by aspects of identity. This has different aspects to the integrative motivation cited in SLA literature as is often expressed through reference to ancestors and spiritual aspects of the heritage language rather than day to day integrative aspects.
3. **Internally or externally focussed motivators.** In addition to identity, second language speakers will be motivated by either a strong sense of responsibility towards the language (in the case of language planners or those from languages with a small number of speakers) or by a strong internally focussed worldview (in the case of those from a language with a relatively large number of speakers). Accordingly, both internal and external motivators need to be considered.

For language planners, both in New Zealand and overseas, the message is that it is important to research in-depth locally to accurately determine the parameters of each local situation because “viewing language shift from the individual motivation perspective is crucial to the understanding of language shift” (Karan, 2000, p. 74). This is particularly important when trying to determine the most effective promotion strategies to encourage language use amongst the target population.

The newly-fluent Māori-speaking adult has a key role in intergenerational transmission as parents, and often the teachers, of the children being educated in the Māori language schooling system. The results suggest that strategies for fostering their participation in language revitalization may benefit from emphasizing their experience of being empowered and transformed spiritually and emotionally through their involvement with, and use of, the Māori language. That is, instead of focussing on what these adults can do for the language, it may be more effective to focus on the benefits for the language learner and speaker in speaking Māori for such an approach would reinforce and endorse the informants’ experience.

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In returning to the title of this paper we have seen that indeed language is life for staunch second language speakers of Māori. These people are ‘language fanatics’ who are dedicated to becoming fluent speakers. In order to maintain such a long-term goal they have a strong worldview where the Māori language **is** their life. It is these second language speakers and their worldview which will ultimately give life to Māori and other heritage languages.

Notes

- ¹The Māori way of life, Māori culture.
²Informants have been given pseudonyms. Most of the interviews were conducted in Māori. The English translations are the author’s.
³For ease of identification, key words are bolded in the quotes.
⁴Several of the informants, including Karihi, had become involved with learning Māori language through alcohol and drug recovery programs. Cultural reclamation through recovery programs is an area worthy of further investigation.
⁵For articulations of kaupapa Māori in educational theory see Bishop & Glynn, 1999 and in the area of research methodology see L.T. Smith, 1999.
⁶Te Puni Kōkiri is the usual term for the Ministry of Māori Development (<http://www.tpk.govt.nz/en/>) and Te Taura Whiri i te Reo Māori is the Māori Language Commission (www.tetaurawhiri.govt.nz).
⁷Many thanks to participants who attended my paper at the 15th Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium held at Flagstaff, Arizona, May 1-3, 2008. Respondents included 16 second language speakers of 13 languages [including Hawaiian and Tokunoshima (Japan)].

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Reo o te Kāinga (Language of the Home)
A Ngāi Te Rangi Language Regeneration Project

Ngareta Timutimu, Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi
Teraania Ormsby-Teki and Riri Ellis, Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi

The home is the key domain where Te Reo Māori needs to be
re-established as the main language of communication
—Te Matahauāriki o Tauranga Moana, 2006, p. 19.

This paper¹ presents the preliminary findings of a 12 month collaborative research project called Reo o te Kāinga (Language of the Home) that was conducted in the Western Bay of Plenty of New Zealand with nine Ngāi Te Rangi whānau (families). The research is a collaborative project where researchers and whānau members' work together to identify barriers and solutions associated with increasing speaking Māori language in the home. Four prominent themes that emerged in the research are discussed: 1) the influence of spiritual and traditional values, 2) whānau relationships and roles, 3) motivation, commitment and consistency and 4) the influence of image and social norms.

To understand the tribal context of Māori language re-generation for Ngāi Te Rangi, it is important to briefly explore the impact of colonization upon Māori people in Aotearoa New Zealand. Māori, like many indigenous people, have experienced the impact of colonization, assimilation and acculturation. As a people, we have also witnessed a significant decline in the number of fluent Māori language speakers. This decline has contributed to a Māori population where people are now less able and/or willing to carry the responsibility of language use to successive generations.

Māori language use and acquisition has been assisted by a number of initiatives. These include:

- The introduction of the Māori Language Act 1987 which aims to protect Māori language as a taonga (a treasured possession);
- The introduction of educational initiatives such as the Kōhanga Reo movement (pre-school), the Kura Kaupapa movement (primary school), Whare Kura (secondary school) and total immersion language programs at tertiary institutions (e.g., Te Tohu Paetahi, Te Ataarangi movement);
- The introduction of Māori radio stations which promote programs in Te Reo; and;
- The introduction of a Māori television channel which promotes several Māori language programs (e.g., Te Reo, Pukana).

These initiatives have not come about easily; in fact most of these infrastructural pillars of our Māori language system faced long painstaking challenges from

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governmental officials. As expected, language activists are continually seeking solutions to counteract the causative effects associated with the decline of the Māori language (Benton, 1979; Ka'ai, 2004). Government agencies are also taking on a greater level of responsibility to assist Māori language acquisition and use. The Māori Language Commission, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Māori Development are all contributing resources, though limited, to work alongside communities and tribes to reduce the ongoing decline of Māori language, customs and practices.

More recent accounts of the status of our language suggest that it is beginning to stabilize and language comprehension and understanding have improved (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2006, 2007; Karetū, 2001). But, there is also a contrasting picture emerging which suggests that our Māori language efforts are not progressing as well as we would like. Undoubtedly, institutions such as Te Whare Wānanga o Aotearoa are offering thousands of New Zealanders with an opportunity to learn Māori language at an introductory level. The *Ara Reo* (language path) course has had a profound impact on first time language learners.

Community language initiatives have surfaced throughout the country through the establishment of the *Mā Te Reo* program, currently offered by the Māori Language Commission and many Māori community groups are benefiting from these projects. The Ministry of Education *Community Based Language Initiative* has helped several tribes advance their own tribal aspirations for Māori language advancement. *Creative New Zealand* also provides funding to assist creative forms of language use and performance.

There is no question that these initiatives improve Māori language efforts, yet, the number of fluent Māori speakers aged between 40 to 70 years of age is not increasing at a fast enough pace to compensate for the loss of fluent speaking elders. Maybe, our focus on *holding a conversation in Māori language* has skewed the real picture of tribal language competency and fluency. We need only look at the dwindling number of koroua and kuia (elders) performing formal cultural duties on our marae (place of meeting) to confirm our suspicions regarding the current shortage of fluent language speakers. Maybe we can now confirm our hunches regarding the outcomes from investing only in institutional approaches to language regeneration. While we have pushed our children towards learning our language, we have failed to focus on one of the most important factors influencing language advancement – that language use is founded upon the ability of people to communicate amongst each other and if only one family member has language capability, they will find it hard to communicate with others who do not possess Māori language capability.

We most certainly are seeing the impact of this approach in many of our teenagers, who are the graduates of *kōhanga reo* (language nest). Our children possess the capability to converse in our language, yet many of them are actively resisting this role by rebelling against opportunities to lead language revitalization in their own homes. Who would blame them, when many of their parents have not shared the responsibility of language acquisition with them? Who were our children expected to speak Māori with when they returned home after school?

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A long held vision to see our language flourishing and visible in ordinary everyday ways, has not reached a level of self-sustainability as might be expected. Instead, there is a real possibility that although initiatives to grow and nurture Māori language in Aotearoa New Zealand are in place; our language, like many other indigenous languages around the world, remains endangered (Benton, 1981; Orange, 1989).

One of the aims of our Reo o te Kāinga (Language of the Home) research project is to improve this situation within a Ngāi Te Rangi tribal context. Ngāi Te Rangi is an indigenous tribe of Māori descent from Tauranga Moana, New Zealand. Over the last twelve months we have sought to critically examine the reasons for our current language status whilst also working together to improve our situation. With the support of our tribal authority, we have drawn nine of our whānau (families) together to improve conversational Māori language within the home. This paper reports on our efforts by providing an overview of our recent language regeneration journey.

The Reo o te Kāinga project stemmed from the initial inquiries of a small group of Iwi members, interested in improving the well-being of our people through the use of our own language. Representatives of Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangi, approached representatives of Te Whare Wānanga o Awanuiārangī, a Māori tertiary institution to form a research partnership. Research funding was then sourced from the National Institute of Research Excellence for Māori Development and Advancement—Ngā Pae o te Māramatanga to resource our community action research project.

In Māori, the key research question is “ma te aha te whānau e whakaora ai i te reo korero Māori i te kainga?” meaning in what ways can whānau bring Māori language to life in the home? Further questions were posed to guide aspects of the project including:

- What are the current barriers to conversational language in your home?
- What are potential solutions to conversational language in your home?
- What roles do your family members perform with regards to conversational language in the home?
- What language roles are performed by your family members with regards to conversational language in the home?

These questions are necessary to navigate through the complexities associated with improving conversational language by families in the home. This is particularly the case when most family members possess different levels of language competency, which is complicated even further by psychological and emotional impediments to language adoption and use. In order to reveal the challenges associated with language acquisition in the home, further issues were explored including relationships between kin members of families, research sites and their influence on language acquisition, e.g., kāinga (home) and whānau and

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language leadership in the home and who fulfils this role. Home, family and the interaction between family members in the home through Māori language are identified as critical pillars of consideration for language survival. Fishman (1991) says, “whatever it is that other stages may and can accomplish insofar as RLS [Reversing Language Shift] is concerned, they are merely ‘buying time’ in the short run until a sound basis for long run intergenerational transmission can be established” (p.161). Genesee (1994) states that the “maintenance and development of the home language and culture are pedagogically sound and essential components of any effective educational program” (p. 1).

Similar language research projects in Aotearoa New Zealand

There are limited Māori language research publications and models that discuss the interconnection of language, with tribe, whānau and home in Aotearoa New Zealand. We have identified two projects thus far. One is Kōtahi Mano Kaika—Kōtahi Mano Wawata (1,000 Homes—1,000 Aspirations) launched in 2001. It is a 25 year strategy launched by Ngāi Tahu, the biggest tribe in the South Island of Aotearoa New Zealand. A target of 1,000 homes (1,000 Ngāi Tahu families) was identified as a basis from which to work towards re-establishing Māori language within their homes. Ngāi Tahu’s aspirations were based on the crucial need to improve a dire situation. In 2000 native speakers of Ngāi Tahu descent made up ‘less than 1%’ of their tribal population (O’Regan, 2001). Whilst their project is not referred to as research, it reflects a proactive philosophical approach to tribal language recovery that emphasizes *language through action* using inter-generational language transmission amongst, and with whānau, as a core theme of language recovery by Ngāi Tahu.

The second project is Kāinga Kōrerorero, which aims to re-instill language through family interaction in the home. This project was developed by Te Ataarangī Incorporated and Te Puni Kōkiri (Ministry of Māori Development). Te Ataarangī is a national body championing Māori language learning programs throughout the country and Te Puni Kōkiri is a large government agency which focuses on Māori development. Kāinga Kōrerorero is facilitated through a network of mentors who offer advice, resources and support for language development by families in the home. This three year program is sustained by resourcing from Te Puni Kōkiri. It is a national program operating in nine locations throughout the country. In each of the locations, up to ten families participate in the program.

Reo o te Kāinga reflects similar project aspirations to the Kōtahi Mano Kaika—Kōtahi Mano Wawata and Kāinga Kōrerorero projects. At a fundamental level there is little difference between the projects. Obvious characteristics such as scale, resources, location and project focus (e.g., strategic plan verses research) do not detract from the end result for all of the projects, which is to improve intergenerational language transmission and use by family members within the home. We have adopted a research paradigm and we are able to employ research terminologies as required. We can do that, and we do. But, does that matter if language change and growth is not taking place? Perhaps then, the most prominent differentiating factor of this project from others is expressed

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through the statement—*it is simply our project*—as Timoti Karetū, the first Māori Language Commissioner, has so eloquently put it: “we our are languages, and our languages are us” (2002, p. 29).

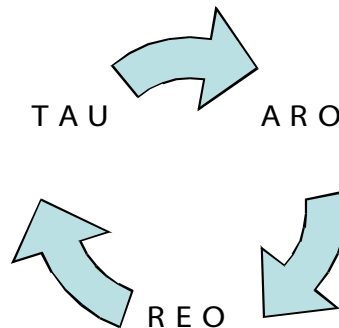
We, meaning Ngāi Te Rangi, are interconnected to, and with this project in every conceivable way: The research manager, research director, project leader, and researchers are all Ngāi Te Rangi. The tribe is Ngāi Te Rangi, the research project was conceived by Ngāi Te Rangi, the families are Ngāi Te Rangi, the language aspirations are for Ngāi Te Rangi, and the benefactors are Ngāi Te Rangi. Our ownership of this project and its outcomes is hugely significant. For without this sense of ownership, we would not be as passionate about its outcomes. This is not to say that we expect that every Ngāi Te Rangi member will equally associate themselves with this passion for language recovery and sustenance. Instead, we assert that the work we are doing with our nine families has not only advanced our passion for language in the home, it has also contributed to the building of a research infrastructure that incorporates Ngāi Te Rangi people at every different level. We are therefore convinced that we will make advancements that benefit our whānau, our researchers and our tribe.

Research methods

Very few research publications or models appear to focus on the home as a site for proactive dedication to regenerate language use within the home. The complexities associated with finding a balance with instructed learning, mentoring, inter-whānau language interaction, proactive personalized language activities, whilst also recognizing barriers to language learning through psychological impediments such as embarrassment, shame, ridicule, anger and fear require considerable thought in terms of model appropriateness.

For this project, we have adopted a simple, yet practical, tool called ARO-REO-TAU, which employs principles of action research to assist with the contextualization of tribal efforts to acquire language through interaction with several tribal families. This model was developed during this project. It has helped structure and organise the way we have worked with our whānau members (see Figure 1 below).

Figure 1. Reo o te Kāinga project model



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Through home visits, phone calls, informal visits, wānanga and other forms of support (e.g., school support, one-on-one support, grammar lessons and accessing other networks and resources in Māori language), language growth and acquisition were enabled. The components of the model include:

- ARO—an abbreviation of two Māori words, ARONGA and ARO-TAKE. It is literally translated to mean ‘focusing point and evaluation’;
- REO—the Māori word for ‘language’ and;
- TAU—an abbreviation for the Māori word, TAUTOKO, meaning ‘support,’ as with the above examples.

At fortnightly or monthly intervals, home visits were initiated with an ARO meeting comprising of goal setting and resource preparation. As a follow up, REO meetings provided opportunities for participants to speak Te Reo Māori, in language reflecting their ability. Audio samples were also taken during these meetings which were spoken about at length in the following month’s meeting. This approach was part of the evaluation and reassessment process for goals relating to the forthcoming month. Wānanga were also held throughout the program to provide an opportunity for whānau members to come together. Two wānanga were held during the twelve month program.

Research methodologies adopted in this project reflect community action research protocols and Kaupapa Māori research methodologies. The overlay of ontological references to things Māori with definitive action oriented approaches to research ensured that the research principles guiding this project were consistent with our own beliefs and values. The research methods utilized in this project include a literature review, kāinga visits (home visits), whānau observations, language recordings, evaluation questionnaires and interactive whānau conversations.

Preliminary research findings

The preliminary research findings stem primarily from observational extracts and language recordings. Four prominent themes have emerged which relate to spiritual and traditional values, whānau relationships and roles, motivation and commitment, and image and social norms. These themes are by no means exhaustive; however they provide a snapshot of the experiences of our Ngāi Te Rangi whānau as they journey to improve conversational language within their homes.

The first theme, the influence of *spiritual and traditional values*, explores the behavior of people, their culture, and how values influence the way in which people interact in their natural environments. Our whānau participants drew from cultural values founded on a Māori world view. Our stories, narratives and history are intertwined with and to our language. Particular values, such as moral values, respect for one’s elders and service to others is of utmost importance (Bevan-Brown, 1996; Mutu, 2007; Te Puni Kōkiri, 2003). Whānau responses

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demonstrate how the influence of values on language acquisition takes place, for instance:

Ben in particular feels a heartfelt obligation and honour to represent his sub-tribe by building his language capacity to 'sit on the pae' (a formal panel of speakers). He noted how he wished his grandfather was still alive, so he may speak and learn from him through Te Reo Māori.

The girls both pledged their support of the project by opting to be a leading example for Mum and Dad. Faye (the most fluent of the family) states "Mum will talk Māori to me, and I know it's not right. I know what she's trying to say, but I don't fix it." After asking why, she affirms, "I don't want to offend her."

Rana and Keri wrote their own karakia (prayer) for the morning and the evening that was relevant to their needs and desire for well-being. After I translated this into Te Reo Māori, they are both trying to learn it though rote memory. They take their karakia with them whenever they come into town for the night, or travel away. The karakia time has also been a bonding time, for the whānau, to help them get through a struggling period of Rana's illness, as well as keeping them focused in a Māori context.

Values that are reflected in these responses include an obligation to perform oratory duties for your family, respect for your elders and karakia (prayer) as a way of life to acknowledge our spiritual guides.

The second theme, the influence of *whānau relationships and roles*, recognizes roles performed by whānau members in a traditional social sense, and in the context of language acquisition. The whānau responses provided below are examples of how language roles are different to traditional family roles, for example:

Tom has a high degree of fluency and understanding in the Māori language, but he has a tendency to change into English if he thinks the person he's talking to doesn't understand. His wife states that whilst she may not understand him quickly, she actually wants him to carry on, so that she can at least have a go.

The more fluent speakers in the family acknowledged that there was one among them that was quite further ahead in her language skill than the rest, but also mentioned that she tended to correct them all the time, or get frustrated with them. This affected their confidence in speaking"

Upon further discussion around 'laziness' it was evident that this was really a case of changing into English to suit the 'listener' and simply becoming hoha (frustrated) when they are not understood"

I prefer to speak Māori, (but) I felt funny to speak Māori here.

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During the research a small number of whānau members chose to participate in a national week-long full immersion language course and many of them are also involved in other tertiary level Māori language programs. These whānau members have taken on the initiative to lead the revitalization of language in their home and community and these responses reflect their experiences:

Nadia has been very active in the home since she returned home from the Kura Reo. She has initiated their own meetings and games, to practice their language patterns and answer questions of those particular structures.

Taare is currently composing a haka (war dance) for the marae. Taare is taking an interest in composing, as it shows me that he is confident in his language skill and ability. He is also composing a song for the local school.

The third theme, *motivation, commitment and consistency*, relates directly to the success and participation of whānau learning Māori language on the whole. Te Puni Kōkiri (2001) reports, “motivation to learn and use Māori language is critical to Māori intergenerational transmission; Māori adults must want to speak Māori and transmit it to future generations (p.4). Most evident from the responses is the sheer effort required to remain motivated to learn your own language, the added dynamic of family relationships adds to the difficulties, for instance:

Emma shared her frustrations about a recent visit from her sisters, who blatantly spoke English, despite the fact that they knew about the whānau involvement in the Reo o te Kāinga project

The whānau have acknowledged that their efforts in terms of Te Reo Māori in the home (in particular the rāhui) have been minimal in recent weeks. They put this down to and largely in part to do with the fact that it is school holiday time, and as a family, they haven't spent much 'together' time over this period.

I've got too many things on, I'm far too busy. It's like we've forgotten, it's not a priority.

The final theme, the influence of *image and social norms* reflects the impact of what others think about Māori language and how their views impact language acquisition. This theme also reflects upon social norms and how they impact upon Māori language acquisition. The most prevalent finding so far, is that children often have the ability to speak Māori, but they resist participating in activities that appear to benefit their parents more than themselves, for instance:

Both parents have issues with being corrected by certain members in the whānau, who do so in such a way that is de-meaning and unhelpful. Such behavior has been a barrier for both parents, who feel that their

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younger son is doing this for reasons that are connected to the notion of image, and not looking or sounding right to other people.

We (the kids) never had to (speak) before and I'm just not used to it.

Tom was unsupportive of his father when it came to speaking, especially in public.

There's just no support from my son.

When asked about the fluency at Kura, he says that he speaks often because "they have to."

Conversely, parents and older adults in the family portray different issues. For instance, an overwhelming 'need' to be grammatically correct prevents language use, so much so that language correctness and confidence were viewed as major barriers for all whānau in this project, for example:

Heeni admits that she gets very anxious before ringing other people—and has also confessed that she hasn't yet called her hoa kōrero (speaking buddy) on the phone for this very reason...she knows that the hoa kōrero concept is to increase confidence to speak one to another. With only a two minute time-frame this proved too much for Heeni at this time.

(I'm) too frightened to say something wrong—I don't wanna get it wrong and look like an idiot.

I must say it right, the structure should be correct, I wanna make sense.

I am pedantic, that's just how I am. I look for fault. I have an ear for 'incorrect grammar' and it is better to be corrected in house than outside.

Oro is still grappling with confidence issues and not wanting to sound wrong, she comments that, "I use the reo with my moko's (grand-children) cos' they won't know if my grammar is right or wrong."

I want to be a Māori, the whole package (and) I can't be the full package without Te Reo.

I don't like listening to myself. I'm going too fast, I can't hear that.

These excerpts provide commentary about the experiences of whānau members involved in this project. An overall summation of their experiences to date is that language acquisition and use by individuals is much easier to achieve than language acquisition and use by several whānau members within a home at the same time. Some of the issues impacting whānau members include the four themes explored in this paper. Other issues such as power dynamics in internal whānau relationships, language learning preferences and language structures, emerge as significant factors associated with language acquisition in the home. It is likely that more issues will emerge in the final research report. Whilst these findings are preliminary in nature, they provide insight into some of the real and complex issues associated with re-growing a language within the contextual and structural domain of whānau within the home.

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Complementary tribal activities

Reo o te Kāinga is one major tribal project, however Ngāi Te Rangi is also planning other language revitalization activities which complement existing sub-tribe, institutional, regional and national efforts to improve our language. These community initiatives include the following:

- *Te Rautaki Reo Māori a Ngāi Te Rangi* (Māori language plan): Funded by the Māori Language Commission, we hope to develop a five year tribal language strategy next year.
- *Kura Reo a Rohe* (total immersion school of learning for the region): This five day language immersion program is a method of language acquisition that tribes are modeling from the national Kura Reo hosted by the Māori Language Commission. It is proposed that Ngati Ranginui, another Iwi within Tauranga will spearhead the Kura Reo for 2008, in partnership with our tribe and Ngati Pukenga.
- *Maungatūhāhā* (advanced learning by fluent speakers): This is a twelve month program aimed at providing succession planning for the next tier of formal language speakers in the Tauranga region. It aims to replicate language excellence by providing identified tribal people with an opportunity to participate in a five wānanga program throughout the year. Ngāi Te Rangi is managing this project for tribes in the Tauranga Moana region.
- *Te Heke o Te Rangihouhiri* (historical journey of the people of Rangihouhiri): In March 2009, the fifth re-tracing of the historical trail that brought the Ngāi Te Rangi tribe from the East Coast of the North Island to Tauranga will be held. Four previous trails have been undertaken since 1989.

It is important that our tribal leaders employ a strategic approach to facilitate language opportunities for our people. These community initiatives complement institutional options currently being offered to improve our language. The provision of community language initiatives has not always been easy, as resources are limited. Ngāi Te Rangi has employed a full time language facilitator and the responsibilities of this person are significant. As part of our language endeavors, the long term retention of this employee is crucial to the success of our tribal language recovery.

Conclusion

Our Reo o te Kāinga project has given us a privileged snapshot of the journey taken by a small number of Ngāi Te Rangi families to improve intergenerational language transmission and conversational language use within their homes. We have uncovered challenges and successes which have revealed promising pathways forward for our tribe. We have no doubt that the first hurdle to overcome is to re-confirm a tribal commitment to nourish and grow our language. As obvious as that first step might sound, there are many tribal members who do

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not possess the ability to converse in our language, and even more concerning is the realization that many of our tribal members do not see a need to contribute to the survival of our language.

We are convinced that language use in the home can only be accomplished by family members interacting with each other; one person learning our language in isolation from the rest of their family members does little to assist intergenerational language transmission as no language family exists. If we can impress one main point in our paper, it is that a gauge of language wellbeing can be made from its use in the home. The *language roles* performed by children, parents and grandparents are also crucial and one of the most important language roles in the family is the *language instigator*; this person does not necessarily need to be a parent. The targeted use of the limited resources to improve language use in the home is also imperative. These resources need not always be financial; the active presence of a grandparent speaking to other whānau members in their own language is much more precious than any amount of funds.

We have more to do to complete our final research report. Nonetheless, we have presented these preliminary findings as a means to share emerging results as they materialize. The *sharing of knowledge* is one way in which principles of action research are adhered to. We also have no doubt that the nine family case studies that will be developed as part of this research will form the basis of a family oriented language revitalization paradigm for our tribe. We are looking forward to the insights that will be gleaned as a result. We also acknowledge our families as the sharing of their experiences would not have been possible without their support. In closing, we modify Professor Timoti Karetū's (2002) sentiments: *Fighters of language survival within the whānau and the home, we salute all your whānau!*

Note

¹This paper is jointly submitted by representatives of Te Runanga o Ngāi Te Rangi, the tribal authority of the Ngāi Te Rangi tribe, located in Mt. Maunganui, New Zealand and Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi, a Māori tertiary educational institution located in Whakatane, New Zealand. Funding for this project was made possible through Nga Pae o te Maramatanga, the National Institute of Māori Excellence in Research.

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Indigenous New Words Creation Perspectives from Alaska and Hawai'i

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Isiik April G.L. Counciller, University of Alaska Fairbanks & Alutiiq Museum

This paper describes the context, background and history of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee and Alutiiq New Words Council. It discusses committee membership, word formation techniques and other relevant issues involved in developing new vocabulary for indigenous languages so that these languages can be used to discuss new things and concepts that were not known previously to speakers of these languages.

Threatened language groups facing terminological deficiencies are increasingly seeking to develop new words to modernize their lexicon. The Hawaiian Lexicon committee has created new words for two decades, following work first done in the 'Aha Pūnana Leo schools in 1983. The Alutiiq New Words Council in Kodiak Alaska began work in the Fall of 2007. While differing greatly in the age of their programs, there are some strong connections between the two committees, such as an implicit connection to their wider language revitalization movements. Both also share linguistic-self determination as a guiding force, as well as an awareness of global forces, against which these activities are a form of resistance.

The authors of this article, Counciller and Kimura, met when a small contingent of Alutiiq representatives from Alaska visited the Hawaiian programs in 2003 as the Kodiak Alutiiq community was just forming its language revitalization program. When the Kodiak New Words Council was created, Kimura was invited to participate in the early stages, sparking a collaboration between the two organizations.

The Hawaiian Lexicon Committee

The reestablishment of the Hawaiian language as a medium of public school education after a 90 year ban resulting from the overthrow of the independent Hawaiian Nation in 1893 rekindled a commitment for Hawaiian language and culture revitalization with significant consequences for the betterment of native Hawaiian well being (Wilson & Kamanā, 2001). The creation of new Hawaiian words helps to keep pace with new items and concepts emerging from our modern global society.

The Hawaiian Lexicon Committee under the auspices of the Hale Kuamo'o Hawaiian Language Center of the University of Hawai'i at Hilo's Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language in consortium with the Hawaiian language immersion preschool program 'Aha Pūnana Leo, has produced new word lists since the incorporation of the non-profit 'Aha Pūnana Leo in 1983, and the acceptance of Hawaiian medium education into the Hawai'i Department of Education (DOE) in 1987. These new Hawaiian word lists have resulted in

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publication of Hawaiian new words dictionary, *Māmaka Kaiāo* (Kōmike Hua‘ōlelo Hou, 2003), in 1996, 1998 and 2003 with over 6,500 entries.

The creation of new words began with plans to start Pūnana Leo Hawaiian language medium preschools in 1983. Potential teachers, among whom were native speakers of the language and ‘Aha Pūnana Leo founders, met to plan and prepare a Hawaiian preschool program. New words needed to be coined for such concepts as a gathering circle to start and end the day (*lina poepoe*), a snack (*mea‘ai māmā*) in the morning and afternoon, independent activities (*hana ‘ae‘oia*), to trace a figure (*ho‘omahaka*), or “playing house” (*pā‘ani ‘anakē*). These words grew out of necessity and were immediately put to use with the start of the first Pūnana Leo School Hawaiian medium preschool in 1984.

In 1987 a small team of Hawaiian curriculum developers came together at the University of Hawai‘i at Hilo to create the first content material for the Fall DOE Hawaiian immersion combined kindergarten-first grade school program. Some of the content work entailed translations of math, science and social studies lessons. The small team of five regular members consisted of Hawaiian language educators, Kauanoe Kamanā, Pila Wilson, Larry Kimura and Leinani Raffiyy. The team was augmented at times with input from Hawaiian native speaking educators Elama Kanahale and Sarah Nākoa, Hawaiian language teachers Hōkūlani Cleeland and Paul Koki Williams and from a Mohawk educator and language revitalization leader Dorothy Lazore. At the end of each day, members of the Hawaiian team would gather to review and approve new words that had been coined within the contexts of their curriculum work or to discuss and create words for circumstances in which Hawaiian was not then being used. Larry Kimura was designated Committee Chairperson of this new words committee, a position he still holds.

In 1988, a small portion of a Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education (FIPSE) federal grant helped to continue the Hawaiian new words committee with seven native speaking elders representing five major islands of Hawai‘i. The *kūpuna* (elders) were Leilehua Lindsey, Edward Like and Joseph Maka‘ai representing the island of Hawai‘i, Helen Wahineokai representing Maui, Lani Kapuni representing Moloka‘i and Sarah Nākoa representing O‘ahu. Elama Kanahale, then in her late thirties, represented Ni‘ihau and Kaua‘i. This native speaking elders committee was assisted by second language speakers, Pila Wilson and Haunani Drecshel, both Hawaiian language educators and linguists, Kalani Akana, Hawaiian educator, Larry Kimura, Hawaiian language educator and Committee Chairperson, and the recorder for the Committee was University of Hawai‘i fourth year Hawaiian language student Kana‘i Kapeliela. The Committee held six meetings on O‘ahu over a one-year period with two *kūpuna* who were flown in from their islands for the meetings. The new words committee members served without compensation and this has been the rule over the years up to the current Committee.

The Hawaiian *kūpuna* (elder) committee members represented the last of the native speaking generation estimated to be less than 2,000 at that time, with highly fluent speakers 70 years or older. The exception to this count was

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the population of less than 250 living on the privately owned island of Ni‘ihau [This island was purchased fee simple in 1863 from the Kingdom of Hawai‘i by a private owner and remains the property of the purchaser’s descendents (Joesting, 1987)] in 1988 where Hawaiian was then spoken by all age groups. The selection of an all *kūpuna* member committee was to honor the last of the native Hawaiian speakers who gained first language fluency through their home and community environments. All had been raised in rural areas of Hawai‘i. Two had attained professional education certification, three had completed high school and two had gone to elementary school only. All of the *kūpuna* members, except for the representative from the Ni‘ihau-Kaua‘i community, were not then current active users of their language. As was then typical of their generation, they did not use the language with their own families or even with their peers. English had become their dominant language of communication in everyday affairs but they were still fluent in Hawaiian when they were engaged to use it.

The assistant members to the *kūpuna* committee were all second language speaking language activists and were thus beginning to use Hawaiian on a daily basis at work and at home. They were encountering the challenges of not having Hawaiian words for a myriad of modern items and concepts. They were attempting to create words out of necessity without any consensus of approval from the approximate 2,000 less active speaking elder generation of native speakers.

Words such as “theory” or “evolution” from school content material were great challenges for the *kūpuna* committee. They could participate in informal discussion in Hawaiian about the meanings of such words and make attempts to explain these concepts through Hawaiian but they found it difficult to create actual words for these areas of science. The descriptive approach as the initial attempt on the part of native speakers for creating new Hawaiian words was a natural approach and conformed to some of the terms that developed during the late eighteenth century, for example:

mea wehe kini, Can opener. Lit., something to open a can.

ipu hao, Iron pot. Lit., iron gourd.

waihona palapala kahiko, Archive. Lit., place to deposit old documents.

However, the terms discussed in the committee were often much longer, e.g., *‘i‘o pipi i wili ‘ia* (Hamburger. Lit., cow meat that is ground up), *pahu aniani no ka i‘a* (Aquarium. Lit., glass box for fish), *pahu ho‘olele leo* (Radio. Lit., box that sends out a voice), and were not realistically considered for contemporary use in the same way that shorter words from traditional culture were, e.g., *lo‘i* (Irrigated taro field.), *mākolū* (Net mesh three fingers in depth.) and *kahuli* (Overturned as a canoe).

Because the native speakers had difficulty creating new words, the direction for the *kūpuna* committee quickly switched from Hawaiian immersion curriculum content, to clarifying words recorded in the Hawaiian dictionary relating to the home, health conditions or cultural values. Sometimes there was no Hawaiian word for a common household item such as a clothes hanger. The active second

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language users would have coined a word (*uea kau lole*. Literally wire upon which clothes is hung.). Then it would be presented to the *kūpuna*, and more often than not, receive their approval.

The committee member who represented the Hawaiian that already existed in the viable Ni‘ihau Hawaiian speaking community would participate more actively with things around the home that the non-active native language users would not have a word for. The existing Hawaiianized sound for bicycle, *paikikala* for example, was also pronounced *paisikala* and *pisikala* by Ni‘ihau Hawaiian speakers, and they could name parts of the bicycle such as the fender (*pale kaea/huila*. Literally tire protector.) or the spokes in the wheel (*kukuna kaea/huila*. Literally, tire rays). The other *kūpuna* members had no choice but to approve of these words since they had not used the Hawaiian language to communicate about a bicycle, a common mode of transportation on Ni‘ihau. The approval of new words or clarifications of existing words by the *kūpuna* committee was by consensus.

Consensus for the *kūpuna* committee, and also for the current committee, means that there is a good understanding of the goals and mission of the work at hand so that personality differences of individuals do not deter from the mission. Disagreements and different points of view are healthy and are the rule of a new words committee, but working through consensus results in a sound and efficient new words committee. Each indigenous community will know its own language situation and hopefully keep an open but focused mind in maintaining a forward motion for the needs of their languages.

In the meantime, the pressure for new Hawaiian words in curriculum content and pedagogy kept multiplying with the success of the Hawaiian medium education program in the State public school system. The native speaking *kūpuna* committee was discontinued as an active new words committee after one year, with the selection of new members for the committee from among second language Hawaiian educators especially connected to Hawaiian language medium education and with representation from the active Ni‘ihau native speaking community. Consultation however, with *kūpuna* native speakers occurred whenever applicable questions arose regarding their knowledge of language use. Within seven years, however, most of the original *kūpuna* committee had passed away but consultation of native speakers continues with native speakers who are available. The continuing new words committee became known as the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee from 1989 forward. Its membership has ranged in number from six to ten, all second language speakers except for a Ni‘ihau community member.

The Ni‘ihau membership on the Committee was eventually replaced with consultations with Ni‘ihau native speakers. The reason for this is somewhat similar to the situation of the non-active *kūpuna* native speakers who did not continue using their language in all contexts of modern living, but instead succumbed to using English for words they did not have.

It is the observation of this writer (Kimura), in a situation where a language needs to be revived, indigenous new words are more likely to emerge from a

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more culturally and politically conscientious group of proactive second language indigenous speakers participating in a global society.

Since 1988, the very isolated and only viable native Hawaiian speaking population of 250 people on Ni‘ihau has decreased to less than 75 today (Ilei Beniamina, personal communication, 2008) owing to an economic diaspora caused by the unavailability of jobs on Ni‘ihau. Most have migrated to the neighboring island of Kaua‘i to seek a livelihood within the larger English-speaking world. Any new piece of information or item not introduced first in their primary Hawaiian language is easily and often said in the dominant English language, commonly with a Hawaiian pronunciation.

Consulting with operative native speakers of Hawaiian such as active Ni‘ihau speakers has been beneficial for some modern inventions that became a part of daily life on Ni‘ihau before the transition to English. Such words include the term for a spark plug (*‘ōpu‘u ahi*. An object shaped like the bud of a flower that has a fire-like spark.), light bulb (*‘ōpu‘u kukui*. A bud shaped object that can be illuminated.) and diesel fuel (*‘aila uliuli*. dark colored oil). Other more newly created Hawaiian words such as tire fender and bicycle tire spokes were already noted earlier. Also as mentioned, is the lack of current engagement on the part of Ni‘ihau native speakers with the recent inventions, such as the technology dealing with computers introduced through, and overshadowed by, the English language.

Many words have broad meanings in Hawaiian and a specified meaning is determined via context and often with the assistance of an adjective, which follows what it modifies. *Mī‘oi* for example is a general act of imposing oneself, but Ni‘ihau native speakers have contextualized a meaning for it as for example in faking a hit in volleyball (*mī‘oi wale*). The intensifier *wale* stresses the containment of the act (aggressive behavior) only within itself and no further. These observations in word coining on the part of active native Hawaiian speakers brings further understanding as to how broad meanings of words can be coined into more specific current words. It demonstrates how Hawaiian words are created.

Knowing our language’s history, grammar, pronunciation, spelling, social and political relevance as well as its formal and informal nuances, evolution and current state of affairs is vital in the work of revitalization and the creation of new words. Serious second language learners, who have acquired their language well, generally have a great advantage of knowing how the language works through second language acquisition. This is generally not in the experience of native speakers. However, indigenous language medium education for both the native speaker and non-native speaker can provide a stronger knowledge of the workings and history of the aboriginal language as compared to learning it through a non-indigenous medium of education.

Correct dictionary spelling of Hawaiian words plays a crucial role in the maintenance of accurate Hawaiian pronunciation especially since the Hawaiian orthography is based on a phonetic alphabet and because the increasing numbers of second Hawaiian language learners depend heavily on the Hawaiian dictionary.

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Mispronunciation contributes to the deterioration of a correct language standard and can change the meaning of a word. Consultation with native oral speech is therefore another important objective of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee, especially since inaccurate spelling changes have been noted over several printings of the most used Hawaiian dictionary.

An example of new word creation

In order to provide an idea of how some Hawaiian words are created, the following is an example of a typical process the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee followed to create a new word for the word 'evolution.' First, the context of the word is determined for both its semantic and structural meaning. In Hawaiian, action takes precedence and therefore, though the noun form of the word (evolution) was the initial introduction of the word, the Committee is cognizant of creating a verb form, which can also be used as a noun. In looking at the meanings of the word 'evolve,' the Committee recognizes a variety of contextual meanings other than the biological meaning of 'evolve' such as the evolving of languages and airplanes. Sometimes it is the consideration of the other meaning that precedes in the coining of the original word request. In this particular example for 'evolve' the other meanings did not precede the process of dealing first with the biological meaning and so taking up the other meanings subsequent to the biological meaning of 'evolution' was efficiently performed with minor revisions after the new word for Darwin's evolution was approved.

Typically, after the Committee has clarification on the word it submits its analysis. For biological evolution, two major thoughts are expressed for consideration, one that it requires a good length of time and second that it involves genetics. *Ewe*, meaning family lineage, is almost immediately considered along with *li'uli'u* for a long length of time. The Committee is familiar with traditional words that appear as the result of a combination of two or more words as an approach to produce another word. Take for example, *ulu*, to grow and *kau*, to place something. So the unexplained, miraculous acquiring of knowledge as a growth (of inspiration) that settles (placed) upon someone is a concept expressed in the word *ulukau*. Now the Committee wrestles with combining *ewe* and *li'uli'u* to produce the word for biological evolution. The verb *li'uli'u*, to pass a length of time, would be modified with *ewe* (lineage) to describe the nature of this passing of a length of time. A committee member raises the suggestion that we select *liliu* from the related Polynesian Tongan language family in place of the Hawaiian *li'uli'u*, and *liliuwe* is out for its first evaluative test, and the Committee gives its nod for the first approval. The adapting of the Tongan word is not only because Hawaiian is in the same Polynesian language family, but also because it adds a twist to the Hawaiian to make the word more unique yet still palatable in Hawaiian. After this first approval, the Committee will have a chance to give its second and final approval at the next meeting, generally within a span of two months. This time affords a fresh look at the newly coined word at the subsequent meeting.

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With the creation of biological evolution fresh in the minds of the members, the Committee goes back to other meanings reviewed earlier in the clarification process for ‘evolve’ and considers the evolution of language and airplanes and replaces the modifier *ewe* (lineage) with *loli* (change), to render *liliuloli* (progressive change that occurs over time) for the evolution of the Volkswagen car, for example.

The Committee then recognizes Hawai‘i’s unique geographic isolation and resulting ecosystem as comparable to Darwin’s discoveries in the Galápagos Islands off South America. The Committee considers the biological term ‘adaptive radiation’—a biological evolution pertaining to the diversification of an ancestral group of organisms into a variety of related forms specialized to fit different environments or ways of life, each often further diversifying into more specialized types (Merriam & Webster, 2008). Hawai‘i has many examples of adaptive radiation and the adjective *ewe* in *liliuwe* is replaced with *welo*, a more specific Hawaiian word meaning a hereditary trait, to create the word *liliuwelo* for adaptive radiation.

As a result of creating a word for biological evolution the Committee has also created words for evolve as in technological evolution, and for evolve as in adaptive radiation. The Committee utilized in part, several approaches for the creation of these new words. First the consideration of combining Hawaiian words (two) into one, and while shortening at least one of the words, the extension of the meaning of a word(s), and the use of a word from another Polynesian language. Please refer to Guidelines 6, 7, 8, and 9 of the Guidelines for Creating New Hawaiian Words in the Appendix of this paper.

After these words are approved for a second time at a subsequent meeting, then the words are ready to be dispersed to the public for use. Currently the new words of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee are in the publication *Māmaka Kaiāo* that is also online at www.ulukau.org. *Māmaka Kaiāo* is searchable as an individual dictionary or in a combination of other existing Hawaiian dictionaries such as the most used dictionary, Hawaiian Dictionary, by Pūku‘i and Elbert.

The primary users of the new words book *Māmaka Kaiāo* are second language users who cannot find a word in the Hawaiian Dictionary. The number of Hawaiian speakers who know the language from a fair to high level of fluency is estimated to be around 10,000. From this estimated total, the number of active speakers of the language on a daily basis is approximately 3,000. Included in this figure of active speakers are the current student statistics (Hale Kuamo‘o and Ka Haka ‘Ula O Ke‘elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language, 2008) for Hawaiian immersion (“immersion” from total to partial) and Hawaiian medium (“medium” meaning the sole language throughout the total school environment):

DOE Kaiapuni Hawai‘i Hawaiian Language Immersion Program	
1,811 students	126 Hawaiian immersion teachers
‘Aha Pūnana Leo Hawaiian Medium Schools	
211 students	64 Hawaiian medium teachers

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This totals to 2,212 active student speakers of Hawaiian currently enrolled and 190 active speaking Hawaiian language teachers presently hired in Hawaiian language immersion and medium education. There are also active Hawaiian language users as administrators, tutors, substitute teachers, curriculum developers and parents attached to both the Hawaiian medium preschools and K-12 program. It is interesting to note that aside from the present Hawaiian language medium education statistics, the DOE schools have an enrollment of 3,800 students taking Hawaiian language as a subject. Also, at the College level, there are over 2,000 students enrolled in Hawaiian language courses with some at the graduate levels (Hale Kuamo'o and Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language, 2008.).

The Hawaiian Lexicon Committee values these statistics because they represent an estimated count of the active users and learners of the Hawaiian language. They have the ultimate say on whether a new word is used or not and they bring a renewed hope for the life of the language.

The Alutiiq New Words Council

The Kodiak New Words Council (NWC) is part of the wider Alutiiq Language revitalization effort on Kodiak Island. Like the language movement itself, the NWC is relatively new, and does not have the historical depth of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee. However, the experiences of this new program, which is documenting the committee formation and word development process in action, will be useful for other Indigenous groups contemplating terminological development for their languages. Since the NWC cannot be understood out of context, a historical background is provided first.

The Alutiiq (traditionally known as Sugpiaq) homeland of coastal Southern Alaska stretches from the middle of the Alaska Peninsula, across Kodiak Island and the southern Kenai Peninsula to Prince William Sound. Some of our people still use "Aleut" as a self-designator, a term used during the Russian era for most Native groups of Southern Alaska, whether they were Unangan, Sugpiaq or Yup'ik. The term "Alutiiq" was first noted during the Russian era as a way of saying *Aleuty* (Russian for "Aleuts") in our Native language (Leer, 2001). It came into use again in the 1970s and 1980s, while others preferred the traditional "Sugpiaq." Most people on Kodiak now call themselves Alutiiq, while our people in other areas use Aleut, Alutiiq, or Sugpiaq. Our language is usually referred to as Alutiiq, Sugt'stun (lit., "like a person"), or Alutiitstun (lit. "like an Alutiiq"). Alutiiq is part of the "Esk-Aleut" language family, most closely related to Yup'ik (Krauss, 1982).

There are two major dialects in the Alutiiq region. Koniag Alutiiq is spoken on the Alaska Peninsula and the Kodiak Archipelago. Chugach Alutiiq is spoken on the Kenai Peninsula eastward to Prince William Sound. Within these dialects there are sub-dialectical differences. On Kodiak, speakers identify a Northern or Afognak dialect, traditionally spoken in the villages of Karluk, Larsen Bay, Afognak/Port Lions, Ouzinkie, and Kodiak. The Southern dialect is traditionally spoken in Akhiok/Kaguyak and Old Harbor. There are even differences within

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the sub-dialects, and Elders can often figure out a speaker's specific village of origin based on their vocabulary or way of talking.

Alutiiq is traditionally an oral language, without an alphabetical form. Russian priests and Alutiiq students developed the first written form of Alutiiq in the early years of the nineteenth century. These scholars used the Cyrillic alphabet to represent Alutiiq sounds. Remaining texts from this period include the Lord's Prayer (1816), a catechism (1847), a primer (1848), and a Gospel of St. Matthew (1848). As Dr. Lydia Black laments in "Forgotten Literacy," although this form of written Alutiiq was used throughout the Alutiiq homeland, it quickly faded after Americanization (Black, 2001). The alphabet in use today was introduced in the 1970s and uses Roman characters.

The greatest number of "borrowed" words in Alutiiq are from Russian. These "Alutiicized" words exist in the hundreds (locals joke that to Alutiicize you just add a q on the end of a non-Native word). Household and everyday items that did not exist traditionally, such as fork—*wiirkaa*q (vilka in Russian) cat—*kuskaa*q (koshka in Russian) and lamp—*laampaa*q (laampa in Russian) were all added during this period. Words containing an f or a Russian *р* (which is pronounced differently than the uvular Alutiiq *r*) can easily be identified as having Russian origins, as these letters' sounds are introduced. While new sounds are often introduced in this way, sometimes the borrowing language will use the "most similar native sound" (Hock & Joseph, 2004, p. 209).

It was during the first 100 years of American rule that the Alutiiq language struggled the most. Although some villagers learned English on top of Alutiiq and Russian, negative pressure by mission and secular schools taught parents that the Native language would stigmatize their children. Fluent children learned that speaking Alutiiq could result in a ruler to the hand, a soapy rag in the mouth or other traumatizing punishments. Many children of trilingual parents grew up monolingual, speaking only English in an effort to survive in American society. Today people ask their parents and grandparents why they didn't pass down the gift of our heritage language. The bitter answer is that parents' love was manipulated by "English only" proponents, who claimed that Native language fluency was a detriment to success.

It is interesting to note that there are relatively few "Alutiicized" English words in our language. Because the language was in such rapid decline, no "natural" methods of terminological development occurred. In fact, many words faded from the lexicon with the death of every fluent speaker. Fluent speakers report that they would typically substitute an English word without Alutiicization (N. Alokli, personal communication, 2008). Instead of developing words for new technologies of the 20th Century, speakers code-switched into English to insert needed words: "*Radio kwarsgu*" "Turn on the Radio." Or, a speaker might create a word by describing it in the language. An alien from outer space might be described as a *suuru*aq—a "fake or unreal person." These words, while easily understood by other speakers by the context and description, were not typically adopted by other speakers due to the infrequency of Alutiiq language use. Individual speakers, isolated from each other in separate remote villages,

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did not have opportunities to share their neologisms through conversation, and new words remained with the individuals who created them.

It is unknown exactly how many Native speakers of Alutiiq are still living throughout the region. The *Native Peoples and Languages* map, produced in 1982, identified 900 speakers (Krauss, 1982). In 1994, that number had dropped by half (Krauss, 1994). A local 2003 survey on Kodiak Island identified only 45 semi or fully fluent speakers, and a few Elders on that list have already passed away. This survey, conducted by Shauna Hegna at the Alutiiq Museum, found that .03% of Alutiiq people on the Archipelago could speak our Native language, and that the average age of speakers was 72 years (Hegna, 2004).

Because of the extreme rate at which our language is declining, various organizations are working together on Kodiak Island to document and revitalize our language. The *Qik'rtarmiut Alutiit* (Alutiiq People of the Island) Regional Language Advisory Committee (known as the "Qik Committee") was formed in 2003, with representatives from area tribal councils, non-profits, and educational organizations. In partnership with these local organizations, the Alutiiq Museum received funding from the Administration for Native Americans (ANA) in 2004 for a 3-year Master-Apprentice language revitalization project that also included outreach education and curriculum development. This has been complemented by a handful of other small grant projects focused on materials development.

It was during the ANA project implementation that people began discussing the need for new words. For the first time ever in significant numbers, Elders¹ were visiting local classrooms, guiding semi-fluent Apprentices with Alutiiq language lessons. Children asked for the Alutiiq words of items in the classroom, and many times Elders would have no answer, or have to make up a word on the spot. As language-learning materials were developed, elders and program staff grew uncomfortable putting these hastily created words on paper, without having agreement from other Alutiiq speakers. The Qik Committee discussed how new words creation would be an appropriate objective of the next major language program project at the Alutiiq Museum.

In 2007 the Museum received a three-year Documenting Endangered Languages grant from the National Science Foundation. This project includes field research conducted by semi-fluent former Apprentices, a web portal to share audio and video clips and transcriptions and the New Words Council. The intended coverage area of this project includes all of the Alutiiq communities on Kodiak Island, although recent communications with other areas may increase possibilities for region-wide collaboration.

Former Apprentices from the ANA project (who still identify themselves as Apprentices after the end of the formal project) are an important part of the effort, as they comprise a group of intermediate-fluency second language speakers who did not exist only a few years ago. Seven former Apprentices continue their involvement in the new project in an effort to maintain and enhance their language skills in combination with other ongoing and planned projects.

The New Words Council (NWC) is only significant as a part of the wider Alutiiq language movement. It is agreed by community stakeholders that no one

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project will be the key to turning back the tide of language loss, but that numerous coordinated activities will have the greatest effect. Creating new words for the Alutiiq language will not be useful unless there are people to speak it. It is hoped that current efforts will make the language more useful to the current community of fluent and semi-fluent speakers by extending the arenas where the language can be spoken. As youth and children are taught to speak Alutiiq in the coming years, there will be words for things that are important to them and part of their daily lives.

The initial training for NWC members was in September of 2007. Participants from Kodiak's outlying villages flew in for the two-day training, and Larry Kimura, original member of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee was invited as a guest-trainer. Members of the Kodiak program had met Mr. Kimura in a visit to the Hawaiian programs in 2003. While the purpose of that visit was to see the immersion schools, the existence of the Hawaiian Lexicon committee was recalled when the Kodiak NWC was being planned. Mr. Kimura presented on the history of the Hawaiian committee and instructed on possible techniques of new word creation.

The council is made up only of fluent Alutiiq speakers. This was a conscious decision because there are no second language speakers yet who know the language fluently enough to authoritatively develop new terms without assistance. Like the Hawaiian committee which eventually became comprised of second-language speakers, we know that this may become an eventuality for our group, but it would not be considered a legitimate action at this point. Semi-fluent speakers act as associate members on the Alutiiq NWC. Their role is to set up meetings, keep discussion moving, and learn from the Council members. If the day comes where they are asked to join the council, the experience of "sitting in" will provide a background on the unspoken rules used to develop words and gain consensus in Alutiiq word creation.

Associate members do play an important role in the selection of new terms. They provide suggestions on the agenda for the fluent members, so that they are not presented with nothing to work with. While the suggested words are rarely approved exactly as they were presented, they provide a basis for discussion. Those who suggest words learn from the discussion more appropriate ways of creating words, and are able to suggest more appropriate choices the next time. This aspect of semi-fluent participation in the council was suggested by Larry Kimura, who reminded participants that many needed "new words" are outside of the Elders frame of reference. Asking them to develop new words for a computer's hard drive or software without providing any groundwork could be stressful and counterproductive.

Meetings are organized by project staff at the Alutiiq Museum. They are held approximately once per month for four hours, and Elders receive a modest stipend for their participation. Members gather in a conference room that is set up for audio conferencing, and has a white board for writing up word options (the writing is done by Apprentices, as few Elders are comfortably literate). The audio conference option for members residing outside of Kodiak is rarely used,

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and the museum has decided to fly interested Elders in to Kodiak for future meetings. It is possible that technological aspects of the teleconference system, along with the length of meetings has made this option undesirable. Face-to-face interactions are preferred by Elders when interacting in and about the language. Subtle aspects of consensus building—like one person’s conspicuous silence or a look towards a more fluent speaker—can be missed over the phone.

The process for the council has a number of steps. Needed words are proposed by anyone interested, and potential options are put forth by second-language speakers or Elders they have consulted with. Elders receive an agenda with the list of needed words, proposed choices, and their literal translations about week before each meeting so that they can have time to consider options. At the meeting, the word will be deliberated until consensus is reached. If consensus is not reached, the minority will either acquiesce to the majority, or the discussion will continue. In only one case so far have the Elders decided to vote, and in that case the vote was nearly 50/50, so the members decided to keep both words.

The agenda is divided into three sections: Upcoming Words, In Discussion, and Approved Words. When the council approves a word for the first time, it is certified during the following meeting. If the council would like to discuss other options for that word rather than re-approve it, it is returned to discussion. If the word is certified, it is added to the master new words list. This list will be posted to the museum’s web site, and published in print form at the end of the project.

A discussion by the group at the initial training was the types of words that were needed. The developed list would help guide the NWC in what categories to focus on. This list included communications, electronics and other technologies, as well as the classroom setting and other needed words for everyday situations. In practice, the council has also discussed words that already exist. One such word, *usuq’aq*, a verb meaning “to get worn out” (usually used with clothing, but also used with people) was brought to the NWC by an Elder who remembered it, but wanted to have the other Elders confirm that it was a word they also remember.

There are many potential techniques for new word creation, which vary in their applicability to different languages and needs. Nativization, a form of borrowing, has already been discussed, and while it has a history with the Alutiiq language through Russian, it was deemed to be generally undesirable by the committee unless the borrowing was from a related dialect or language. Perhaps the opposite choice would be coinage, in which the word is developed completely in the language. A type of coinage is the extension of a new meaning to an old or obsolete word, or the adding of additional definitions to an existing word (Hock & Joseph, 1996). Two words can be put together to form a compound word, just as prefixes or suffixes can be added to a root word (Kōmike Hua‘ōlelo Hou, 2003). Coinages can also involve reductions, acronyms, or abbreviations such as with phone for telephone, and TV for television (Hock & Joseph, 1996).

A technique where the meaning of each word or morpheme is borrowed is a calque, a loan translation. An example of this type of word creation would

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be translating English *sky* and *scraper* into another language to make a word for skyscraper. An often-used Indigenous method is to describe the item in the language, based on its function, sound, or appearance (Kōmike Hua‘ōlelo Hou, 2003). The limitation to this technique is that these “words” can be several words, or one very long word. The most often used technique in the Alutiiq is to add one or more suffix to an already recognized root word. Most often, however, it is a combination of more than one technique.

In the initial training workshop for the NWC, members developed a list of potential word creation techniques and a hierarchy of sources from which words could be borrowed. Starting with the closest language neighbor, the first choice for “borrowing” was Chugach Alutiiq, followed by Cup’ik, Yup’ik, Inupiaq or Siberian Yup’ik, and other Indigenous languages. Following the Hawaiian example, the council suggested borrowing from the indigenous languages in the lands local to the animals or objects being named. Other techniques identified included the use of suffixes, describing the sound made by an object or animal, research of historically used terms, reduplication (doubling of word sounds for emphasis), and creative or *humorous* constructions.

The word for the largest city in Alaska, Anchorage is a calque. The NWC used a recognized root and a common suffix to form the Alutiiq name *Kicarwik*. An “anchorage” in English is a place to anchor a boat, so the Alutiiq word for the city literally means “place to anchor.” *Kicar-* is the verb root for “to anchor.” The suffix *-wik* means “place to [verb].”

The word for moose, *tunturpak*, could be considered a nativization of another Alutiiq dialect’s term—*tuntuwaq* (J. Leer, personal communication, 2007). A *tuntuq* is a deer, and the *-wak* suffix of the borrowed word in the Alaska Peninsula dialect of Alutiiq is a nearly-obsolete suffix meaning “big [noun].” The Kodiak Elders did not recognize the *-wak* suffix, so they decided to use a more recognized suffix (*-pak*) with the same meaning, forming the word *tunturpak*. One issue that the Elders faced in the same meeting is that when words are created in this way, there may be more than one potential English meaning. When the NWC looked next for a word for elk, “big deer” was already taken, so instead they chose *cirunertuliq*, which means “one with the big horns/antlers.” There could also be other animals with big horns, but when the council has ratified a word for an item, it is considered “taken.” If a longhorn cow ever appears on the new words agenda, the council will avoid using a word already assigned elsewhere.

Some word choices also show a bit of humor or social awareness of the Elders on the council. The word for credit card, *akilngum kaarta* means “the debter’s card.” The word chosen for a moving walkway (like in an airport), *kwingcarait’sqaq*, translates to “the thing where you don’t need to walk.” The humor felt by the elders in creating this word does not translate, but many laughed about such a modern and laziness-inducing contraption. In contrast, the word for television, which some second language learners privately hoped would contain a social critique, was simply *ulutegwik* (*uluteg-* “to look” + *-wik* “place to [verb]”) or “place to look.”

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The differences between villages and sub-dialects are not major from a linguistic standpoint, but are of utmost importance to Alutiiq people, as speakers' identities are tied to village and family connections. For this reason, all language revitalization efforts and materials development in Alutiiq take variation into account. Thus far, it has not been a contentious issue for the NWC. The Elders have discussed the differences in dialect, but have not made these differences an issue. They leave variations up to the speaker, and are comfortable in having more than one word for an item, or more than one meaning for a single word.

In the initial training, members were asked what expectations they have for the New Words Council. In addition to simply creating new words for the language, the participants showed an awareness of the council's role as more than its basic stated function. They listed community education, spelling standardization, and an increase in the status of the language and of the fluent speakers. They also felt that the NWC might be an opportunity for collaboration and intergenerational cooperation. These responses show that the NWC on Kodiak is expected to fulfill more than its simple functional role. As the project progresses, it will be seen if the NWC fulfills these additional roles ascribed to it by community members and participants.

While it is too early to know, those involved as members and observers of the NWC hope that it will be a useful project to create needed new words in the Alutiiq language. It is likely that the social importance of the council will be great, for the Alutiiq language revitalization movement is small and new, and the NWC is a highly visible. The primary goal of the Alutiiq language movement is to create new speakers, but this effort, and the documentation of it, will be an important component over the course of the project. Upon conclusion of grant funding in 2010, the Kodiak NWC will need to decide if the effort was a successful, but short-term endeavor, or if the NWC will become an institution like the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee.

The NWC on Kodiak is part of the wider Alutiiq Language revitalization movement. The language movement is part of a wider-still cultural resurgence that has been occurring on Kodiak since the late 1980s (Crowell, 2004; Crowell, Steffian & Pullar, 2001). The Alutiiq people of Kodiak Island are exerting greater self-determination over their cultural resources, community life, research projects, arts, and language. As our language was intentionally taken from us, we must now intentionally act to bring it back. New words creation is one strategy in a concerted effort to bring back Alutiiq into a living context.

Note

¹In this section the term Elder implies also fluent speaker, but it should be noted that there are many Elders in Kodiak who do not speak the language.

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Appendix

This appendix is taken from the 2003 publication of *Māmaka Kaiao* and was used as a handout for the 2008 SILS breakout panel on *Indigenous New Words Creation: Perspectives from Alaska and Hawai‘i*.

The words

Living languages throughout the world are in a state of constant change and growth, and so it is with the Hawaiian language. Therefore, in order to provide assistance to all Hawaiian-language speakers in this new era, *Māmaka Kaiao* is once again being printed to serve as a companion to the *Hawaiian Dictionary* by Pūku‘i and Elbert.

For Hawaiian-language students, one dictionary is no longer sufficient because these two volumes serve different purposes. The *Hawaiian Dictionary* provides invaluable information about Hawaiian vocabulary from the earliest days of recording the language up to the 1980s, but it is the task of *Māmaka Kaiao* to make available to the general public the new vocabulary that is being created by the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee.

Members of the Lexicon Committee generally meet from four to six times each year to discuss new vocabulary for the Hawaiian language. Most of the words that are brought up for discussion are words which are not found in the *Hawaiian Dictionary* but are needed when writing or translating a lesson, a story or article, a book, or any other document in the Hawaiian language.

Because today’s educational curricula involve many new concepts which lack equivalent Hawaiian terms in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*, development of the Hawaiian-immersion curriculum has resulted in the emergence of many new terms related to new fields of knowledge. The creators or translators of educational materials are generally the ones who bring the new words they have created before the Committee for discussion, approval, and dissemination.

If a particular vocabulary list concerns a subject which requires the knowledge of an expert in the field, such experts are invited to the meeting. If sufficient information is available in dictionaries or other resource materials, or is within the scope of knowledge of members of the Committee, then these resources are utilized so that the concept or meaning of the terms will be clearly understood before decisions are made concerning what Hawaiian word or term is most suitable.

Listed next are guidelines which are commonly used by the Committee to create the new words which are included in *Māmaka Kaiao*. Although the creation of new words is not limited to these guidelines, they do describe how most of the new words have been created.

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Present guidelines for creating new Hawaiian words

1. Make minor changes to a word which already appears in the dictionary. The most common changes are to either insert or delete a *kahakō* (macron to make a long vowel), or to join or separate parts of a word or term. A *kahakō* has been added to words like *hāpaina* (carrier) and *kāka'ikahi* (few), while terms like *a pau* (all) and *me he* (as if) have been written as two words instead of one.
2. Record a word which is used by native speakers but is not found in the dictionary, or one which appears in the dictionary but is used by native speakers with a meaning which is different from that listed in the dictionary. Words like *ho'ohūpō* (feign ignorance), *kāka'ahi* (deal, as cards), and *'ālo'ahia* (stress) have been used by native speakers but are not found in the dictionary, while the words *huka* (zipper), *maka'aha* (screen), and *nemonemo* (bald, as a tire) appear in the dictionary but without the particular meanings used by native speakers being included.
3. Use reduplication of an existing word in order to alter or extend the meaning. This is a common practice in Hawaiian vocabulary development and has been done to create words like *ūlialia* (coincidence) from *ulia*, *hohoki* (neutral) from *hoki*, and *monamona* (dessert) from first shortening *momona* and then expanding it through reduplication.
4. Add either a prefix or a suffix to an existing word. This, too, is a common way of forming new words in Hawaiian, and traditional affixes have been used by the Committee as well as new ones created to fill specific needs. In order to create a word which means “concentrated,” the traditional suffix *-hia* was added to the word *pa'apū*, and then, in order to arrive at the meaning “to concentrate, make less dilute,” the traditional prefix *ho'o-* was added to form the word *ho'opa'apūhia*. The traditional suffix *-na* has also been used to change verbs to nouns, such as adding it to *pāku'i* (append) to form the word *pāku'ina* (affix, in grammar), and to *koi* (require) to form the word *koina* (requirement). The word *kālai* (intellectual policy) has been transformed into a prefix meaning “-ology, the scientific study of.” With this meaning, it has been used to form new words such as *kālaiaopaku* (physical science) and *kālaianiau* (climatology).
5. Explain the meaning of a word or term by using Hawaiian words. This guideline has been used rather extensively because when the “new” term is encountered by a speaker of Hawaiian, its meaning should be rather easily grasped even if the reader or listener is not familiar with the English word or term. The following are some terms which have been created using this guideline: *ala mōlehu* (crepuscular), *uila māhu pele* (geothermal electricity), *kuhuhewa o ka maka* (optical illusion), and *'ōlelo kuhi lima 'Amelika* (American Sign Language).
6. Combine Hawaiian words to create a new word. This guideline is somewhat similar to the previous one with the main difference being that the meaning will probably not be immediately apparent to a speaker of Hawaiian because it may not be obvious even when recognizing the separate parts of the word.

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Examples of words formed using this guideline are *hamulau* (herbivore), *ka 'a'ike* (communication), *kōpia* (carbohydrate), and *poelele* (satellite).

7. Combine Hawaiian words while shortening at least one of the words. Although this guideline has been used for a number of math and science terms, it is also used for new words in a variety of other areas. Some words that have been created in this way include: *analahi* (regular, as in shape) which was formed by adding *ana* to a shortened *ma'alahi*; *ikehu* (energy) which was formed by combining *ika* and *ehu*; *lāhulu* (species) which comes from a shortened *lāhui* plus *hulu*; and *mo'olako* (inventory) which comes from *mo'olelo* and *lako*.
8. Extend the meaning of a word, which is already found in the dictionary, or give an existing word a new meaning. Words whose meanings have been extended to create new terms include *eaea* (aerated), *haumia* (pollution), *kaulua* (double, in math), and *lakolako* (computer accessories), while new meanings have been given to the words *oho* (capillary), *muku* (tight end, in football), and *palaholo* (gel).
9. Use a word or part of a word from another Polynesian language with its meaning intact or slightly changed. The word *pounamu* (jade) is a Māori word, which has been borrowed without changing its spelling or meaning. The Rarotongan word *ma'aka*, meaning “big,” is used in the term *hua ma'aka* (capital letter), while the Tahitian word *na'ina'i*, meaning “small,” is used in the term *hua na'ina'i* (lower-case letter). Sometimes words from other Polynesian languages are borrowed with changes in spelling to better fit Hawaiian orthography, such as *kōkaha* (condensation) from the Māori word *tōtā*, and *ha'uki* (sport) from the Tahitian word *ha'uti*. Hawaiian words are also sometimes combined with other Polynesian words, such as *hakuika* (mollusk) from the Hawaiian word *haku* (*pōhaku*) and *kuita*, a Proto Eastern Oceanic word meaning “squid.” The word *makahi'o* (explore) was created by combining the Hawaiian word *maka* (eye) with the Tahitian word *hi'o* (look).
10. Hawaiianize the orthography of a word or term from a non-Polynesian language. Many English words have been Hawaiianized since earliest contact with the English language, and the Committee continues this practice with words such as *naelona* (nylon), *'akika tanika* (tannic acid), and *'okikene* (oxygen). Lexical borrowing is not limited to English, however. Hawaiianization also extends to words from a variety of other languages such as *kaimine* from the Japanese word *saimin*, *kokei'a* (prairie dog) from the Ute word *tocey'a*, *lalinoka* (hieroglyph) from the Assyrian word *rahleenos*, and *'ōmā* (Maine lobster) from the French word *homard*.

Not all of the words and terms included in *Māmaka Kaiāo* have been created by the Committee, however. There are also words which are already established Hawaiian vocabulary, and therefore may also be found in the *Hawaiian Dictionary*.

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There are several reasons for having included these words. Perhaps the primary reason is that when the Committee looks at a vocabulary list developed for a particular subject, although most of the terms may require the creation of new Hawaiian vocabulary, some words already exist and may be included merely as an aid to anyone using *Māmaka Kaiao* to find vocabulary related to this particular subject. Another reason for including vocabulary that can be found in another dictionary is that there may be more than one word with the same or a similar meaning, and the Committee feels that a certain word would be most appropriate for use in a particular context.

Although not a common occurrence, there are also a few words which have been created by the Committee in spite of the fact that Hawaiian words with the same meaning already exist in the dictionary. In most cases, the Committee felt that the dictionary words are not in general use today and other words could be created by the Committee which would more accurately reflect contemporary concepts being described, thus providing Hawaiian-language speakers with additional vocabulary choices.

For each entry in the first section of the vocabulary, words are classified as *hamani* (transitive verb), *hehele* (intransitive verb), *'a'ano* (stative verb), *kikino* (common noun), or *i'oa* (proper noun), and following the definition of the word in English, the derivation or origin of the word is indicated. This etymology not only gives the reader a better understanding of where the word came from or how it was created, but it may also help to give a better understanding of its meaning.

Innumerable hours have been spent discussing all of the words which appear in *Māmaka Kaiao*. No single word has been approved without first being discussed, often extensively, and in order to ensure that the word or term is the best one that the Committee is able to create, each word or term must be approved and reapproved at two different Committee meetings.

Members of the Committee realize, however, that every approved word cannot be a perfect choice, and as time passes the desire to revisit previously approved words frequently arises in order to try to find an even better choice. But because of the seemingly endless number of words and terms still waiting for Hawaiian equivalents to be created, changes are usually approved only when new information shows that a previously approved word or term may be inaccurate.

So the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee continues to meet several times each year in its attempt to provide new Hawaiian words and terms which will truly help to carry (*māmaka*) the Hawaiian language into a new dawn (*kaiao*) in the twenty-first century.

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The Pedagogical Potential of Multimedia Dictionaries Lessons from a Community Dictionary Project

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Although traditionally used as a documentation device, dictionaries are being reconceived and explored for pedagogical potential through the use of multimedia technology. This paper looks at some considerations for creating a dictionary aimed at facilitating Indigenous language acquisition, including the possibilities and limitations of multimedia, educational approaches and the needs of Heritage language learners. Through a case study of the Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indian's bilingual Anishinaabemowin dictionary project, some specific approaches to enhancing the educational potential of a multimedia dictionary and future directions are discussed.

For communities working on language reclamation and revitalization projects, choosing the direction in which to commit limited energy and resources can be difficult. There may be a need to document language, create learning materials, and facilitate language learning, all as rapidly as possible.² In these contexts the efficient allocation of resources to meet holistic needs is crucial, and there are many creative ways that communities are addressing these issues, from language nests and apprenticeships to video-games and I-pods (Hinton, 2001). This paper looks at multimedia dictionaries as an increasingly popular medium with the potential to address both documentation and educational needs. Specifically, I will address some considerations about creating a multimedia dictionary intended to be an effective pedagogical, as well as documentation, tool in the context of community-focused language revitalization. Relating the experiences of different communities is the best way to add to the shared knowledge about best practices for creating quality materials (May & Aikman, 2003). To this end I will discuss an ongoing community multimedia dictionary project, the problems encountered during the project and the approaches taken to address them. My discussion is based on my experience as an assistant to the tribal Language Preservation Program³ that produced the dictionary, and as a participant of several Indigenous language education programs in the same language family over the past three and a half years. While not all of the considerations I will mention may be relevant in all community contexts,⁴ it is hoped that some of the approaches taken by the Burt Lake Band Dictionary project team will be of interest to other community initiatives and educators engaged in creating multimedia learning tools.

Dictionaries and language revitalization

Multimedia dictionaries are tools that have been created in increasing numbers, with a variety of formats, and presumably an equal variety of intended purposes. Although dictionaries are traditionally a documentation device, multi-

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media enables us to conceive dictionaries with increasing creativity, in ways that can make them effective learning devices (Amith, 2002), as well as status-raising or advocacy tools for a language (Miyashita & Moll, 1999; Buszard-Welcher, 2001). Dictionaries can be “a repository of tribal identity” and as such may serve many purposes beyond their traditional use as a documentation device (Hinton & Weigel, 2002, p. 156). While a documentation-focused dictionary is also a support for a language learner, it does not actually engage the learner or have an explicit pedagogical aim, and is thus not likely to facilitate much language learning. Although in the past dictionaries designed to aid learners were considered incompatible with “serious” linguistic documentation, with current technologies the achievement of both goals may be possible (Amith, 2002). Creating learning materials that aid in language maintenance and revitalization may well be a more difficult task than scientific documentation (Hinton & Weigel, 2002). The language-learner audience is more varied than the academic documentation audience, necessitating an in-depth awareness of learner needs and a broad range of pedagogical approaches. Language documentation, on the other hand, is conducted largely with explicit standards of how materials must be presented. While the linguistic and lexicographic complexities of creating dictionaries inevitably impact the educational usefulness of the dictionary, a discussion of these issues is beyond the scope of this paper (for further discussion see e.g., Frawley, Hill & Munro, 2002; Warner, Butler & Luna-Castillas, 2006; Rice & Saxon, 2002). Rather I will focus on aspects unique to multimedia dictionaries that directly relate to pedagogical potential.

Technology and language revitalization

Multimedia tools have clear potential to meet some of the needs of language revitalization projects, however the best ways to use multimedia in education are far from established. There are also drawbacks and issues to be aware of when using technology for education, which warrant close scrutiny, and have been discussed elsewhere (e.g., Hinton, 2001; Chappelle, 2005). For communities that choose to use this medium, therefore, it is important to pay heed to options and ways to use it effectively. Previous multimedia projects have shown that multimedia can allow communities to “create their own representation in response to what is usually a lack of culturally appropriate curricular materials” (Kroskrity & Reynolds, 2001, p. 328). The possibility of combining audio, text and image opens a wide horizon of possibilities. Most would agree with Miyashita and Moll (1999) that “language revitalization efforts can benefit from more active use of computer resources,” albeit with proper consideration to the format and the intended audience. Most would also agree with Parks et al. (1999), who observe that language programs (and electronic language resources) vary “dramatically in teaching materials, pedagogical approach, and in effectiveness.” With the ever-expanding choices of multimedia, it is important to consider how technology may most effectively be used to meet language revitalization objectives.

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Indigenous language learning

In the case of Indigenous language dictionaries, an important first consideration is the intended audience of the dictionary (Rice & Saxon, 2002); when creating a dictionary with a pedagogical aim, this question becomes: how best to facilitate language learning for the intended users? In attempting to answer the question of how best to use multimedia dictionaries to meet learning needs, some help may be gained from considering the fields of Second Language Acquisition (SLA), Heritage Language Acquisition (HLA) and Indigenous Education as they relate to language revitalization.

The traditional grammar-translation approach to SLA is still employed by some indigenous language programs, although many Indigenous language educators recognize that it is not effective (K. Dickie, Nov. 2007, personal communication; K. Pheasant, Sept. 2004, personal communication). This approach uses English as the language of instruction, explaining and translating the target language entirely in English, and emphasizing memorization of rules and vocabulary. As Buszard-Welcher (2001) notes, grammar-translation pedagogy “runs counter to modern theories of SLA, which stress the importance of language learning in context” (p. 341). In her survey of indigenous language online resources, she found that despite the multimedia capacity of online language materials, text remains primary in indigenous language websites. She stresses that de-contextualized vocabulary (the content of a typical dictionary) is a common but ineffective approach and states that ongoing thought and development are needed in order to use internet technology for effective language learning. Chapelle (2005) also urges that the “fascinating array of options offered by hyper media” be researched to identify “ideal pedagogical strategies” (p.749). Immersion education is now widely considered the best pedagogical approach to language revitalization (e.g., Grenoble & Whaley, 2006), and although multimedia cannot be a substitute, it can attempt to approximate the rich audio-visual-interactive input far better than simple text, tape, or audio (Hinton, 2001; Parks et al., 1999). Research in learning strategies shows that providing a variety of input sources is beneficial to learners, for example the use of writing as well as speech may help students with diverse learning styles (Bennett, Mattz, Jackson & Campbell, 1999). It has also been suggested that allowing Heritage language (HL) learners to set their own pace, with the ability to return and review material as they choose, is beneficial (Parks et al., 1999). This is emphasized by HL researchers, who stress that cultural and linguistic background impacts the needs of HL learners and must be taken into account (Valdés, 2005; Kondo-Brown, 2005). As Kondo-Brown (2005) states, “the language learning behaviors and needs of HL learners are distinctly different from those of traditional FL [Foreign Language] students” (p. 564). The students’ cultural connection with the language may impact their affective behaviors as learners, and their (often) minority social status may impact the amount of educational support and language learning resources that they receive, to name a few of these differences.

Indigenous education practitioners and researchers have found that community control and participation is a crucial element in supporting the diverse

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learning needs of indigenous, heritage language learners (McCarty, 2003; Smith, 2005; May & Aikman, 2003). Smith (2005) encourages the use of “indigenous frameworks for thinking about schooling” (p. 94), which enable education to be part of the “potential for evolving cultural identities as a rich range of alternatives to assimilation and cultural loss” as stated by Stairs (1994, p.155). Stairs further discusses that education is not neutral, but must be negotiated as a form of identity reclamation. An important part of a learning approach that supports indigenous identity is “education for wholeness” (Cajete, 1994, p. 209), or “the realization that ritual, myth, vision, art, and learning the art of relationship in a particular environment facilitates the health and wholeness of the individual, family, and community” (p. 209). It is important to bring these understandings into the development of learning materials. In the past “Schooling has been explicitly and implicitly a site of rejection of indigenous knowledge and language” (May & Aikman, 2003, p. 143), and in order to heal this damage indigenous knowledge must guide the creation of new learning materials. This can include making the materials relevant to the community through use of people, activities, and designs from the local culture. In fact “local control” may be the crucial factor allowing a language project to “take root and flourish” (May & Aikman, 2003, p. 143). Thus, when creating materials for the unique conditions of indigenous language learners, it is important to consider pedagogical issues of language acquisition, with a grounding in the cultural reality of learners, and through a process that is community-focused.

Putting principles into practice

Drawing together all of the above considerations, and exploring pedagogical potentials to create a dictionary which addresses both documentation and education needs holistically is not something that can be explained in a formula. Each community ultimately needs to address these issues in their own context. Through sharing the experiences of different communities, both good and bad, all of our efforts are strengthened, and best practices will continue to emerge. In this spirit I will discuss a case study of the Burt Lake (Cheboiganing) Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indian’s work on a multimedia dictionary project, beginning with a general background of the community, then discussing the aims and evolution of the project. Throughout I will note problems and limitations encountered, and the attempts made to address them.

Community and language background

The Burt Lake (Cheboiganing)⁵ Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians is a State-recognized tribe in the tip of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan, between Lakes Michigan and Huron, in the USA. Tribal membership is 320, many of whom have moved away from the tribal homelands for economic purposes since the middle of the 20th century, and return seasonally for visits with relatives still living near Indian Point on Burt Lake. Sharing a common language and culture with neighboring tribes, the Burt Lake Band (BLB) has a much lower economic profile than its neighbors, due to the BLB’s ongoing struggle for federal recog-

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dition. The BLB is thus reliant on grants for educational initiatives. However, tribal members have been involved in a wide variety of social, cultural, and educational projects in recent decades, most recently a grant project through the Federal Administration for Native Americans (ANA) to document the speech of their remaining Elder-Speakers and preserve it in a multimedia dictionary.

The indigenous language of Michigan, a member of the Algic language family, is known by several European names; Ojibwe, Chippewa, Ottawa and Odawa being the most common. Its indigenous name is Anishinaabemowin.⁶ While there are an estimated 50,000 speakers of various dialects of the Anishinaabe language around the Great Lakes in Ontario and Michigan, and stretching into Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Saskatchewan (Treuer, 2001), the language is highly endangered in Northern Lower Michigan. There are seven Elders in the BLB with varying levels of language fluency; this is actually a high ratio compared to neighboring tribes who have much larger populations, but equally low or lower numbers of speakers. Previous language initiatives in the tribe drew upon resources created elsewhere, although the dialectical variations among speakers of Anishinaabemowin (or in some cases the different names used to identify the language) were a source of complaint from tribal members. Members identify with the term Ottawa, but many of the available materials use the term Ojibwe. Vowel syncope, or loss of unstressed vowels, occurred in Michigan and Southern Ontario in the 20th century, as well as other phonological deletions which contribute to dialectical differences today (Valentine, 2001). Nonetheless, outside resources including two well-respected dictionaries (Nichols & Nyholm, 1995; Rhodes, 1993), which include dialect variants, have been an invaluable support to the BLB Language Preservation projects.

The aim of the multimedia dictionary project was two-fold: to document the language of the Elder-speakers, and to meet the learning needs of the dispersed tribal members with the same limited grant money. During the course of the project difficulties arose and compromises were made in both areas. In an extensive project like this there are clearly far more issues than can be conveyed in a brief summary, but important points relating to the difficulties encountered and approaches taken to overcome them will be discussed.

Creating a dictionary for language learners

The dictionary was initiated in 2002, with the intent to record Elders and input the material into the multimedia dictionary template developed by the American Indian Studies Research Institute at Indiana University. Two-hundred entries were inputted into the Indiana Dictionary Database (IDD), and a CD-ROM and corresponding print version were produced and distributed to tribal members. The CD-ROM had several technical glitches and was not considered very user-friendly. The IDD allowed for extensive audio and video files and language information in each entry; the intent of the program was to “develop tools that allow scholars and language teachers to work with linguistic data” (Parks et al., 1999). Although the IDD accomplished this goal, the lack of learner focus was apparent; users did not enjoy squinting at the small window in which video

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clips appeared and did not find the solid grey panel of linguistic information very engaging. The project was distributed to members and had successfully documented speech, but it was not considered by community members to be a pedagogical success.

When a new language revitalization grant was obtained in 2004 from the Administration for Native Americans under the Native American Languages Act, the members of the Language Preservation Program determined that it was necessary to redesign the format of the dictionary in order to make it more accessible to language learners before inputting an additional 200 entries. A new interface was designed by an externally-contracted web-designer with a colorful background featuring the BLB tribal logo, and including a Help page, an Introduction page, and Biography pages for each of the speakers included in the dictionary (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Opening page of revised dictionary format



This interface retained the ability to hold many audio, video, and image files and many linguistic notes in each entry. English-to-Anishinaabemowin and Anishinaabemowin-to-English databases can be browsed (but not searched). The Anishinaabemowin database also contains all the multimedia files, including still images, video, audio, and text-audio transcriptions. Designed in html format, this version was intended to become an online dictionary.

Language content

In expanding the dictionary into this user-friendly format, an important issue was the elicitation of new language, the heart of the dictionary. While a dictionary typically consists of individual lexical entries, a decontextualized list of vocabulary alone is of limited benefit to learners as discussed above. In addition, individual words often proved the hardest for speakers to produce. The Elders of the BLB, although several of them remember speaking Anishinaabemowin before English and continuing to use the language into their late teens, have almost entirely ceased to use the language on a regular basis for several decades. Their experiences in Catholic schools and discriminatory Anglo-dominant com-

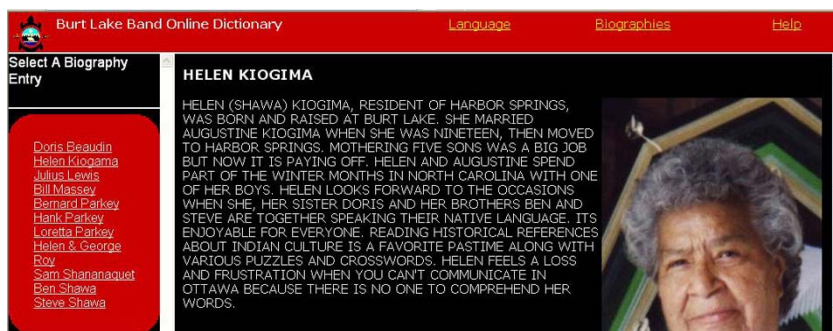
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munities influenced them away from “speaking Indian”; experiences that were shared by Indigenous people across North America. It can be very difficult for them to recall certain words and phrases, and this is especially the case when they are asked to provide a translation of an English word out of context. In order to record language in a more naturalistic way and to provide rich input for learners, a “Speakers Get-Together” was planned as a day-long event in coordination with the pre-existing annual tribal reunion. A fluent language instructor⁷ was also invited to help provide an Anishinaabe-dominant environment in which the Elders might feel more at ease and be able to recall their language more comfortably. While this was successful to a degree, it is impossible to ignore the effects of recording equipment and a meeting setting on speakers who have traditionally used their language as an informal, in-group form of communication. A large amount of language was recorded nonetheless, including conversation, stories, jokes, and some independent vocabulary, interspersed with English discussion and reminiscence. Appreciation for the opportunity to meet and the desire for future gatherings were expressed by participants. Unfortunately the speakers currently live far apart, and thus repeated get-togethers were not possible during the project time-frame due to the limited budget of the project to cover travel expenses. Repeated get-togethers may have increased the ease of conversation and language use. Ongoing exploration is needed to document rich varieties of language and to find appropriate ways to capture natural language despite the presence of machines, which may feel very unnatural to Elder-speakers.

Cultural reclamation

The inclusion of Speakers’ biographies (see Figure 2) and an introduction page with historical information and photographs from the tribal archives were an important addition to the revised dictionary. All of the Elders relate having been put down in school and the wider society for their use of the language; honoring them for their knowledge and contribution to the dictionary and tribal community may go a small way towards reversing this injustice.

Figure 2. Biography of Elder-Speaker Helen Kiogama



The screenshot shows a web browser window titled "Burt Lake Band Online Dictionary". The navigation bar includes "Language", "Biographies", and "Help". On the left, a sidebar titled "Select A Biography Entry" lists names: Doris Beaudin, Helen Kiogama, Julius Lewis, Bill Massey, Bernard Parkey, Hank Parkey, Loisette Parkey, Helen & George Roy, Sam Shananaquet, Ben Shawa, and Steve Shawa. The main content area displays the biography for "HELEN KIOGIMA". The text reads: "HELEN (SHAWA) KIOGIMA, RESIDENT OF HARBOR SPRINGS, WAS BORN AND RAISED AT BURT LAKE. SHE MARRIED AUGUSTINE KIOGIMA WHEN SHE WAS NINETEEN, THEN MOVED TO HARBOR SPRINGS. MOTHERING FIVE SONS WAS A BIG JOB BUT NOW IT IS PAYING OFF. HELEN AND AUGUSTINE SPEND PART OF THE WINTER MONTHS IN NORTH CAROLINA WITH ONE OF HER BOYS. HELEN LOOKS FORWARD TO THE OCCASIONS WHEN SHE, HER SISTER DORIS AND HER BROTHERS BEN AND STEVE ARE TOGETHER SPEAKING THEIR NATIVE LANGUAGE. ITS ENJOYABLE FOR EVERYONE. READING HISTORICAL REFERENCES ABOUT INDIAN CULTURE IS A FAVORITE PASTIME ALONG WITH VARIOUS PUZZLES AND CROSSWORDS. HELEN FEELS A LOSS AND FRUSTRATION WHEN YOU CAN'T COMMUNICATE IN OTTAWA BECAUSE THERE IS NO ONE TO COMPREHEND HER WORDS." To the right of the text is a portrait photograph of Helen Kiogama, an elderly woman with short, curly grey hair, wearing a dark top with a green and yellow patterned collar.

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Through the multimedia videos, tribal members can see the Elders speaking in a naturalistic way. In addition, photos from the tribal archive were included in as many individual entries as possible when relevant to the entry. Discussion of place names and family stories and telling of jokes were all part of the “Speakers Get-Together,” and made their way into the dictionary entries. Consideration was also given to create entries for activities of traditional cultural importance, such as hunting, fishing, and porcupine quill-box making. Finally, the multimedia CD-ROM (or online) format has the potential to reach out across the geographical distance that divides community members, allowing for greater participation.

Language acquisition

As discussed, best practices for language learning through multimedia are still being explored, and the BLB dictionary constitutes one example of this exploration. Making the overall dictionary user-friendly, attractive and relevant to the community were important steps in engaging learners and were approached through the methods discussed in the two previous sections. Another priority determined by the Language Preservation Program members was to make the language input accessible, clear, and rich, to facilitate language acquisition for learners at different levels. Rich language input was created through the use of video, audio, text and image for each entry. Users can watch and listen to each clip as often as they choose, and can browse for words in the bilingual indexes depending upon their interests, allowing them to pace and structure their interaction with the language. Rather than building the dictionary around a vocabulary list, the entries were created around the language used by speakers, which included conversation as well as individual words.

Hearing conversation is important for language learners, especially in the paradigm of Immersion education (Hinton, 2001), but it must also be made comprehensible, or accessible. Many tribal members’ Anishinaabemowin language proficiency is limited, and thus conversational language would be difficult for them to process. With this in mind, both conversational and single-word entries were included to support learners at various levels, and meet the second consideration of accessible language input. For example, one clip contains a conversational exchange “Gbakadem na? Enh, gbakadewok” [Are you (plural) hungry? Yes, they’re hungry.], while another clip in the same entry contains only “bakade” (hungry). Both versions of the video are included in the entry. Entries also contain one video clip showing the speakers as they speak, and another where the words are heard, but a written transcription of Anishinaabemowin appears on the black screen with an English translation underneath to support learners who prefer to learn language through written forms. The same clip is also available as audio-only, giving learners a variety of ways to take in the language. A final consideration of accessibility was to break up salient morphemes and provide semi-technical glosses for some of the simple phrases underneath the Anishinaabemowin transcription, to indicate some of the morphological and syntactic properties of the language for any learners interested in going beyond vocabulary acquisition. An example of this reads:

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“Kaawiin ngii-kend-sii
(Not I-know-negative suffix)
I don't know”

Multiple variants are also given for most words, in order to accommodate the variety of dialects that learners may encounter in other Anishinaabe communities and language resources. While a “one-spelling one-word” paradigm may seem more logical from a documentation standpoint, as Rice and Saxon (2002) argue this is a Eurocentric assumption, and variation may be more appropriate in indigenous language dictionaries for communities with internal diversity. Related words (plurals, different tenses of the same verb, etc.) are also provided where possible (see Figure 3).

Figure 3. Example of spelling variants and related vocabulary



In order to meet the third consideration of providing clear language, the speech of the fluent teacher was included as well as that of tribal Elders. Although the teacher is from a different region⁸ and a younger generation, it was deemed beneficial to include her because her use of the language was clearly articulated and delivered with learners in mind. In addition, the Elders comprehended and responded to her speech. The decision whether to include only community members, as a true documentation of the BLB community, or to include a non-community member, was made on the basis of potential benefit to learners. Overall the BLB dictionary compromised in the direction of pedagogical priorities, and put most effort into educational, rather than documentation aspects of the dictionary.

Future directions

An important future direction is continued community engagement through training in technology. The current dictionary has been distributed in CD-ROM format, but due to some design flaws cannot currently be hosted online, as was

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the initial hope. Through some re-designs, this is still the intent, although the lack of a community member with time to address the technological problems makes this a slow process. The maintenance of the site, and addition of more entries are future needs, which at present no one in the community is prepared to take on. Community control is thus an important aspect of this project.

Another crucial factor is collecting more feedback from the members, as to the cultural and educational relevance the dictionary has for them, and ways to improve it. Initial feedback to members of the Language Preservation Program from other tribal members has been positive, but no extensive survey has been undertaken, largely due to the dispersed nature of the membership, and the current lack of funding for language-related work. Despite the diverse language input, the dictionary remains largely a passive tool, excepting the user's navigation of the entries. There is no formal progression to guide the learner to acquire the language. This may suit learners who prefer their own pace and control over the material, but the effectiveness of the BLB Dictionary as a learning device will need to be explored further before any conclusions can be made.

In the context of Indigenous language revitalization, ultimately it is the users who instill value in a dictionary through their engagement with it. An excellent trend in online dictionaries is the concept of a living dictionary, where community members have access to input and expand the dictionary. This enables an ongoing confirmation and sharing of local knowledge and has great potential for maximizing the benefits of a multimedia project to communities with limited resources. The updating of the dictionary could involve community members in language production and thus has a greater educational potential. On-going developments in Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) technologies are creating ways to give learners feedback and engage them in communication (Chapelle, 2005; Amaral, 2007). Whether this communicative capacity can be incorporated into a dictionary database remains to be seen.

Conclusion

There are many possibilities for creative solutions to problems of indigenous language documentation and education. For the Burt Lake Band Dictionary, the primary considerations were an accessible and engaging format, collaboration with and honoring of Elder-speakers, cultural relevance to users, and variety of language input (audio, video, transcription, translation, and meta-linguistic gloss) available for learners. It is hoped that the discussion of this project, and the continued sharing of other community projects, will contribute to a body of knowledge about how best to achieve both useful language documentation and effective educational materials.

Notes

¹I am honored to be writing about a project that has come to be due to the work and dedication of many people over many years: the Burt Lake Band Language Preservation Committee, Tribal Council and Tribal members are the source of this project and are all co-authors of this paper. I am very thankful that they

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have encouraged me to share their language revitalization efforts with a wider audience through this paper. Special acknowledgement is due to the Speakers whose voices are the heart of the Burt Lake Band Dictionary: Doris Beaudin, Helen Kiogama, Julius Lewis, Bill Massey, Bernard Parkey, Hank Parkey, Loretta Parkey, Helen Roy, George Roy, Sam Shananaquet, Ben Shawa and Steve Shawa. Chii-migwech!

²The pressures that shape community language revitalization initiatives are complex, beyond the scope of this paper, and have been discussed at length elsewhere (e.g., Grenoble & Whaley, 2006; Hinton & Hale, 2001; Romaine, 2007).

³The Language Preservation Program (LPP) of the Burt Lake Band of Ottawa and Chippewa Indians consists of community volunteers and a fluctuating number of staff members (most of whom are also community members, and all of whom also fulfill several other duties within the Tribal Office). The LPP has engaged in documentation of community Elders' speech, as well as the creation of learning materials, dependant upon the sporadic availability of funding and the varying amounts of time members are able to donate.

⁴Throughout this paper the terms "community context" and "community" are used broadly to refer to a group engaged in a project for a common language, and all of the potential beneficiaries of that project, rather than a geographic or politically distinct group. Owing to the geographically dispersed, yet culturally intertwined nature of indigenous language families in North America, a language community may transcend both of the above categories.

⁵*Cheboiganing* is the traditional name for the tribe, as printed on the 1833 Treaty of Detroit to which the tribe is a signatory. It refers to a place of crossing, or passing through; the inland waterway stretching from Lake Huron to Lake Michigan across the tip of the Lower Peninsula of Michigan was an important trade route and the homeland of the tribe. The name 'Burt Lake Band' has gradually come to be used, after the name of the main lake in the inland waterway was changed to Burt Lake, in token of the European cartographer who mapped the region (<http://www.burtlakeband.org>).

⁶Anishinaabemowin can be broken down to *Anishinaabe* (good person/ Anishinaabe Indian) and *-mowin* (speech/ way of speaking).

⁷Several fluent speakers of Anishinaabemowin from communities in Canada work as language teachers in Michigan.

⁸The fluent language instructor is from the Unceded Indian Reserve of Wikwemikong, directly across Lake Huron on a traditional trading route from the Burt Lake region.

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Developing Intermediate Language Learning Materials A Labrador Inuttitut Story Database

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This paper¹ describes the collaboration between two linguists and a public school language teacher in the making of a story database for use in the second language learning of Labrador Inuttitut in Canada. First, we describe the process through which the collaboration took place. Linguists who are working with communities have linguistic goals, and communities have long-term language teaching goals. Where the two goals intersect, it is possible to have mutually useful collaboration. One of the challenges is to determine whether or not there is indeed intersection of goals so that precious time and effort is not wasted. Next, we describe the development of a story database that has the properties that we believe are optimal for intermediate language learners. It will have a large amount of original Inuktut data and will also have extra information for learners that is hidden from view unless the learner chooses to look at it. We believe that Internet story publishing is faster, cheaper and can reach a larger audience than traditional publishing. It can also have more innovative aspects such as audio and optional help, which is ideal for the intermediate learner, who will then control the level and speed of the information. Naturally, it also has limitations. It depends on access to expensive equipment, it can't be taken out on the land and the length of time that such materials will be available is usually unknown.

Labrador Inuttitut is a member of the Eskimo-Aleut language family spoken in Nunatsiavut, which is located in northern Labrador in Canada. The dialect in Labrador is referred to as Inuttitut when speaking in the language but as Inuktut or Inuttitut in English. Inuttitut speakers are found in the communities of Nain, Hopedale, Makkovik, Rigolet, Northwest River and Happy Valley/Goose Bay. The last two communities are located just south of Nunatsiavut. The dialect is closely related to other Inuktut dialects spoken in Nunavik (northern Québec) and Baffin Island. It has a different writing system from these other dialects, which use syllabics. Instead, Inuttitut uses a roman system that derives from the old Moravian writing system (no longer used) developed for Kalaallisut (West Greenlandic).

The language has been in decline for over half a century, especially since the area became part of Canada when the Newfoundland (and Labrador) became a province of Canada. The Inuttitut language situation is further affected by the fact that English has a long-standing tradition within the region, dating back to at least the nineteenth century. English was originally brought to northern Labrador by co-residents known as Settlers (Kallunângajuit), and now is used by almost every local inhabitant of Nunatsiavut. Inuttitut is still spoken today by a small

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group of elderly monolinguals, a much larger group of middle-aged bilinguals and a little among young adults and youth. The number and ages of speakers varies across communities. Language shift is well on its way but could still be reversed if changes in education or community affairs take place (Andersen & Johns, 2005). There is a large population of receptive bilinguals, who do not speak much but understand the language (Johns & Mazurkewich, 2001), and researchers at the University of Toronto and the Nunatsiavut community are currently studying this issue.

Nunatsiavut was created in 2005 when the Labrador Inuit reached a land claim settlement with the Government of Canada and the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Within Nunatsiavut, there is a desire that the language continue, even by those who do not speak it. The community and schools have been addressing this issue over the last decade in a number of ways. The schools teach Inuttitut, although the amount and level depends on the community. Inuttitut curriculum is developed for the schools through the Labrador School Board. The Torngâsok Cultural Centre, which is responsible for language and culture within Nunatsiavut released an impressive number of Inuttitut materials in the fall of 2007. These include a version of *Inuttitut Level 1* (Rosetta Stone) and an Inuttitut/English dictionary entitled *Labradorimi Ulinnaisigutet*. They also published *Unikkâlautta*, a book of Inuttitut short stories based on a story-telling festival held in May 2006. The storytelling was filmed and later the Inuttitut stories were transcribed and also translated into English. Finally they released a book for young children with simple Inuttitut words and pictures *Atuagaga uKausinnut*. In July 2008, a large community Inuttitut language conference was held in Nain to discuss and plan the next stages of language strengthening. This conference had over 80 participants and took place over three days.

The attitudes of children and youth towards learning the language have started to change. While they used to think of speaking Inuttitut as something which only older people do, they now see that speaking it has relevancy for them in terms of cultural identity, language speaking awards, jobs in the Nunatsiavut Government, etc. Inuttitut speakers are taking on the responsibility for helping would-be learners, and now encourage young learners, where they sometimes used to tease them about their mistakes. Overall there is a sense of urgency about language, as the entire community is aware of the significance of the fact that almost no children are learning Inuttitut as a first language and that elderly speakers are dying off.

Language teaching materials in the school have become increasingly sophisticated and the importance of oral language and complete sentences is well understood by most Inuttitut language teachers. While earlier lessons in past decades focused mostly on naming animals, telling time and learning the writing system, teachers now increasingly gear their lessons towards helping the young students to speak as naturally and as much as possible.

Like most schools across Canada's north, Inuttitut teachers in Nunatsiavut find the most challenging area is to find or develop appropriate Inuttitut materials at the intermediate or high school level. This need is complicated by the fact that

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Inuttitut is a strongly oral language, where culture, tradition and knowledge are communicated almost exclusively through speaking, even though people know how to write. As a result, there are few written resources that are authentic in the sense that they were composed directly in Inuttitut and are not translations. We will call materials which are not translated Direct Inuktut. Across Canada one finds that the majority of Inuktut written materials are translations from English or French sources. Direct Inuktut is heard on the radio and television, but this type of media is not currently available to the public and schools for repeated listening. It is easy to imagine that this could change if podcasts were produced.

In summary, there is a need for materials suitable for intermediate learners who already know the basics of Inuttitut but need to improve their vocabulary, grammar, and discourse. Intermediate learners may be roughly defined as those who can make basic isolated sentences but cannot produce a paragraph of connected sentences (discourse) (see ACTFL, 1985). The Rosetta Stone Level I materials, which have just been introduced in the schools, appear to be very effective in helping the students learn to listen and express themselves. Nevertheless, they don't yet provide large stretches of Direct Inuktut containing complex discourse material. Well-composed material of this sort is equivalent to what is called literature in western (southern) societies. Inuktut speakers produce rich and sophisticated language material frequently, but it cannot be accessed repeatedly or at any time by intermediate learners.

Linguistic materials

Over the course of years of fieldwork, a linguist will accumulate a set of language materials. Depending on whether the linguist is primarily interested in sound-systems or grammar, they will probably tape a few stories for either documentation purposes or for linguistic data. In our case, the linguist had taped numerous interviews with fluent speakers concerning grammaticality judgements, etc. There were also tapes of stories told by fluent speakers, some of them now deceased. Speakers were requested for a story, whatever the speaker wished to talk about. Legends or traditional stories are not usually found in Labrador Inuttitut. Instead there is a strong tradition of describing instances or earlier times in one's life. Usually, the linguist was not capable of understanding the stories.

The need for literature materials, mentioned above, combined with a set of story data materials from fieldwork brings an obvious solution to mind. Why not use the fieldwork materials for language learning? A number of the stories had already been transcribed from tapes. This work was done by skilled speakers of Inuttitut who were paid by the linguist. Transcribing oral speech to paper requires expertise. It is not easy to accurately write down another person's speech in your own language from a tape or audio file. Transcribers have to work very closely with language that sometimes differs a little from their own in terms of grammar or choice of words. They have to try to write what they hear, and not how they themselves would say it. At the same time, they have to delete false starts and

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anything that does not really form part of the story (Introduction, n.d.). Monolingual Inuttitut speakers prefer to speak rather than write down their stories.

The challenge was how to make the best use of the stories for the community, without needing to spend a large amount of time or money. If we could make the transcribed stories also useful for linguists working on Inuttitut, this would justify the investment of academic time and research money. A linguist employed by a university is expected to a) teach linguistics to university students of that university and b) to publish academic papers based on research. Their work is evaluated based largely on these two activities.

A story database with English translations and a morpheme gloss can benefit both the needs of the linguist and the community. It makes an excellent research tool for linguistics and can be used as a source of examples and new issues for the linguist to explore. At the same time a story database contains intermediate or advanced level language materials, which can be adapted to language teaching in the classroom. We summarize our general goals below:

- A. to design an optimal story database which will be useful in language teaching at the intermediate level and advanced levels. [Purpose]
- B. to reduce as much as possible the expense of time and money in creating the database. [Restrictions]
- C. to make sure at an early stage in the development of the database that the story materials will actually be useful within the classroom. [Feedback and evaluation]

The last point (C) is particularly important. Given that we were and still are dealing with a limited amount of time and budget from finite research grants (B), we needed to know as soon as possible whether the attempt at community collaboration (A) is successful or useful at all. If not, the entire project would have to be modified or perhaps even abandoned.

Specific goals of the Inuttitut story database

As the story database was begun, we decided that the story material should have an English translation and also morpheme glosses so that intermediate Inuttitut language learners could use and improve their language skills. Sometimes stories are just presented in the native/Aboriginal language, but realistically this format is best for advanced learners and fluent speakers. At the same time, we didn't want the database to be cluttered with English and grammatical terminology. We felt that this would be off-putting and distracting to both learners and fluent speakers who might use the story database. Published stories with morpheme glosses of everything are difficult to read, and it can take time to learn how to use them.

We also had to take into account that Inuttitut is a polysynthetic language where long words are roughly equivalent to English sentences read from right to left. This is shown by the Labrador Inuttitut example below:

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hotsikokKujautlunga
'when I was told to get on a horse.'

This word sentence can be broken down into five morphemes with the following English glosses.

hotsi-ko-kKu-jau-tlunga
horse-travel by-to tell (someone to do something)-passive-conjunctive1s

We decided it was important to make this information available to intermediate learners but only when they themselves wanted to see it.

We also wanted to utilize the audio source of the transcribed stories, as audio is an extraordinarily rich and valuable medium for learning a language. With digital audio, students and teachers can easily play oral material over and over again. Repetition by fluent speakers is important within a language classroom but many Inuttit speakers find it unnatural to use language this way.

We decided that rather than just using previously taped oral stories, we would try to get a few written stories. A couple of individual speakers were asked to write short accounts of their choosing, either about how life was when they were young or some of their favorite memories of going out on the land. We emphasized that they should try not to think about English while writing the story. After a little hesitation, they agreed and returned with written stories of about one to two pages. Later they translated the stories into English for us. When asked if they had ever written pieces like this before, both answered no. Inuttit speakers in Labrador have traditionally used writing to communicate to their families when there was no other means of communication. Writing for writing's sake in Inuttit is fairly uncommon. With planning and encouragement, it may become more common in the future. We taped one of the authors reading her written piece and it was entered into the story database with both oral and written forms.

Building a story database

Even though linguists often have large collections of language field notes in digital form, it is not always easy to share this material with others. The data may be in generic database programs like Filemaker or Microsoft Access, or even programs specialized for storing linguistic data like Shoebox. These kinds of databases typically make it straightforward to enter large amounts of language material with translations and other linguistic information. Nevertheless, it can be difficult to share the contents if other people do not have the same software or computer type (Mac vs. PC). It is also difficult to allow people in different locations to look at or add to the language data. Given that a collection of stories is intended for a wider audience than just language specialists, being able to share the story database directly with a non-academic audience is a desirable goal.

In the case of Labrador Inuttit, materials need to be shared over vast distances, between developers in Toronto and collaborators and audiences in the

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communities of Nunatsiavut. Fortunately, Internet access is becoming increasingly widespread. Internet access is far more widely available than costly (or even free) database software. This allows both linguists and members of language communities to readily access and collaborate on collections of language materials. Internet posting is also a much cheaper and more efficient option than traditional print publication. Publication can often take years, involving a great deal of editing and revision. This sometimes results in a publication that is overly expensive and/or difficult to find or obtain.² Internet posting does not need to take as long because revision is possible even after posting. It also does not require the costs of paper publication.

Web applications, from Amazon to Mapquest to Facebook, have transformed the Internet from a world-wide posting board into a collection of interactive computer programs, accessible from anywhere, even when using a computer which is not your own. Not only web applications, but also tools for rapidly creating web applications have become commonplace. We decided to use the popular Ruby on Rails system to create a web application for inputting and viewing stories in Labrador Inuttitut, along with linguistic information and audio. Ruby on Rails greatly simplifies the task of writing programs that store and retrieve content from a server and allow users to interact with it over the Internet. It is also easy to add features that use Ajax, a technology that makes web applications interactive and convenient.

Our Labrador Inuttitut story database is accessible online to users acting either as the audience (readers/listeners) or as editors (linguists/community language professionals). Members of the audience are able to listen to audio recordings of Inuttitut stories, read the corresponding text with parallel English translation, and view the breakdown of words into their morphemes. Editors prepare, analyze and post this material. We require both the audience and editors to log in with passwords. The audience password is the same for everyone and each editor has their own password. This password system allows a minimum of security for viewing and more security for changes in the data.

Audience members accessing a story see a screen like the one shown in Figure 1. The Inuttitut story is in one column on the left. An English translation of the story is on the right. Having the English translation separate from the English means that an intermediate, advanced or fluent Inuttitut user can read the Inuttitut text straight through without having to look at the English.

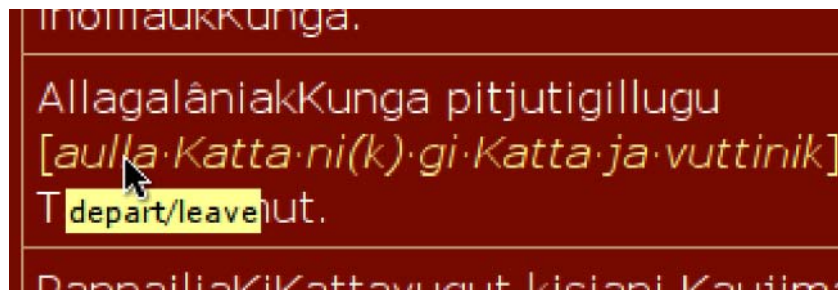
The button just above the story allows users to hear the story as they read. Readers can also view the morpheme breakdowns of words if they choose. As mentioned above, many Inuttitut words are made up of several morphemes. Clicking on an individual word turns on the morpheme display, shown in Figure 2. As the user moves the cursor over each morpheme, an English gloss of that particular morpheme appears. In Figure 2, the cursor is over the morpheme *aula*, which means 'depart/leave' (compare this display with that in Figure 1). Clicking the word again turns off the morpheme display.

Being able to optionally see the meaning of a morpheme is useful for linguists and for speakers of the language with intermediate-level

Figure 1. Display shown to story audience



Figure 2. Morpheme breakdown shown for *aullaKattanigiKattajavuttinik*



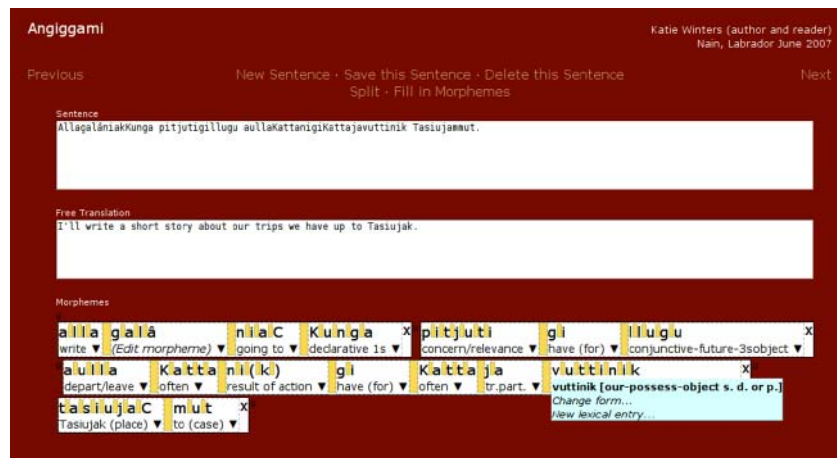
fluency. Optionality is an important feature because it will prevent interference when fluent speakers are reading. Fluent speakers might find such information a distraction or even confusing. Printed texts on paper are sometimes available with an English morpheme breakdown placed below each line of text. In this situation, it is difficult to avoid looking at the morpheme breakdowns, even if you don't need them. Intermediate learners do not always need morpheme breakdowns, and may find themselves distracted from reading the text if all the morphemes breakdowns are presented at once. We believe that they prefer to see extra information on a need-to-know basis. There may be only one morpheme in a long word that they do not recognize. It is also likely that intermediate learners will differ as to which morphemes they need help with. We have attempted to use the interactivity of modern web browsers to create the optionality that will help different users with different morphemes without creating the problem of too much information.

Of course, someone must put the stories, English translations and morpheme breakdowns into the database before readers can view them. The job of an editor is to divide each story text into sentences, provide a free English translation for each sentence and divide each word into morphemes with appropriate glosses.

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The editor working on a story must first decide where each sentence boundary lies. This decision is based on any punctuation in the written Inuttitut text and the English translation provided. After an editor has created a sentence boundary, the application provides a screen where, below the text and translation, each word in that sentence is available for division into morphemes. This can be seen in Figure 3, where the four word sentence in the upper part of the screen produces four white blocks below.

Figure 3. Editing screen



The interface provides possible division points for each word. These are the small bars on either side of each letter shown in Figure 3. Editors can divide a word into morphemes by clicking on a particular small bar. This immediately creates a real level of division, shown by the large bars. Morpheme divisions can be undone by clicking on the large bar. This causes it to return to a small bar.

Once a morpheme division is made, it must be translated. If it is a purely grammatical morpheme, it will be given a label which is often impossible to understand without training. This is an unfortunate but unavoidable aspect of grammatical morphemes, which are found at the right end of the word. For the rest of the morphemes, an English translation of some sort is usually possible. This is easiest in the case of noun and verb roots. Morphemes appearing between roots and final grammatical morphemes are often abstract in meaning and have a variety of translations in English, depending on context (Cook & Johns, to appear).

If the translation for a morpheme has already been entered once before, the existing translation of that morpheme will appear as the default once an editor creates the morpheme division. We believe that the presentation of smart defaults is another useful feature of the application. Most of an editor's time is spent dividing morphemes and entering translations. Many of the morphemes in a given word are quite common. Entering their translations repeatedly is not a good use of time. Repeated translation can also put the stories at risk of being

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inconsistently glossed if the editor does not remember how they translated the morpheme previously. If there is no stored translation for a morpheme, or if the default translation is not appropriate in that context, the editor can click to show a menu that allows another translation to be added. This menu also allows the written form in which the morpheme is displayed in Inuttitut to be changed to a more general (or abstract) form if the editor thinks it to be appropriate. This option is shown in the lower right hand corner in Figure 3. This does not change the form of the morpheme in the story text, only in the morpheme display.

One of the project goals was to make a system that is as easy to use as possible, with little or no need for technical assistance after the initial set-up. Computer program developers come and go, and we wanted to make an application that could be run in the future by the editors alone. Our aim is not to need the services of the developer, who is a linguistics graduate student with expertise in computing science and programming. This graduate student will soon be pursuing a Ph.D. in another university. Rand Valentine (Department of Linguistics, University of Wisconsin-Madison) advised us to keep this as a goal during the development, because there are many instances where a developer leaves and other computer programmers cannot fix or even maintain the program.

Another goal was to reduce the computer work for the editors. The point-and-click features of the application and its ability to show smart defaults for morpheme translations have so far allowed for quite efficient and even enjoyable editing. Making the process efficient and pleasurable allows preparing and distributing texts in a reasonable amount of time. The application also adds extra value to the stories for linguists and lexicographers. Because each morpheme is stored along with its default translation, this information can be extracted from the database to make a simple glossary or lexicon. This is potentially very useful for linguists researching a language which is not their own, and could be beneficial for community dictionary and grammar projects.

As mentioned above our web application makes the story database usable by individuals or groups who we provide the URL and the password to. There is no need for the purchase of additional software on their part. In addition, the software used for the development of the web application (Ruby on Rails) and the database system that it uses to store and retrieve the texts (MySQL) are themselves free of charge.³ This makes it possible in principle for us to make a general version of our story database system available for use by other community groups for other languages. We hope to do this in the near future. We would like to provide a system that can be installed and easily adapted to a community's needs by someone with a basic knowledge of web design. A technician would then house it on an Internet server. From that point on, it would run largely without technical intervention. Someone with background in computer programming could straightforwardly make any minor changes that might be needed. If completed, we hope that this system will then allow other groups of linguists and communities to quickly and easily collaborate on a project similar to ours. As we have made clear before, the content of such a database is valuable not

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only to communities who engaged in language maintenance and revitalization, but also to linguists as a source of natural language data.

Using the story database in the language classroom

As mentioned previously, it was crucial to know as soon as possible if the project was useful for language teachers and learners. A fluent speaker of Inuttitut teacher, Joan Dicker, with a B.Ed. degree employed at Jens Haven Memorial School in Nain, Labrador, used the Labrador Inuttitut Story Database with her students. Her school has a student population of about 400 in grades K-12. Inuttitut is available as immersion K-3 and is a core subject 4-9. It is an optional subject in high school and she teaches core Inuttitut to all students in grades 4-9 and a course at the high school level. For most of the students, Inuktutit is their second language. Only a handful of the students are exposed to Inuttitut at home. For these students, even though they have some understanding of it, they do not speak it. Many of the students at the school are showing more interest in learning to speak the Inuttitut language than before. Since the formation of Nunatsiavut in 2005, a form of self-government that includes government over economic development, health, education, language and culture and social programs, many of the beneficiaries of Nunatsiavut want to show that they are of Inuit descent. They want to learn the Inuit language. Knowing Inuttitut is also one of the criteria for getting a job with the Nunatsiavut government.

Students are finally appreciating how important the Inuit language is. Some of them just want to be able to speak it. In the past, the youth did not think it was of much importance and did not bother to learn it. Some were even ashamed to try to speak it. This is no longer the case. People in Nunatsiavut want to demonstrate their identity as being an Inuk through speaking Inuktutit. Back in the late 1970s and early 1980s there was no special classroom for teaching Inuttitut. Now there is a classroom where students can come to study the language, instead of the teacher having to go into other classrooms to teach. This improves their learning quite a bit. Students are only exposed only to Inuttitut materials in this classroom, and the teacher can try to make it so that the class is almost all in Inuttitut. There are quite a few students who are showing a great deal of interest in learning the language. They are not shy about speaking or having conversations in Inuttitut. All the students are very good at reading and spelling in Inuktutit. They also have a very good understanding of the spoken language, and are told that it is up to them if they want to speak it. They also know that they have to try to use it not only in the Inuttitut classroom, but outside of school, with their friends and at home. They are doing this.

The Labrador Inuttitut Story Database is proving very beneficial to students learning Inuttitut at Jens Haven School. Since students are already familiar with learning through computers, they are able to learn Inuttitut in this new way. The Inuttitut stories provide them with one more method of learning their language. In addition to the Rosetta Stone language program, the students now also have the opportunity to read, listen to and learn Inuttitut stories by means of the computer. They are showing a great deal of interest in this kind of learning. One of the

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reasons that the students enjoy the Inuit stories is that they are told and written by people who the students know or even are related to. They also enjoy stories because they don't have to write on paper in order to learn. They can learn at their own pace.

The stories are not too long and the students enjoy listening to people actually telling stories. When they hear parts that they understand or even find funny, there are smiles on their faces. The stories are broken down into small sections so that the students can figure out the meaning through the English if they do not understand. It gives them a better understanding of how the language works. Sentences that are single words are broken down into smaller units so that the students can find out which parts of the sentence mean what. They only do this if they don't understand.

This material is very useful to both Inuktitut teachers and to the students as yet another tool for learning Inuktitut. One of the main problems, however, is having adequate computer facilities. There is a computer lab that contains sixteen older computers. No more than five or six students at a time can view and listen to the stories because of the limitation of the school's network. If more than five students are reading and listening to a particular story, some of the computers shut down, which is very frustrating for everyone. Most of the students do not have access to computers at home and the only opportunity they have to use computers is at the school. Other than this, the materials are very useful, and the more stories the better it will be.

Our joint cooperation through developing and determining the usefulness of the Inuktitut Story Database has shown that it is indeed worthwhile to invest time and money in further work on the database through the addition and analysis of more Inuktitut stories. If continued over the long term, this story database will provide a showcase of Inuit literature in Labrador, both oral and written. We are currently demonstrating the database to more individuals within the community, with the goal of getting more stories for the database. We are exploring the feasibility of making the database into a general tool for other language communities.

Notes

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²An unfortunate example of this is the Inuktitut Dictionary: Tununiq Dialect, published by the Department of Education, Nunavut. By Nunavut law, this wonderful dictionary could only be distributed within the school system and libraries, but could not be sold to the public, including Inuit families.

³Ruby on Rails is available at <http://www.rubyonrails.org/> and MySQL is available at <http://www.mysql.org/>

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Indigenous Language Revitalization and Technology From Traditional to Contemporary Domains

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This paper describes critical areas in which technology plays a role in language and culture revitalization and explores efforts made by Indigenous communities to preserve, maintain and revitalize their Indigenous language with the help of computer technology.

People are interested in both traditional and contemporary culture and are finding new ways to practice and preserve their cultural heritage. One way includes the use of computerized and digital multimedia technologies. (Scott, 2007, p. 138)

An approach that is not new, but which has been under-utilized and has yet to be proven useful in Indigenous¹ communities is the integration of technology to supplement efforts in Indigenous language education, revitalization and maintenance programs (Grenoble & Whaley, 2006). In the 1970s, the first Apple PC appeared, followed by the IBM PC in the following decade. The 1990s, however, brought about an array of technologies that included videodiscs, CD-ROMs, digital video, virtual reality, 3-D systems, HyperCard, Hyperstudio and the Internet. Since then, the Internet has expanded rapidly, allowing users to search for information on the world wide web, download readily available files (documents, videos, music) and communicate with others via asynchronous tools (e-mail, message boards, blogs) and synchronous tools (chat and webcam) (Murdock, 2004).

Many Indigenous communities have embraced technologies, such as audio, video, and multimedia as a means to revitalize their language (Penfield, Cash Cash, Galla, Williams & Shadow Walker, 2006). For example, the Native Hawaiian² community has incorporated technology in the curriculum at *Kula Kaiapuni* (Hawaiian Language Immersion Program) (Hartle-Schutte & Nae'ole-Wong, 1998; Ka'awa & Hawkins, 1997; Warschauer, 1998; Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997).

Technology encompasses a wide range of objects, methods, systems, tools and practices, which extends from low to high-end advancements (Zhao, 2003), whereas the latter provides multimodal and human-computer interaction allowing speakers and learners to adapt to the modern world beyond the traditional keyboard and mouse input/output. More specifically, computer technology can be viewed either as a benefit, aid or supplement to language learning or may be viewed as a distraction and unnecessary tool. The focus of this paper will be on the former. Warschauer (1998) and Hartle-Schutte and Nae'ole-Wong (1998) describe critical areas in which technology plays a role, specific to the Hawaiian language community. However, the following categories: 1) preservation of the Indigenous language; 2) material development and dissemination; 3) multiple modes of communication; and 4) achieving relevance, significance and purpose can be applied to other Indigenous languages as well.

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Before examining technological efforts made by Indigenous language communities, readers should be aware of my life as a member of an Indigenous language community. Born in Hilo, Hawai‘i in 1980, raised in *Pahala*, and educated at a private Hawaiian day and boarding school, *Kamehameha Schools* in Honolulu, O‘ahu, I was brought into the world during a time when our Native language, Hawaiian, was not transmitted to the younger generation. An estimated 1,000 speakers existed at this time, of which half resided on the island of *Ni‘ihau*³ and the other half being elders 70 years and older. On the other hand, I emerged at a time where a handful of educators, parents and administrators were determined to revitalize our language. This was the beginning of the Hawaiian Renaissance, which consisted of “university language classes, a weekly Hawaiian language talk show, a newsletter, student and teacher organizations, the promotion of Hawaiian street names and Hawaiian-only camping trips to traditional areas” (McCarty, 2002, p. 297), as well as the *Kūpuna* (Elders) Program. The latter program allowed Hawaiian elders to teach the language in the public schools (Wilson, 1998). Awareness among this group started a surge of renewed cultural heritage, identity, Hawaiian studies and interest in our language. The Hawaiian community progressed and has since developed Hawaiian immersion schools that educate children from birth through high school. In addition, the University of Hawai‘i in Hilo now offers undergraduate and graduate degree programs in which the medium of instruction is Hawaiian (Kalani, 2007; Thompson, 2007).

Although I did not attend a Hawaiian immersion school, I learned Hawaiian as a second language for six years in intermediate through high school. Upon graduation, I moved to Tucson, Arizona where I currently reside and continue my education. My passion since has been to find and document what types of computer technology Indigenous language communities are using, how these technologies are used for language and culture revitalization and the effectiveness of such technologies on language learning.

The role of technology in Indigenous language revitalization and preservation

Indigenous communities are naturally concerned with how technology can in any way contribute to language revitalization. In the Hawaiian community, Warschauer (1998) and Hartle-Schutte and Nae‘ole-Wong (1998) describe critical areas in which technology has played a significant role in language revitalization. Although specific to a community, the identified categories described: 1) preservation of the Indigenous language; 2) material development and dissemination; 3) multiple modes of communication; and 4) achieving relevance, significance and purpose can be applied to other Indigenous languages and communities as well.

Language preservation among Indigenous communities, including Hawaiians, has been a major concern, even more so with how technology can assist in this process. However, technology, which is not new to the Hawaiian community, has helped to document and preserve the voices of our people, gifting our future generations with priceless knowledge and wisdom. In 1834, the first printing press was shipped to *Lahainaluna* on *Maui*, the first school west of the Rocky Mountains. Newspapers were created on a daily basis in Hawaiian

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and since the printing press, technologies of all types have evolved, from low to high tech advancements that have aided in preserving the language. This progression includes the following, in no particular order: Hawaiian television programs, radio, cassette tapes, audio books, CDs, DVDs, web-based products, on-line dictionaries, web radio stations, local news station, language websites, movies, distance learning classes (i.e., *Kulāiwi* and *Niuolahiki*), search engine, electronic bulletin board system (*Leokī*), electronic library (*Ulukau*), music sites (i.e., *Huapala*) and audio podcasts.

Documents published in the 19th and 20th centuries, such as Hawaiian language newspapers have since been transferred to microfiche and through a project of Bishop Museum in *Honolulu*, scanned digitally and made available on *Ulukau* at <http://ulukau.org> (Ulukau, 2003). This project, *Ho'olaupa'i: Hawaiian Newspaper Resources* provides searchable text files from archival newspaper collections dating between 1834 through 1949 (University of Hawai'i Mānoa Outreach College, 2008).

Although there is seemingly a lack of texts available in the Hawaiian language, the *Ulukau* website provides invaluable resources, which anyone—Native or non-Native—can access. The purpose of this site is to “make these resources available for the use, teaching, and revitalization of the Hawaiian language and for a broader and deeper understanding of Hawai'i” (Ulukau, 2003). In addition to Hawaiian language newspapers, this repository allows students, teachers, as well as future generations to find complete publications that range from the Hawaiian bible, dictionary, history, mythology, customs, traditions, *ali'i* (chiefs), etc.

Owing to a continuous flux with technology, the conversion of newspapers, documents, cassette tapes, etc into digitally archived files does not guarantee a lasting shelf life, however it at least assures the community that something is being done to safeguard the material from further deterioration. While there is legitimate concern regarding transmission of information that was traditionally passed down orally from generation to generation, Dauenhauer & Dauenhauer (1998) warn that “the risks of sharing information are less dangerous at the present time than the risk that it may otherwise be lost forever” (p. 92). By preserving these resources, our language and culture will be known by future generations as well as the world to see and hear.

Curriculum and material development and dissemination

A significant challenge that language instructors face in Indigenous communities, include lack of textbooks, pedagogical, culturally relevant, and authentic materials that depict the language and culture in a non-stereotypical way. Using Microsoft Office programs, such as PowerPoint, Excel and Publisher, authentic language materials and curriculum can be created as needed to develop interactive lessons, digital storybooks, printable books to be used as textbooks, etc. For communities, the ability to produce a product instead of going through a publisher is significant and less expensive.

During the initial stages of *Kula Kaiapuni*, teachers as well as parents created materials via translation from English to Hawaiian using the cut and paste method. The language program was,

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hampered by a lack of textbooks and other pedagogical materials in Hawaiian. At *Ānuenuē* School on *O‘ahu*, parents and community volunteers are invited in for ‘cut and paste’ sessions, where Hawaiian translations of American textbook pages are cut and pasted on to the original textbooks. This is of course an unsatisfactory solution, due not only to the immense time and effort involved. ‘The main problem is that this imposes a perspective from outside the islands’, says Laiana Wong, a Hawaiian language instructor and a member of the Hawaiian language lexicon committee. “We need to develop original materials in Hawaiian that can reflect our own culture, perspective, and reality.” Developing such materials, and other aspects of the immersion program, also involves a huge update of the Hawaiian lexicon, which had badly stagnated due to 100 years of linguistic repression. (Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997, p. 352)

However, in 1994 a program guide was published by the Board of Education revealing a long-range plan, which included exploring creative ways to deliver quality curriculum to the student. More specifically, item Priority Action B.2a intended to utilize available technology as a viable means for delivering curriculum.

1. Make interactive video available as a means to network available resource persons throughout the immersion sites.
2. Provide network capabilities for immersion computer systems as a means to exchange language items among various schools and offices in order to improve communication and to facilitate dissemination of curricular materials.
3. Strengthen and make available various modes of technology to each immersion site.
4. Develop a telecommunications service for the Hawaiian language immersion student, which will also serve the Hawaiian language community throughout the state.
5. Provide training in equipment and software available for student use.
(State of Hawai‘i Board of Education, 1994)

In 1995, a year following the report, an electronic bulletin board system called *Leokī* (Powerful Voice) was introduced in *Kula Kaiapuni*, as well as other departments, organizations, and offices by the *Hale Kuamo ‘o* Hawaiian language curriculum office at the University of Hawai‘i in Hilo. With an estimated 1,000 registered users, *Leokī* operated entirely in Hawaiian (Hale, 1995; Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997). This system provided “online support for Hawaiian language use in the immersion schools and the broader community” (Warschauer, 1998), a variety of telecommunication services through the Hawaiian language via the Internet and distribution of language materials that allowed teachers to share materials and curriculum with other instructors throughout the state. Addition-

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ally, students were able to search for materials in a shared resource area, chat, e-mail, and have synchronous discussions all in the Hawaiian language through *Leokī* (Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997).

With appropriate software, communities no longer need to be dependent on publishing companies to print language materials. Printing costs, which include paper, toner, and staples are relatively inexpensive. In addition, another option includes saving the language materials as a digital file to be used and interacted with on specific computers (community and/or school computer labs) or downloaded to personal computers via the Internet. This later alternative eliminates paper altogether, preserves the language, and allows for greater distribution to community members who are separated by distance.

Multiple modes of communication

Indigenous language speakers and learners are no longer confined to a specific geographical area, but instead are scattered throughout the world, thus posing a challenge of communication. However, with the assistance of technology, distance should not be a factor in language learning and speaking. Keiki Kawai'ae'a, Director of Curriculum Materials at *Hale Kuamo'o*, shares her concern of distance and linking language communities with each other. "There's a small community at *Keaukaha*, and there's a small community of kindergartners and first graders at Waimea, and they're all over; . . . they need to have more peers to speak with" (Warschauer, 1998, p. 144). Teachers and administrators are finding ways to connect speakers that are separated by distance and to provide additional environments that can contribute to their students' development and learning. Fortunately, *Leokī* has granted Hawaiian communication between other Hawaiian language learners and speakers statewide (and beyond) via e-mail, discussion groups, and chat allowing the language to be used in formal and informal settings. Prior to this implementation, communication in the language was bound to the geographical location of the school.

Although face-to-face communication is most beneficial in language learning, e-communication can also play a significant role, providing students opportunities with other modes of communication that are prevalent in the modern world. A collaborative project, *Pāhana Haku Mele* (Compose a Song Project) between school sites on two different islands required long distance communication between students via e-mail and chat (Warschauer, 1998). Kaho'okele Crabbe, instructor at *Keaukaha* Elementary, initiated the collaborative project so his students could have "authentic opportunities to communicate outside the classroom. Too few of our students get a chance to really use Hawaiian outside of school" (Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997, p. 358).

Using technologies such as chat, e-mail, forums, text messages, wikis, and blogs are just a few spaces in which Indigenous languages can be promoted. Application of these tools allows for connections with other speakers and learners all over the world without leaving the comfort of your home.

Indigenous Language Revitalization

Achieving relevance, significance and purpose

Learners of second languages who are students of the grammar method “sometimes achieve high grades in a language class and then find themselves at a loss when it comes to actually using the language” (Adley-SantaMaria, 1997, p. 139). However, regardless of the pedagogical method used, more often the language is taught out of context, not supported outside of the classroom, and has “severely restricted use in the wider community” (Slaughter, 1997, p. 2). Therefore, to support and promote language learning, expansion into broader areas needs to occur in education, work sphere, community, government, mass media, business, and out-of-school environments locally, regionally, and nationally (Fishman, 1991; Hinton, 2001).

In Indigenous communities, some may be skeptical on how technology can aid in revitalization and if it is even worth the time and investment. However, within the last decade, the Hawaiian language has found its way and place on the Internet. Learners can search the Internet to find an array of Hawaiian language websites, which more than often are school websites and/or personal websites. Examples of these websites include the *Ka Haka ‘Ula O Ke‘elikōlani* College of Hawaiian Language website (<http://www.olelo.hawaii.edu/khuok/>), On-line Hawaiian Dictionary website (<http://www.wehewehe.org>) and the author’s personal website (<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~candaceg>). Since web design no longer requires a rich knowledge of html programming and code, anyone can design a basic website. As a result, schools can create websites that provides resources relevant to *Kula Kaiapuni* and general knowledge for the broader community.

Additionally, *Hale Kuamo ‘o* created a custom keyboard and font that encompasses diacritical marks of Hawaiian, ‘okina (glottal stop) and kahakō (long vowel). Macintosh software have been customized so that the drop-down menus display in the Hawaiian language. One such program is Kid Pix, which is similar to PowerPoint, but designed for young users. Students using this program can create culturally relevant and significant material both in the Hawaiian language and for the Hawaiian language. Other programs that have been translated include ClarisWorks and Mario Teaches Typing (Donaghy, n.d.).

Functional Hawaiian is expanding beyond the conversational level to include all aspects of life; education, government, business, virtual spaces, science, etc. Hawaiian is no longer just a conversation language. This was proved true when a local Hawaiian music station received a call in September 2007 following a varsity football scrimmage between Damien High School and *Ānuenuē*. The uniqueness of this game was due to *Ānuenuē* being comprised of Hawaiian language immersion students. Here is what a Damien parent shared with the listeners of Hawaiian 105 KINE:

They came over there with 26 varsity players and they all speak Hawaiian. The quarterback calling his plays in Hawaiian. The quarterback coming up changing his plays audible in Hawaiian. The offensive linemen they calling their blocking assignments in Hawaiian. The whole

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community speaking Hawaiian, cheering in Hawaiian. We were like Goliath, they was David and the difference was the language barrier.

It is clear from this example that the Hawaiian language is moving beyond boundaries that are formally structured. Kawai‘ae‘a expresses, “we want children to know that Hawaiian is not just good enough for sitting at a party and talking story. Hawaiian is good enough for every part of life. That is the sign of a healthy, living language” (Hale, 1995). Hawaiian is a breathing language and there is no limit to where the language can and should be spoken. The Hawaiian language will be a viable language for the many generations to come.

Examples of technological efforts made by Indigenous language communities

Technologies among Indigenous communities include but are not limited to wax cylinder recordings to digital audio recordings, e-mail to chat, video recordings to interactive audio video conferencing, and/or surfing the Internet to playing interactive computer games. The multitude of language projects that involve Indigenous communities are categorized by levels of technology and presence of the Indigenous language. These include a) low-tech initiatives, which are based on one sensory mode, b) mid-tech initiatives, which comprise of two sensory modes or the traditional keyboard and mouse input/output, and c) high-tech initiatives, which consist of multimodal interactive technology, in which input and output are key factors.

Low-tech initiatives emphasize one sensory mode, allowing the learner to receive the Indigenous language through sight or hearing. More specifically, the user visually sees the language either in printed material (e.g., books) or on a screen (e.g., subtitles), or audibly via a speaker or sound system. Included in this category are the following technologies: printing press and audio media comprised of radio programs, audio recordings, audio books, videos, movies, and television programs (see Table 1). In most instances, the latter group provides audio to the user in the Indigenous language, along with graphics that provide context, but not visual text. Moreover, when subtitles are available, the Indigenous language spoken is translated into a written form of a language of wider communication and/or not represented. If however these audio media accompany texts in the Indigenous language (audibly hear the language and visually see the language), these technologies can be considered mid-tech media (see Table 2).

Oftentimes, the early products of these technologies are retrieved or rediscovered only to find that the material has deteriorated tremendously. However, there are many language materials that have survived or been repaired, and have been properly archived and preserved as digital files. Language materials found in this category are frequent among Indigenous communities in comparison to mid- and high-tech initiatives. But for an Indigenous language to flourish, the language needs to enter domains of the 21st century as well as require bisensory and multimodal interactivity.

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Table 1. A sampling of low-tech initiatives

<i>Technology Media</i>	<i>Product</i>
Printing press	Newspapers—Hawaiian (University of Hawai‘i Mānoa Outreach College, 2008); Books, print materials—Hawaiian (‘Aha Pūnana Leo, 2006)
Radio programs	News, language lessons, songs—Lakota, Navajo & Sahaptin (Martin, 1996)
Audio recordings, digital storybooks or lessons	Wax cylinders—Hopi (Sekaquaptewa & Washburn, 2004); Cassette tapes—Hawaiian (Wight, 2005); CD—Western Mono (Kroskrity, Bethel & Reynolds, 2002), Yu’pik (Villa, 2002); DVD ; Audio podcasts, mp3, or digital audio files—Hawaiian (Kualono, 2008); Microsoft PowerPoint—Mohave, Navajo, Oneida (Penfield et al., 2006); E-books
Videos/movies	Tape reels; VHS or DVD—Hawaiian (‘Aha Pūnana Leo, 2000); Video podcasts
Television programs	News/headlines—Hawaiian (KGMB9, 2008); Language classes

Table 2. Comparison between low-tech audio and mid-tech audio initiatives

<i>Level</i>	<i>Example: Movie</i>
Low-tech (unisensory)	Hear the Indigenous language: The language spoken is an Indigenous language with no accompanying texts in the Indigenous language (e.g., movie in Hawaiian with no subtitles or subtitles in a language other than Hawaiian); OR see the Indigenous language: The language spoken is English with accompanying texts in the Indigenous language (e.g., movie in English with subtitles in Hawaiian)
Mid-tech (bisensory)	Hear AND see the Indigenous language: The language spoken is an Indigenous language with accompanying texts in the Indigenous language (e.g., movie in Hawaiian with Hawaiian subtitles)

Mid-tech initiatives are bisensory, allowing the learner to receive the Indigenous language through sight and hearing and/or require the use of a keyboard and mouse (point and click), and access to the Internet. Some examples of this category include the following technologies: audio media accompanied by texts which comprise of audio recordings accompanied by a transcript, audio/digital storybooks accompanied by the story, video/movie and television programs with subtitles in the Indigenous language and web-based media. In reference to the

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first group of mid-tech initiatives, audio media, the Indigenous language is seen and heard, as opposed to being seen or heard (see Table 2).

The remaining technology in this category, web-based, and its products have been introduced in the last decade (see Table 3). Although popular amongst children, use of these web-based technologies primarily occurs in the English language. Communities such as the Hawaiians have created web-based materials, specifically websites that are in the language with an option to view a bilingual version in Hawaiian and English. Other Indigenous language web-based sites are making its way to the Internet, including on-line dictionaries with audio files, wikis and blogs. While initiatives in this category are bisensory and/or require access to the Internet, there are still more advanced technologies that allow for multimodal interactivity.

Table 3. A sampling of mid-tech initiatives

<i>Technology media</i>	<i>Product</i>
Web-based	Wikis—Navajo, Maori (Wikipedia, 2004); Electronic library—Hawaiian (Ulukau, 2003); Search engine—Hawaiian (Donaghy, 1998); On-line dictionary with audio—Yurok (University of California Berkeley, 2008); Web sites—Hawaiian (Go!, 2008)

High-tech initiatives allow for asynchronous communication, synchronous communication or multimodal interactivity between the user and the technology (see Table 4). In this category, input and output of the Indigenous language are key factors. Communities involved in Indigenous language education and revitalization have recently entered this domain and are exploring ways to utilize modern technology to promote the use of their Indigenous language. By using technologies that are “hot” and “popular” in today’s market, communities can use this as a strategy to engage youth to learn their language.

Asynchronous tools, such as blogs, e-mail and discussion boards, enable communication over a period of time via a “different time-different place” mode. These tools give users the flexibility to connect at their own convenience.

Table 4. A sampling of high-tech initiatives

<i>Technology media</i>	<i>Product</i>
Asynchronous	Blogs—Nahuatl (Pixan, 2008); Discussion Board; E-mail
Synchronous	Telephone—Deg Xiang (Taff, 1997); Chat; Webcam; Audio video conference
Interactive multimedia	Digital/computer/video games—Blackfoot (Parker, Heavy Head & Becker, 2005; Petten, 2005); Electronic bulletin board system—Hawaiian (Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997); Rosetta Stone—Kanien’kéha, Inupiaq, Chitimacha (Bittinger, 2006; Rosetta Stone, 2008)

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Synchronous tools, such as the telephone, chat, webcam, audio video conference, enable real-time communication in a “same time-different place” mode. These tools provide the users with instant communication. Instead of using the language of wider communication, learners and speakers can use their language over the phone and/or can type e-mails in their Indigenous language. The creation and use of a customized keyboard may be necessary to type phonetic or syllabic characters that are not a part of the standard QWERTY keyboard.⁴

The final category is interactive media, which provides immersive language environments integrating graphics, audio, video, assessment and may include text or speech input from the user. Examples of this include computer games, electronic bulletin board systems, and commercial software. A handful of Indigenous communities, Kanien’kéha (Mohawk Nation located near Montréal, Québec), Inupiaq in Alaska as well as the Chitimacha tribe in Louisiana have invested substantial money into software such as Rosetta Stone to revitalize their languages. These technologies provide speakers and learners a range of opportunities to use the language in the 21st century. The Indigenous language is no longer limited to the traditional and formal education setting, but rather expanded to include contemporary domains.

Effectiveness of technology

With the many changing faces of literacy, it is most common to find that students are very familiar with technology. Students grow up in a multiliterate environment, consisting of reading, writing, listening, speaking and computing. Although education is currently standards driven, it is important that teachers make a concerted effort to find out what types of technology their students regularly and commonly interact with, have an understanding on how to integrate literacy into technology and how to incorporate technology into their classroom. With this knowledge, integration of familiar technologies can be implemented in the classroom to engage their learning and foster language learning as well.

Technology is by no means the most important means to produce speakers, but rather it gives students more authentic ways in which to communicate and interact using the language. Engaging in authentic communication in Hawaiian is key for successful language learning and through *Leokī* this has been made possible. *Leokī* has provided effective communicative interaction in both the written language through e-mail or chat and in the oral language via open discussions. These types of interactions have been found to be beneficial to language learners (Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997). When using technology in conjunction with language learning, the technology chosen should supplement the lesson and not be the lesson. There has always been a concern about how to integrate technology in a way that facilitates language learning beyond the word or phrase level. Therefore it is important to know what the technology is designed to do and know how to use it.

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Availability, accessibility and limited funds

At one end of the continuum, technology can be beneficial; however at the other end, a problem with technology is that it has no potential of making an impact if the tools are not accessible or available due to limited funds. For communities who have limited funding, it is important to note that there are many freeware, free software programs that are available on the Internet for download. However, this does not eliminate concern regarding access.

Access to technology is limited to the school and/or community centers and at other times, the technology is too old or out of date. Continual maintenance and support by the Information Technology (IT) staff is necessary for upgrades, fixes and technical help. Although the digital divide between generations of Indigenous communities seems to be getting narrower, as well as between teachers and students, the effectiveness is only as good as its access and availability of computers and the Internet, knowledge, skills and attitudes crucial to make use of the technological resources, and the knowledge of the Native language (Eisenlohr, 2004).

Training

The effectiveness of the tool will depend greatly on the user's knowledge. For example, PowerPoint can be used in a variety of ways from a simple presentation, a storyboard for a multimedia project, a digital storybook, slideshow, or an interactive lesson. These are just a few ways that PowerPoint can be used. Depending on the goal, language learning via technology is possible beyond the word level if thought through. In PowerPoint, anyone can create an interactive multimedia lesson with hyperlinks to the Internet and within the file itself, audio as well as video files, pictures, graphics, Hawaiian text and more. Just with a little imagination and some time, these lessons can be created by students and redistributed through the school community for language learning. Creating such projects encourages self-reflection and self-assessment (Hartle-Schutte & Nae'ole-Wong, 1998), as well as provides opportunities for diverse learners to be creative, inventive, and successful.

Usability

For communities who use technology, it is important to consider usability and user friendliness. An outcome of finding technologies that will suit multiple generations is that a mentorship (probably the younger generation mentoring the older generation) of some kind will form. Oftentimes when using technology for the first time, it may feel very foreign. With time and use, comfortability should set in instead of frustration. If the latter occurs, only a small percentage will be inclined to use it. A tip to avoid this from happening is to download a trial version to get a feel of the program before paying full price for it.

Conclusion

There is a huge gap pertaining to technology and Indigenous language revitalization that needs attention. In order to indicate whether technology has an

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impact (positive or negative) on language learning, a research study, as well as a language assessment, must be conducted. The overall sense from the published articles on Indigenous languages suggests that there is a general “contentment” and satisfaction to what technology has provided. Yet there is no data that shows that the technology used in the classroom has affected language learning in any way. The literature does not reveal whether students are evaluated in content areas and skills or if the use of technology was assessed. A self-assessment would be a possible tool to evaluate growth and development of the language learner. Using self-assessment, students can track their own progress and become responsible for their learning and their potential. Overall, the critical assessment and in-depth study on the integration of technology and the Indigenous language should include at bare minimum the program used, the purpose of the tool, how the tool is actually being used, how the students are being assessed, what is being assessed, and overall effectiveness. In addition, it is important to note how the tool has made its way in to the classroom; was the technology integration initiated by the teacher, school board, student, IT director or was it a requirement from a higher administrator?

Since technology is so much a part of today’s culture, the future of Indigenous languages will depend partly on technology to engage students in learning. Recent publications have shown that communities are turning toward computer games and integrating language and culture material to engage Indigenous students to learn their language. It is known that when children play computer games, they are immersed in the environment. They figure out the rules on how to win the level and eventually the game without even opening the instruction manual. Students are unconsciously digesting, acquiring and integrating multiple literacies and what better ways to have students learn the language through a fun and painless process. This will become the wave of the future.

Students born in the 21st century are surrounded by a multitude of technology and cannot live without it: cell phones, the Internet, e-mail, blogs and iPods. They will no longer have textbooks to read and/or take home, but rather be directed to a computer that provides links to pertinent websites full of relevant information. Schools will turn into wireless laboratories, with information at their fingertips. However, instead of designating technology for certain projects, technology should be an integral part of the curriculum. The outcome: students will become multiliterate in their Native language and English, in addition to being literate in information and computer technology. “It’s like a double advantage for us, we’re learning how to use new tools, like new technology and new tools, at the same time we’re doing it in Hawaiian language, and so we get to learn two things at once. We learn new technology, and implementing it with the Hawaiian language, which I think is really, really good” (Hawaiian language student in Warschauer, 1998, p. 146).

Notes

¹The following terms: Native, Indigenous, and Aboriginal are used interchangeably. The aforementioned terms are defined as “being the first or earliest known

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of its kind present in a region” (Merriam-Webster, 2005). Native American refers to three distinct groupings, which includes American Indian, Alaska Native and Native Hawaiian

²Native Hawaiian includes people who indicate their race as Native Hawaiian or who identify themselves as Part-Hawaiian or Hawaiian.

³*Ni‘ihau* is a privately owned island that was purchased by a Scottish family, Robinson’s, in 1863 (Oliver, 1961, p. 280). Residents of this island are the only one in the “world where Hawaiian is the first language and English is a foreign language” (Elbert, 1979, p. 23). Ni‘ihau residents are restricted and rarely allowed to be visited by outsiders, including family members. The Robinson family’s intention of creating this environment is to naturally maintain their Hawaiian language and culture.

⁴Chris Harvey of the Indigenous Language Institute, a non-profit organization based in Santa Fe, New Mexico and languagegeek.com creates customized keyboards for workshop participants so that typing of their Indigenous language no longer requires memorization of combination of key sequences. Harvey does an analysis of the language to determine the keyboard layout, ensuring ergonomic positioning. Figure 1 is an example of a customized keyboard layout for Hawaiian that was provided when I attended the “Ancient Voices-Modern Tools—Language and Tech Knowledge, Storytelling with Technology Publisher Workshop” at Pajoaque Pueblo, New Mexico in Fall 2005. Please note that this customized keyboard is not the layout used in the Hawaiian immersion schools.

Figure 1. Keyboard layout for Hawaiian (Harvey, 2005)



Notes

- All accents are typed before the base character: *ē* is typed **Semicolon** then **e**.
- To type the macron accent *̄* use the **Semicolon key** ;, *ā* is typed **a** then **Semicolon**.
- All changed keys can type their original value by holding down the **Right-Alt** or **Option key**. The **Semicolon** ; is typed **Right-Alt+Semicolon** (Windows) **Option+Semicolon** (Mac).
- Opening and closing quotes. For Mac users, **Right-Alt** is either of the **Option** Keys.
 - ▷ single: Grave* — ’ Apostrophe
 - ▷ double: “ Shift+Left Bracket — ” Shift+Right Bracket
 - ▷ single ‹ Right-Alt+Shift+9 — › Right-Alt+Shift+0
 - ▷ double « Right-Alt+9 — » Right-Alt+0

* The opening quote character * is, in Hawai‘ian, a letter of the alphabet, the *‘okina*. For this reason, punctuation ‘single quotes’ should not be used in this language. “Double quotes” might also lead to confusion. It is suggested that different quotation punctuation be used.

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Blackfoot Lullabies and Language Revitalization¹

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This paper describes a small scale collaborative effort between a linguist and a native speaker, who is also a language educator, to collect Blackfoot lullabies to use as language teaching and learning tools. We discuss the implications of using lullabies in language revitalization and describe our fieldwork of lullaby collection, data organization and the transcription of lyrics and melody.

A lullaby is a song usually sung by adults to infants to help them calm down, go to sleep or continue sleeping. We chose this genre for our project because it tends to include more identifiable words than other Blackfoot songs. There are more than thousand Blackfoot songs recorded from the late 1800s to the late 1900s (Nettl, 1989). However, most of them are sung with vocables and lack linguistically meaningful words.

Once songs with lyrics are collected, whether it is a lullaby or other types of songs, it is possible to find linguistically relevant phrases that may help acquiring sounds, words and phrases of the language. Within the songs we collected, such lyrics are found. The following examples (1-5) show some linguistically significant phrases included in the collection. The following abbreviations are used in the analysis line (3rd line of each example):²

REF.	reflexive	DIR.	direct theme
DUR.	durative	2sg.	second person singular
VT.	verb is transitive	3sg.	third person singular
2sg.IMP	2 nd person singular imperative		

(1) Intransitive sentence (sentence with one participant)

aipottaaw
a+ipottaa+w
DUR.+fly+3sg.
“it is flying”

(2) Transitive sentence (sentence with two participants)³

kitsiksipawa
kit+siksip+a+wa
2sg.+bite.VT.+DIR.+3sg.
“you bite him/her”

(3) Question sentence

ahsa kitáooowatoo'pa
ahsa kit+a+oowatoo'p+wa
what 2sg+DUR.+eat.VT.+3sg.
“what are you eating?”

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- (4) Imperative sentence (command)
poohsapomahkaat
poohsap+omahkaa+t
toward^speaker+run+2sg.IMP
“come and run over here”
- (5) Reflexive sentence (himself/herself)
áwaapinioohsi
áwaapini+oohsi
DUR.+eye+REF.
“he is rubbing his eyes”

It is important to note that there are exciting possibilities in traditional songs. For example, they may contain an archaic form (Hinton, 1984). In general, members of the Blackfoot Confederacy are aware that modern Blackfoot is different from how it was spoken in the early 1900s. They refer to these two versions as Old Blackfoot and New Blackfoot (Kaneko, 1999). From our fieldwork, we found a phrase that is not used by current speakers, and this is shown in (6) below. This form uses an extensive incorporation, which means that one word consists of many meaningful parts.

- (6) Extended Incorporation⁴
itsiki 'apatsiistakssko aikkaayi
it+ikit+apát+iistákskoo áikkaayi⁵
there+across+behind+rocky^cliff DUR.+run^fast
“the one running fast around the rocky cliff”

Since the extended incorporation like the example above is no longer used by the modern Blackfoot speakers, finding an example gives us a feeling of bringing the past into the present. Songs with lyrics are precious as they contain linguistically important information.

The linguistic properties that can be found in songs are also used in regular speech. Native speakers acquire these properties naturally despite the grammatical complexity. However, it is a painstaking task for language learners who do not speak it natively, and one of the reasons is that it is harder to retain memorized information when the information is given in a second language.

However, one tends to successfully remember phrases when memorizes with a melody. According to Rainey and Larsen (2002), people who learned a new list of words sung with melody experienced greater ease in relearning them after a week than people who learned it without music. This suggests that songs can be used as a tool for word and phrase memorization. Also, we experienced an interesting example case with one of the interviewees from our fieldwork. He told us that he knew a Japanese song he learned when he was in Okinawa, Japan. He had not sung it for 64 years, but he successfully recalled the song and even performed for us. The first author is a native speaker of Japanese; she understood the lyrics, and she is aware that the song actually exists.⁶ This supports the as-

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sertion that words and phrases associated with a melody can be remembered for long time even when the language is not one's native language.

There is an advantage in cognitive development when using songs in language education. Left and right brains tend to process different types of abstract information. Generally for a right-handed individual processing linguistic information involves the left cerebral hemisphere (or left brain), which tends to be the processor of higher mental skills. The right cerebral hemisphere (or right brain) usually involves processing artistic and spatial organization. Singing then must involve activities in both brains because melodic information is usually processed in the right cerebral hemisphere and rhythmic information in the left; thus singing enhances cognitive activity. In a recent study, it has been found that music training enhances verbal skills (Musacchia et al., 2007). We strongly believe that the use of songs should enhance learners' language skills as well as cognitive skills.

In addition, the use of songs brings the element of fun to language learning. Learning new phrases or grammatical information often tires out one's brain and easily leads to boredom or discourage learners from further learning. However, songs let learners take a break from the boredom while still acquiring the linguistic information: lyrics. Effective results of the use of songs in language classes have been reported by teachers of various languages (Anton, 1990; Bruno, 1989; Goodluck et al., 2000; Jolly, 1975; Techmeier, 1969). Furthermore, songs do not require conversation partners. A song is a great tool to learn a language because one can practice singing by him/herself, and it can be used repetitively, which contains an aspect of drilling.

Some songs contain culturally and scientifically interesting information. The free translation of one of our collection is as follows:

*coyote, run over here!
this one does not want to sleep
you bite it!*

This song sounds threatening, but it is in fact humorous to Blackfoot speakers. Lullabies have function of reinforcing the social order between mothers and children (Howes, 1974). That is, we may be able to learn the how Blackfoot speakers discipline their children. As Ayoungman-Clifton (1995) describes in her paper, humor is an important factor for social function in the community.

We also found that these songs collected tell us about natural science in the area of the language spoken. All the songs we collected include an animal character. They are either a mouse, coyote, elk or crow. They tend to sing about their natural behaviors. For example, one of them sings about an elk eating swamp-grass. Thus we can study what elk eat, and the natural habitat including swamps and swamp-grass in the local area. It is exciting to find these kinds of topics in the lyrics because science is one of the typical subjects taught through immersion in primary grades (Reyhner, 2003).

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The lullaby documentation project

In this section we describe our lullaby documentation project. We interviewed six elderly Blackfoot native speakers, between 68 and 82 years old. The recording sessions were conducted in the summer of 2007 on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana. Prior to the recording sessions, we planned the general process of the fieldwork. Interviews took place at the Piegan Institute and a nursing home, both located in Browning, the main town of the Blackfeet Nation. The digital recorder we used is a Marantz MDP-660, which records sound in the wave format. The second author, who is a Blackfoot-English bilingual, interviewed native speakers in Blackfoot. She did not speak English except when she felt it appropriate, such as for the purpose of filling lexical gaps. The first author, who is a non-native speaker of Blackfoot, was present during the interview sessions, and she left the room when speakers seemed to be responding more in English than in Blackfoot. We recorded entire interview sessions.

Interview questions included whether they remembered any lullabies and/or children's songs in general. If they answered that they remembered songs, we asked them to sing them. Two of the six interviewees remembered Blackfoot lullabies from their childhood, and we were able to record five lullabies.

From the recorded materials, the first author extracted only the song performances and saved each song as a sound file using Cool Edit Pro sound-editing software. These files were saved as mp3 files instead of the original wave format because mp3 requires less space on the hard drive. Then these sound files were stored on a Compact Disk (CD), which was sent to the second author by mail. We each listened to the songs several times individually to familiarize ourselves with these songs before our next meeting, which is described below.

Next, we met again in Browning to conduct a transcribing session. To our meeting, we invited an elderly native speaker who also participated in the recording and was the performer of two of the recorded songs. A song usually consists of two or three linguistic phrases. First we played one whole song through the computer speakers. Then we played only a part of the song (a few syllables or one phrase) multiple times in order to transcribe the lyrics correctly. When we thought we had the phrase correctly, we moved on to the next phrase.

In the course of transcribing the lyrics, we engaged in capturing all meaningful phrases or words. We gave free translations in English for our reference. We also tried not to skip any other sounds or syllables which are meaningless, such as vocables. We also noted how the phrases may be pronounced in regular speech since the sung versions may include sounds and syllables that do not usually occur in regular speech (c.f., Hinton, 1984, 1994; Fitzgerald, 1998).

Relying on the recorded song performance, we transcribed the lullabies' melodies. We are aware that it would be possible to find variations of the melody if there were more native-speaking participants who remembered the same songs. We used the Western music notation method, which is widely used by both professional and amateur musicians.

Once the transcription was completed, we made an information sheet that includes (i) lyrics, (ii) music notation, (iii) linguistic information on the lyrics,


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and (iv) the regular-speech version of the lyrics. The sample of a transcribed song is shown in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1. Sample of transcribed song

Ihtáópa'mohkió'p
Blackfoot Lullabies

Song:
kanaskina ya ki awapinohsi
ku nitonni yo
ku nitonni yo



♩ = ♪

ká nas ki na ya kiá waapinohsí kiu ni tón niyo kiu ni tón niyo (REPEAT)

Linguistic Note: kánaskina ya ki á + waapini + ohsi kiu nitó'nni yo kiu nito'nni yo
mouse voc. voc. dur.+eye + ref. con. once voc. voc. once voc.

Regular Speech: kánaskina áwaapinohsi ni'tónni, ni'tónni
"A mouse blinks, once, once."

The plan for the immediate future is to disseminate the CDs with the information sheet to the teachers of Cuts Wood School and other language educators on the Blackfeet Reservation, young parents of infants, college students from the tribe and other adult learners of Blackfeet.⁷ We targeted these groups because schools are effective places for the purpose of mass education. Many children will be able to listen to one song at the same time. Parents of infants are also crucial because learning any language is thought to be the instinct of babies (Pinker, 2000). The parents can play the music and learn the songs with their babies. College students of the tribal group are also targets for our project since many of them wish to learn their heritage language.

Conclusion

In this paper we described our collaborative effort to collect Blackfoot lullabies. As Grenoble (this volume) and Rice (this volume) note, there can be tensions between linguists and Indigenous communities based on the history of colonial exploitation of Indigenous peoples. However, both large and small scale collaborative efforts can be successful (see Peter et al., 2003; Kuhlmann, 1992; Yamada, 2007). We feel our collaborative team, a language community member and a non-native linguist, was successful despite fears some community members have that linguists might turn their speech into some illegible research papers that not directly help revitalize their language. On the other hand, linguists might hesitate fearing that the work might be less academic than the field requires. Thus the difficulties of conducting a collaborative work often are caused by the different goals that the team members have.

We strongly believe that building a trusting relationship is very important. We first identified what the primary goal of our project was. Depending on the

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team, their project topic will be different, such as language-learning material creation, language documentation or writing a paper in linguistic analysis. We chose this “lullaby recording” as our primary goal envisioning the immediate use of the recorded materials in language learning, and the source can also be used for linguistic analysis as well.

We hope the songs we collected will be sung by teachers and students at the immersion school, young parents of newborns and anybody else wanting to sing these songs. We also hope these phrases in the lyrics will live inside and outside of the songs and be a part of revitalizing the Blackfoot language. We are convinced that songs are great tools for language teaching and learning.

Notes

¹We would like to thank the Piegan Institute and Darrell Kipp, the director of the Institute, and the interviewees of the recording project. We also thank Donald Frantz, Akira Yamamoto and Donna Mendelson for giving us feedback. All mistakes are ours. This project was partially supported by the University of Montana Small Grant and the Phillip Fund at the American Philosophical Society that was awarded to Mizuki Miyashita.

²For our analysis, we used the *Blackfoot Dictionary* (Frantz & Russell, 1989) and the *Blackfoot Grammar* (Frantz, 1991), which are primarily based on the dialects spoken in Alberta, Canada. Although our interviewees were speakers of the Pikani dialect, in this paper, we used the forms found in the dictionary for the referential purposes.

³The morpheme *kit-* indicates an involvement of second person regardless of the number being singular or plural (Frantz, 1966, 1991). However, we glossed it as second person singular for the purpose of simple presentation.

⁴The actual sung form is a variation of the form given here:

itsiki 'tapa 'yiistákssoooyikkayai

⁵According to the *Blackfoot Dictionary* (Frantz & Russell, 1989) the form for “run fast” is *ikkaayi*. According to *An English-Blackfoot Vocabulary* by Uhlenbeck and Van Gulik (1930), which is based on the Pikani dialect, the form for the same word is *ikaiayi*, and this form seems to be closer to what we found in the song.

⁶The song the interviewee remembered seems to be a version of a song called “Rabauru Kouta.” This song was one of the popular songs aired on the radio during WWII. Lyrics of this song were often rearranged by young generations for self-entertainment. The song we encountered here had the melody of “Rabauru Kouta,” but the lyrics were slightly different from the original. The writer of the original version is unknown.

⁷Cuts Wood School is the Blackfeet Immersion School founded by the Piegan Institute (Kipp, 2000).

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Modifying Assessment Tools for Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha A Seneca Culture-Language School

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This paper presents background information on Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha, or the Faithkeeper's School, a small Onön:dowaga: (Seneca) language and cultural school in New York State, and analyzes its type of curriculum and teaching methodologies. It reviews the importance of data collection and student/teacher assessments and the particular implications of assessments for a specific type of school such as the Faithkeepers. After describing the commonly-used FLOSEM and New York State assessment tools, this paper explains the need for adapting and modifying such tools for the unique needs of the Faithkeepers School. At the end of the paper, the process taken to develop the new rubrics for this school is explained, and the new tools are displayed in the appendices.

Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha, or the Faithkeeper's School, is a small, multi-age school founded by Dar and Sandy Dowdy. The school follows the language, customs and ceremonies of the Iroquoian Longhouse and the Allegany Seneca. Located near Salamanca, New York, its mission:

is to preserve and maintain the traditional Seneca language, culture and customs. Our Seneca language gives meaning to our ancient Seneca customs, ceremonies, history and laws. It is the elders who possess the knowledge and wisdom of our Seneca heritage. It has always been that way. Those who can think and speak in Seneca number fewer than 5% of the Seneca population and now there is an increasing sense of urgency whenever a fluent Seneca speaking elder passes on. Our identity depends on how we fulfill our responsibilities to our children. The knowledgeable ones teaching young minds is the key that ensures our Seneca language, customs and traditions will remain alive and constant. (Faithkeeper's School, 2007)

The school offers a variety of education programs for both adults and youth who are L1 English speakers learning Seneca as an L2. These programs vary throughout the year, and for school year 2007-2008, they included a summer institute for elementary-aged children and school-year instruction for about ten elementary and middle school-aged students. For these students, interdisciplinary lessons center around the ceremonial cycle; these lessons, which may integrate math, science, home economics, and history, are focused on culturally-relevant activities taught in the Seneca language as much as is feasible, resulting in a sheltered-style of planning. In addition, approximately ten adults are learning conversational and ceremonial language practices. At the present time, immersion teaching accounts for about ten percent of the school's curricula. Staff at

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the school is trying every possible means to get learners to utilize the language and strengthen the community as a result.

This sense of urgency for preserving the language and customs is echoed in a multitude of government protection measures such as the various Native American Languages acts in the U.S. and Canada, and also the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. It is obvious in the estimates of remaining Seneca speakers; Ethnologue's figure, which quotes Wallace Chafe (Seneca, 2007), states that there are 150 speakers in the U S. But even since that information was published, the numbers have dwindled. In an electronic message, Chafe stated that he "would definitely put it at Stage 7. My guess is that there are less than 50 speakers altogether" (W. Chafe, personal communication, November 10, 2007). Stage 7 represents one of the eight stages of language endangerment in a scale developed by Joshua Fishman (1991), with stage 1 as the least endangered and 8 as the most. These statistics are what drives the school and its community to seek the most effective and innovative ways to strengthen the language and culture before they disappear. Yet researchers and educators have advocated a multitude of recommendations, some contrary to others. Native language schools like Ganöhsesge:kha' Hë:nödeyë:stha are searching for the most appropriate and effective ways to gauge the merits of their teaching programs.

Neither subtractive nor submersion

Many linguists and educators are researching effective ways to save or revive endangered languages such as Seneca. An example is the work of Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, who spoke on this issue at a 2005 First Nations education symposium in New Brunswick. One of the key factors in their presentation is that reversing language shift requires people to avoid familiar assumptions about Indigenous education:

Any education which imposes a dominant language by ignoring, stigmatizing, and replacing or displacing the mother tongue of minority and Indigenous children is subtractive language education. It subtracts from the children's linguistic repertoire, instead of adding to it. This form of education is also called submersion education because it is accomplished by submersing the children of Indigenous and minority peoples in the culture and (official) language of the dominant society using a whole array of strategies, both subtle (carrots) and blatant (sticks), and expecting the children to sink-or-swim. It teaches the children (some of) the dominant language at the cost of their mother tongues. It neither respects the mother tongue, nor promotes fluency in the dominant language. When any language is imposed by a powerful state onto dominated Indigenous or minority linguistic group with the purpose of destroying minority languages and reducing the number of languages in the world, it constitutes linguistic imperialism. (Education Through the Medium, 2005)

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Ganöhsesge:kha' Hë:nödeyë:stha is working toward reversing such language imperialism, and its founders advocate putting status back into their mother tongue through a unique curriculum and innovative teaching strategies. The effectiveness of these strategies can be ascertained with the aid of specific, culturally relevant assessment tools that are carefully designed and implemented by stakeholders. Such tools are scarce, which gives rise to the need for creation, use, and proliferation of rubrics as one thread in a fabric of tools necessary to stave off language extinction. These measures can be adapted for local needs for other Native language programs. These programs should consider using the local culture and ceremonies for curricular decisions, including adults in an intergenerational student body, emphasizing speaking and oral skills through use of a cyclical teaching pattern, determining the stages and levels of student Native language proficiency, and constructing special assessment tools specific for these local needs.

Curricula

The curricula at a school which is fighting for language revival must meet unique needs in order to be effective. Fostering the language must include teaching some form of specific local customs. It is the language which transmits these traditions. Special topics of instruction are advocated by Indian educators, as well as the age of students learning the language.

Cultural: The importance of a culturally-focused education at Indigenous language revival schools cannot be overestimated. "Since culture is inseparable from the language itself, culture is incorporated in the instruction at all levels" (Ögwehöwe:ka', 1988, p. 12). These cultures often include ceremonies in which particular language is used. Darrell Kipp of the Piegan Institute of the Blackfoot Nation, a successful language school, explains that "many things transferred in our religion and our tribal ways come to us because of our knowledge of the language" (2000, p. 14). Also, the settings of these religious teachings have been explicated. "'Critical' languages should restore use of language in specific settings like ceremonies and plan to expand" (Kavanaugh, 1991, p. 28). Ganöhsesge:kha' Hë:nödeyë:stha is teaching the language through the year-long cycle of ceremonies. At this time, the curriculum centers on one of the ceremonies, but others will be added once students are ready. These ceremonies are part of the religious beliefs.

Since many of the students and even some teachers at the school are English-speakers learning Seneca as a second language, they must follow certain prescriptions pertaining to the delicate balance and treatment of the two languages. "While we still have speakers fluent in our languages we have the opportunity to teach in our languages through additive language education, which promotes and respects the right of children to become high level bilinguals" (Education Through the Medium, 2005). But some things are difficult to interpret between two languages. Kipp (2000) describes the difficulty of making a one-to-one translation between Indigenous and English languages: "Be sure not to change

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the structure of your language. There are words, phrases and idioms that don't convert to English grammar" (p. 26).

But this does not mean that grammar is to be avoided. Researchers advocate using rich and varied curriculum materials. Elders and fluent speakers should present phonology, vocabulary, expressions, grammar, songs, life histories, stories and legends in audio, video and written form (Kavanaugh, 1991). Reyhner and Tennant (1995) advise using real-life contexts for language teaching. Suggested situations for listening and speaking include listening to "providers of common public services" (*Ögwehöwe:ka:*, 1988, p. 7). Topics also include "the Ögwe'ö:we: world view, nature's and seasonal cycles, and traditions and customs" (*Ögwehöwe:ka:*, 1988, p. 12).

Local: As schools everywhere are beginning to embrace particularly local curricula, Indigenous schools have been doing so for centuries. Educators should "make every effort to utilize locally-relevant curriculum materials with which students can readily identify, including materials prepared by Native authors" ("Guidelines," 2001). Kipp (2000) simply explains to Indigenous educators, "Your language is your curriculum" (p. 26). The unique characteristics of the Longhouse religion and Allegany Seneca traditions are daily topics of instruction. The focus changes with the seasons; such a focus would not be appropriate for a school in northern Canada or southern Arizona. Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha teaches about corn ceremonies in late summer, house cleaning in winter, and maple and strawberry ceremonies in spring, for example, echoing the recommendation that "Goals for language revival will be specific for your community" (Kavanaugh, 1991, p. 27).

Including Adult Students: Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha is a multi-age school. Classes include young children, older children, and adult community members. Some research indicates that the inclusion of adults is key to language survival. "Aboriginal language programs for adults can have many benefits. One of the most important of these is that they will help parents to speak the language with their children and in community settings" (Kavanaugh, 1991, p. 65).

Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha uses New York State Learning Standards for Languages Other Than English, first published as *Ögwehöwe:ka: Native Languages for Communication: New York State Syllabus*. Teachers also use the Gano:nyök, also known as the thanksgiving address, which is recited daily to thank the creator for all of the splendors of the earth; it is also used to open and close ceremonies. The Gano:nyök is used as a spiritual lesson, but it also provides a real context in which to deliver language instruction. Appropriate assessment tools must reflect the special curricular focus used at the school.

Teaching methods

Most of the teaching methods at Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha are not the product of following a guide or manual, yet they reflect those advocated by linguists and educators, and even those of the New York State Learning Standards for Languages Other Than English (LOTE), first presented in the *Ögwehöwe:ka:* guide. The Dowdys and a handful of other teachers and teacher-apprentices

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employ a wide range of instructional methods including TPR, direct instruction, inquiry and field-based lessons, audiolingual, Natural Approach, and hands-on games. The school's founders emphasize speaking and listening over reading and writing, but individual student preferences are always honored. Also, certain ways of incorporating process teaching and gauging speaking levels of proficiency for students at the school reflect the unique Indigenous worldview and educational philosophy.

Speaking/Oral: "Instruction should emphasize oral language skills" (Kavanaugh, 1991, p. 50), then reading and writing, and the emphasis should be placed on "communication, not grammar" and emphasize "speaking over speaking correctly" (Reyhner & Tennant, 1995, p. 294). "Emphasis should be on the negotiation of meaning rather than the structure of the language" (*Ögwehöwe:ka:*, 1988, p. 5). Sandy Dowdy, one of the founders and the lead language teacher, often incorporates these ideals, and does so through the teaching of certain ceremonial language she presents to the students.

Processes: The *Ögwehöwe:ka:* guide (1988) advises educators to use the function and purpose of communication, situation and context in which it can occur, topics on which it can occur, and the proficiency level of the communication expected. The guide proposes using cyclical patterns in language teaching, in accordance with other recurring and spiraling patterns they observe in nature, ceremonies, and generations. Three of the cycles in language teaching are: observe, participate, and do; respect, put knowledge together, and use courage and wisdom; and listen, respond, repeat (some regression), and remember. Since it is a "wholistic way of life," the instruction and assessment should operate wholistically as well, for maximum learner benefit (p. 1).

Stages/Levels: Richard Littlebear recommends that "Teachers of American Indian languages must remember that everybody has to go through some definite stages of acquiring a language" (Littlebear, 1999, p. 5). The students at Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha, whether younger or older, represent various stages in their Seneca language learning processes. Dowdy's teaching reflects the sensibility that at all stages, teachers should put "comprehension before completion" (Reyhner & Tennant, 2000, p. 295). Now that it is time to develop tools for formal measurement of each student's level, the levels must be defined. Proficiency level is defined specifically in the *Ögwehöwe:ka:* guide. It "relates to the linguistic accuracy, originality, scope, and cultural authenticity with which the communicative task is carried out" (*Ögwehöwe:ka:*, 1988, p. 5). These speaking and listening processes and levels should be in mind when selecting and designing assessment rubrics.

Importance of data collection and assessments

In order to determine student proficiency levels, assessments must be sensitive and accurate. "Evaluation is essential because it aids the teacher in determining whether and to what extent the learning outcomes have been attained or the desired proficiency levels achieved" (*Ögwehöwe:ka:*, 1988, p. 30). There is no single assessment tool or rubric that is useful for all teaching and learning

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purposes. The New York guide offers the suggestion that teachers “use informal and or formal testing to assure achievement of the objectives” (p. 27).

Assessing Indigenous learners requires knowledge of certain conditions unique to their mission to revive the language. “The effort to improve cultural relevance of curriculum and assessment must be guided by all stakeholders” (Bordeaux, 1995). This demands cooperation of the members of the community, something which Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha is striving for. “You have to put status back into the language, so you have to do status checks” (Kipp, 2000, p. 13). Assessments are one way to achieve this goal.

Many Indigenous peoples have preferred teaching children by observation and performance since time immemorial. “Before the European conquest of the Americas, nearly all native peoples used performance-based assessment.” These assessments, when used in a culturally congruent context, “can help schools see language and culture as integral parts of the total curriculum” (Bordeaux, 1995). Developing appropriate assessment tools must include performance-based measures. Not many available tools include all these factors.

Existing assessment tools

There are a multitude of assessment tools and rubrics available to the educator. But when selecting or designing tools for a unique school that has a special purpose, the appropriateness of the typical rubrics comes into question. After reviewing several rubrics, two emerged as the most suitable, the Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix (FLOSEM) and the *Ögwehöwe:ka: Native Languages for Communication: New York State Syllabus* (see Appendix A).

The FLOSEM is a standard assessment tool used by World Languages teachers nation-wide. It measures pronunciation, fluency, vocabulary and grammar. Its designers explain that it is “not designed for gauging specific information, but for a general assessment of communicative ability” (Padilla & Sung, 1995, p. 5). Additionally, it is a tool most often employed by foreign/world language teachers. It is “a valid, reliable, and convenient measure of communicative proficiency available for use by foreign language teachers ... Findings reveal that the FLOSEM can be used for indexing growth in foreign language proficiency within and across instructional levels” (p. 2).

The attribute that makes the FLOSEM stand out from other assessment tools is that it gives more “detailed descriptions of each of the different categories in the various levels of oral proficiency” than other tools do (p. 5). But these factors aren’t particular to the World Languages community; they may be used in the teachings of various languages. The descriptors are not based on a specific language; they are “intended to capture general behavior of language learning in a new language” (p. 7).

Another plus for the FLOSEM is that it can be used as a formative or summative instrument. It is designed for the classroom teacher to use and to compare to a native speaker. Teachers can use the rubric in reflection after the teaching/learning event (p. 8).

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The Ögwehöwe:ka:’ Native Languages for Communication: New York State Syllabus Checkpoint System uses three “checkpoints” to delineate speaking and listening proficiency levels (see Appendix B). These checkpoints are labeled A, B, and C, and roughly correspond to Beginner, Intermediate, and Advanced levels of proficiency used in mainstream assessment tools. At each checkpoint, four components are analyzed for learning outcomes: functions situations, topics and proficiencies. These four components and three proficiencies may overlap and are viewed in a spiraling continuum of language learning.

Adapting the assessment tools for local use

Model tools for assessment are good practice for any education program, but for Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha, the standard tools and the pedagogical philosophies contained within must be adapted for the unique and essential goals specific to the Seneca community at Allegany. The process of adapting these tools for Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha entailed a close reading of the FLOSEM and *Ögwehöwe:ka:’* guides, a description of the proficiency levels typical of students at the school, a discussion of the teaching methods and goals that Dowdy and other teachers have for the language learning of their students, and types of skills that should be measured through assessments and rubrics. After initial development, the rubrics were presented, and after discussion they were revised.

The FLOSEM measures comprehension, fluency, vocabulary, pronunciation and grammar and includes six proficiency levels. The *Ögwehöwe:ka:’* guide analyzes listening, speaking, reading and writing at three proficiency levels. The FLOSEM included too many proficiency levels for teacher use at Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha, and the *Ögwehöwe:ka:’* guide used too few. For the school’s needs, four levels were chosen (see Appendices C & D). Both models included various skills that Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha adopted: pronunciation, fluency, vocabulary, grammar and listening, but reading and writing were discarded. Dowdy wanted to add rubrics for several skills. She wanted to include a task completion rubric, since attendance at the school is sometimes interrupted, and motivating students to commit to certain language learning tasks is important to the teachers at the school. Dowdy also desired a retention rubric, as she is assisting the students in retaining ceremonial language rituals. A third essential ability of the Seneca students not included in the models yet critical to the ceremonial language is sequencing. It is crucial to the transmission of ceremonial and other Seneca language tasks, so a sequencing rubric was added to the school’s array of assessments. Next, a holistic assessment that includes all eight rubrics was developed for use at year’s end or other times when teachers want to evaluate overall student learning outcomes. Finally, a student self-assessment was included so that teachers could understand their students’ metacognitive and psycho-social progress, and also so that teachers could compare their measurement to the students’.

Teachers who are native speakers of Seneca or are learning the language as well as teaching skills gathered together for a brief explanation and training of

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these rubrics. Directions for using the rubrics, which were developed as a result of these trainings, are included in the Appendix C. A head teacher and three interns exchanged insights and questions about the tools. The language teachers opted to begin with the Pronunciation/Fluency rubric as a starting point, since this skill is one they are most interested in developing for their students. Initially, they asked several questions regarding assessment of students' overall language proficiency levels versus proficiency levels on individual tasks. The teachers stated a preference for using the Pronunciation/Fluency rubric for discrete speaking skills and specific tasks such as narration of the Gano:nyök. They wanted to build their assessment skills with each of the different rubrics before assessing overall skills of learners. Inter-rater agreement was achieved among these four teachers after watching a videotape of a student recitation.

These rubrics are broad-based in scope. Each level on these rubrics may take a year or years to master before moving on to the next level. The teachers at Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha plan to use all the rubrics at different points throughout the school year, closing the spring term with the Combined Rubric to arrive at an overall proficiency level for each of the students at the school. At present, most adult students are proficient at Level 1 for most tasks; some are at Level 2, while a majority of the youth is proficient at Level 2. To date, the student self-assessments have not been used since the staff wishes to accumulate more data from these broad-based proficiency rubrics as well as more specific evaluative tools that are currently in the planning stages. The results of these assessments will be re-evaluated at the end of the next school year and will be used in several ways: to drive instruction and curricular decisions, to train new language teachers, to measure student growth at regular intervals, to track particularly effective teaching strategies, to assist students and parents in greater understanding of teaching and learning at the school, to provide data to the partnering Seneca Nation of Indians as well as potential funding institutions and other interested parties, and to share with other Native language teaching institutions in finding appropriate and specific instruments.

Conclusion

Native language educators and those interested in reversing linguistic imperialism and its resultant language "genocide" (Education Through the Medium, 2005) realize the hazards of this phenomenon. Most agree that there is real need for revitalizing these endangered languages before they reach extinction. Ameliorating linguisticide's side effects is also recognized as tantamount; these effects "are known to produce adverse material, social, economic, psychological, and political consequences" (Education Through the Medium, 2005). Native schools have taken many different directions in accomplishing the goal of reversing these effects through language and cultural education.

But many current models do not work, owing to a multitude of causes. As Joshua Fishman notes, "even appropriately focused RLS-efforts on behalf of seriously threatened languages are becoming increasingly difficult to institute and will doubtlessly become even more so...RLS-efforts will require increasingly

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more integrative focus and sophistication” (1991, p. 380). This sophistication necessitates, in many cases, a rejection of standard instruments and philosophies used by mainstream, English-language instruction in favor of culturally relevant tools for Native language learners.

One such customary concept is standardization. Bordeaux cites a host of researchers who disparage the use of standardized tests for Indigenous as well as non-Indigenous learners. “The problems with using such testing are compounded for AI/AN [American Indian/Alaska Native] learners by the common disregard for the diversity of languages and cultures among Native learners” (1995). In place of these instruments, researchers like Bordeaux recommend performance-based assessments, which are gaining favor even in the mainstream, yet have been common practice for Native peoples since time immemorial. Using performance-based evaluations leads to an “understanding of value systems specifically related to their culture, and mastery of traditional ceremonies” (1995).

In light of these recommendations and from following traditional wisdom, Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha is adopting the testing methods described and displayed in this paper. They are specific for their local needs, such as measuring students’ knowledge of sequencing during recitation of the Gano:nyök. They are simplified enough for new teachers, to use, since other speaking rubrics commonly in use require extensive training and practice. They are performance-based, accentuating task completion and pronunciation, for example. Yet they are malleable enough to include grammar and comprehension, for example, when teachers want to assess these skills in conjunction with locally-specific initiatives. Future plans include development of more specific, narrow-based tools that evaluate student learning during particular lessons, such as the language of announcements of social dance songs.

Overall, the teachers at Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha intend these tools and the rationale behind their creation to help the move toward immersion education at the local level, as well as to strengthen the status and prognosis for the survival of Seneca in general, and ideally the proliferation of other Native languages at the widespread level.

Annotated References

- Bordeaux, R. (1995). Assessment for American Indian and Alaska Native learners. *ERIC Digest*. ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools. ED385424. Retrieved Oct. 27, 2008 at <http://www.ericdigests.org/1996-1/indian.htm>. Bordeaux offers explanations for shortcomings in use of standardized tests with American Indian/Alaska Native students as well as reasons for poor performance by these students on such tests. It recommends performance-based assessments for AI/AN learners.
- Education through the medium of the mother-tongue: The single most important means for saving Indigenous languages. In *A symposium on immersion education for First Nations* (Oct. 3-6, 2005). Fredericton, NB, Canada: St. Thomas University and The Assembly of First Nations. These symposium proceedings provide effective ways to save Indigenous languages through

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immersion education. Keynote speakers debunk common assumptions about these languages posit compelling information on “linguistic genocide,” and present benefits of immersion teaching along with guidelines for educators.

Faithkeepers School. (2007). *Faithkeepersschool.com*. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2008 at <http://www.faithkeepersschool.com>. This is the website of Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha. It explains its mission, longhouse cycle of teachings and gives a sample program of study.

Fishman, J. (1991). *Reversing language shift: Theoretical and empirical foundations of assistance to threatened languages*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters. This classic piece for Native language revitalization defines language endangerment and its eight stages, explores reasons for language shift and its reversal and offers case studies and effective language planning recommendations

Guidelines for strengthening Indigenous languages. (2001) Anchorage: Assembly of Alaska Native Educators. These guidelines propose suggestions for parents, children, teachers/administrators and Elders for enhancing language efforts, and they advise communities, institutions, local education agencies and linguists.

Kavanaugh, B. (1991). *The Aboriginal language program planning workbook*. Vancouver: First Nations Education Steering Committee. This is Kavanaugh's workbook for the First Nations Education Steering Sub-Committee. It includes Indigenous language information and education theories and provides activities for language teachers to apply the theory into practice. It offers program planning and curriculum recommendations.

Kipp, D.R. (2000). *Encouragement, guidance, insights, and lessons learned for Native language activists developing their own tribal language programs*. Browning, MT: Piegan Institute's Cut-Bank Language Immersion School. Retrieved Nov. 24, 2008 at <http://www.grottofoundation.org/upload/store/peigan.pdf>. Kipp's “conversation with twelve visiting Native American Language Activists” proposes a rationale for immersion rather than bilingual education. He iterates rules for developing revitalization programs, elements of immersion programs, and methods for teaching immersion curricula.

Littlebear, R. (1999). Some rare and radical ideas for keeping Indigenous languages alive. In J. Reyhner, G. Cantoni, R.N. St. Clair & E.P. Yazzie (eds.), *Revitalizing Indigenous Languages*. Flagstaff, AZ: Northern Arizona University. Retrieved Nov. 14, 2008 at http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/RIL_1.html. Littlebear examines the impact of US government efforts to disenfranchise Indigenous languages, the importance of elders and ceremonies in Native language communities, language and sovereignty and other insights gained through his teaching experiences.

Ögwehöwe:ka: *Native languages for communication: New York State syllabus*. (1988). Albany: The University of the State of New York. This is the original curriculum guide for New York State's Learning Standards for Languages Other Than English (LOTE). It contains a philosophy and goals, factors of

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communication, learning outcomes, a planning outline, role of assessment, and interdisciplinary applications.

Padilla, A., & H. Sung. (1999). *The Stanford foreign language oral skills evaluation matrix (FLOSEM): A rating scale for assessing communicative proficiency*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press. Eric Document Reproduction Service No. ED445538. Padilla and Sung developed the FLOSEM for foreign language teachers interested in assessment of communicative proficiency of their students. The major asset of this tool, the authors assert, is its simplicity and utility.

Reyhner, J., & E. Tennant. (1995). Maintaining and renewing Native languages. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 19(2), 279-304. Retrieved Nov. 14, 2008 at <http://jan.ucc.nau.edu/~jar/Main.html>. Reyhner and Tennant review the research on maintaining tribal languages, including language policy, as well as suggestions for second language teaching. They explore programs ranging from early childhood through post-secondary levels.

Seneca: A language of USA. (2007). *Ethnologue.com*. Retrieved Nov. 15, 2008 at http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=see. The *Ethnologue* provides information and statistics for many of the languages of the world; this page gives the latest numbers for Seneca.

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Appendix A

**Stanford FLOSEM (Foreign Language Oral Skills Evaluation Matrix)
(Padilla & Sung, 1999)**

	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6
Comprehension	Learner can understand a limited number of high frequency words in isolation and short, common conversational formulaic expressions (e.g., "How are you?", "My name is ...").	Learner can understand short questions and simple non-formulate statements when they are embedded in a short dialogue or passage. However, the entire dialogue or passage must be repeated at less-than-normal speed for learner to understand.	Learner can comprehend the main point(s) of a short dialogue or passage which contains some statements with embedded structures heard at less-than-normal speed, though it is likely that details will be lost. Even at this speed, some repetition may be necessary.	Learner understands most of what is said (all main points and most details) in both short and longer dialogues and passages, which contain abstract information heard at almost-normal speed. Some repetition may be necessary, usually of abstract information.	Learner understands nearly everything at normal speed, although occasional repetition may be necessary.	Learner understands everything at normal speed like a native speaker.
Fluency	Learner can participate only in interactions, which involve producing formulaic question-answer patterns and/or offering very short responses to simple questions.	When participating in a simple conversation on familiar, everyday topics, the learner frequently must pause to formulate short, simple non-formulate statements and questions.	While participating in a conversation or discussion, learner can express herself using simple language, but consistently falters and hesitates as she tries to express more complex ideas and/or searches for less-common words and expressions. Although distracting, these speech rhythms don't noticeably impede the flow of communication.	Learner can effortlessly express herself, but may occasionally falter and hesitate as she tries to express more complex ideas and/or searches for less-common words and expressions. Although distracting, these speech rhythms don't noticeably impede the flow of communication.	Learner is generally fluent, with occasional minor lapses while she searches for the correct manner of expression.	Learner's fluency is native-like.
Vocabulary	Learner's vocabulary is limited to high frequency words for common everyday items and actions, & some conversational formulaic or idiomatic expressions.	Learner has enough vocabulary (including high frequency idiomatic expressions) to make simple statements and ask questions about concrete things in a simplified conversation.	Learner has an adequate working vocabulary. Further, learner is at a beginning stage of showing knowledge of synonyms and a limited number of alternative ways of expressing simple ideas.	Learner clearly demonstrates knowledge of synonyms and alternative ways of expressing simple ideas. Learner also has enough vocabulary to understand and participate in conversations, which include abstract ideas.	Learner possesses a broad enough vocabulary to participate in more extended discussions on a large number of concrete and abstract topics. Learner is aware of some (but not all) word connotations and nuances in meanings.	Learner possesses an extensive native-like vocabulary.
Pronunciation	Even at the level of isolated words & formulaic expressions, learner exhibits difficulty in accurately reproducing the target language sounds and sound patterns.	Although learner is beginning to master some sounds and sound patterns, she still has difficulty with many other sounds, making meaning unclear.	Learner is beginning to demonstrate control over a larger number of sounds and sound patterns. Some repetition may be necessary, to make meaning clear.	Learner's speech is always intelligible, though a definite accent and/or occasional inappropriate intonation pattern is apparent.	Pronunciation and intonation approaches a near-native-like ability.	Learner's pronunciation and intonation is clearly native-like.
Grammar	Since learner's productive skills are limited to high frequency words and short formulaic conversational expressions, it is difficult or impossible to assess her knowledge of grammar.	Learner can produce utterances, which show an understanding of basic sentence and question patterns, but other grammatical errors are present which obscure meaning.	Learner is beginning to show a limited ability to utilize a few complex constructions, though not always successfully. Other noticeable grammatical errors persist which may make meaning ambiguous.	Learner shows an almost consistent command over a limited range of more complex patterns and grammar rules. Although occasional errors are still present, they are few in number and do not obscure meaning.	Learner's speech exhibits a good command over a large (but not complete) range of more complex patterns and grammar rules. Errors are infrequent.	Learner's speech shows a native-like command of complex patterns and grammatical rules.

Appendix B

Ögwehöwe:ka: Native Languages for Communication (New York State Syllabus, 1988, p. 13)

LISTENING:

Checkpoint A: Student can comprehend simple statements and questions. Usually comprehends the main idea of extended but simple messages and conversations. Often requires repetition for comprehension.

Checkpoint B: Student can comprehend short conversations on simple topics in everyday situations. Limited vocabulary range necessitates repetitions for understanding. Student can understand simple sentences and Ögwehöwe:ka: word-order patterns. Has both general and detailed understanding of short expressions but has only general understanding of longer conversations and messages within familiar communicative situations. (Can sustain comprehension within context or short communications on familiar topics with Ögwehöwe:ka: speakers who are aware of the nonfluent status of the listener.)

Checkpoint C: Student can understand standard speech delivered with some repetition and rewording by an Ögwehöwe:ka: speaker not used to dealing with nonfluent speakers. Can understand the essential points of discussions or presentations on familiar topics. Comprehending complex utterances may be affected by tension, pressure, emotional stress and unfavorable listening conditions.

SPEAKING:

Checkpoint A: Student can initiate and respond to simple statements and engage in simple face-to-face conversation within the vocabulary, structure, and sound patterns appropriate to the communicative situations and functions of this level. Can be understood, with some repetitions, by Ögwehöwe:ka: speakers working with students attempting to speak their language.

Checkpoint B: Student can initiate and sustain a conversation, but limited vocabulary range necessitates hesitation and need to gain confidence in speaking. Can use the more common verbal structures but still makes many errors in formation and selection. Can use word-order sentences accurately but still makes errors in more complex patterns. Can sustain coherent structures in short and familiar communicative situations. Can correctly employ basic cohesive word incorporations. Extended communication is largely a series of short connected utterances. Can articulate comprehensibly but has difficulty in producing certain sounds in certain positions or combinations. Speech is usually labored. Has to repeat to be understood by the general public.

Checkpoint C: Student can handle most communicative situations with confidence but may need help with any complication or difficulty. Vocabulary is sufficient to communicate. Can handle elementary constructions accurately. Limited control of more complex structures may interfere with communication.

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Appendix C

Directions for Using Rubrics

- Rubrics are often used as a way to “test” or assess what students are able to do, but they also show how effectively teachers are presenting material to students.
- Rubrics are just one way to gauge learning in the classroom; teachers may also use other methods.
- Rubrics can be used informally while observing students in everyday situations; they also may be used more formally for “report card” purposes or assessment of the effectiveness of an entire curriculum or program.
- Teachers should understand the rubrics before using them. They should agree on what the categories mean. They may also choose to show and explain the rubrics to the students.

For these rubrics, start with speaking and listening. There are four levels, with one being a new or beginning learner, and four being a “veteran” learner. How long it takes for students to move from one level to the next varies greatly, and it may take one or more school years for some students to move up through a level. Generally, students will be able to do these things at the corresponding levels:

Speaking:

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Single words, set phrases or chunks of memorized oral language	Phrases, short oral sentences	Simple and expanded oral sentences; speaker uses more detail	Speaker uses a variety of oral sentence lengths of more complexity; also shows more detail and clarity

Listening:

Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Point to stated pictures, words, phrases; Follow one-step oral directions	Sort pictures, objects according to oral instructions; follow two-step oral directions	Locate, select, order information from oral descriptions; follow multi-step oral directions	Compare and contrast relationships; identify cause and effect; draw conclusions from oral information

Once a teacher or teachers decide which rubric to use and for what purpose it will be used, they should circle the appropriate level number.

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When to Use:

- Teachers should use a rubric for the first time as a kind of “pre-test” to see where the students are before the teaching begins. This is called a baseline.
- Teachers should also use the same rubric at the end of a lesson, unit or school year as a kind of “post-test” to see where the students are after teaching has taken place. At the end of a school year or term, the rubric results can be used to plan the teaching for the beginning of the next year or term.
- The same rubric should be used regularly throughout the school year. Mark the date on each rubric. A class or group of students who started together, called a cohort, may be measured for a specific period of time to see how the learning within the group changes from year to year or term to term.
- One teacher may choose to assess a whole class of students, or only a few students for each grading period. Two or more teachers may assess the same student to determine whether they agree on the categories and student’s level.

Setting:

Rubrics can be used in the classroom, but they also may be completed while younger students play sports or games or when people attend ceremonies or other community events.

Context/Topic:

Include the context or topic of the lesson or ceremony on the rubric so that many learners who are learning the same material may be compared to each other, or compared to themselves from year to year. Also, teachers may want to include comments (such as student attendance or illness issues) in the space below the rubric.

Internal and External School Use:

- Internal: Use these rubrics to know where the students are in terms of level; use them to decide what and how to teach to them; use them for progress reports and/or curriculum evaluation.
- External: Share the results of the rubrics with the Nation so they can see where the community’s speakers are in terms of language learning.

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Appendix D

Assessment Tools For Ganöhsesge:kha: Hë:nödeyë:stha

LISTENING/COMPREHENSION RUBRIC: Student Name: _____
Teacher: _____
Date: _____

1. Pre-Production
 - Cannot yet understand simple expressions, statements or conversations
 - Can recognize a few high-frequency words in isolation
 - May remember formulaic expressions
2. Beginning Production
 - Understands previously learned expressions and/or vocabulary in context
 - Can remember short passages, questions and some non-formulaic expressions
 - May need repetition/reminders
 - Understands when spoken to slowly
 - Can remember the main point of a dialogue
3. Intermediate Production
 - Understands sentence-length speech, simple messages or basic instructions
 - Can remember longer dialogues/passages
 - Remembers most of what is said/read
 - Some repetition may be necessary
4. Advanced Production
 - Understands more complex directions or main ideas
 - Participates in discussion with occasional repetition
 - Understands speech at a normal rate
 - Remembers nearly everything at normal speed

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VOCABULARY RUBRIC:

Student Name: _____

Teacher: _____

Date: _____

1. Pre-Production
 - Limitations so extreme as to inhibit conversation
 - Misuse of words
 - May be limited to high-frequency words
 - Some formulaic/idiomatic expressions

2. Beginning Production
 - More formulaic/idiomatic expressions yet comprehension difficult
 - Uses wrong words but has adequate working vocabulary
 - Some knowledge of alternative ways of expressing simple ideas

3. Intermediate Production
 - Occasionally uses inappropriate words; rephrases owing to limited vocabulary
 - Conversation may be limited
 - Knowledge of alternative ways of expressing ideas
 - May be able to participate in extended discussions
 - May be aware of nuances in meaning

4. Advanced Production
 - Uses vocabulary and idioms approaching that of a native speaker
 - Learner has an extensive vocabulary

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PRONUNCIATION/FLUENCY RUBRIC: Student Name: _____

Teacher: _____

Date: _____

1. Pre-Production
 - Speech halting and fragmentary
 - Communication is difficult
 - May produce short responses to simple questions
2. Beginning Production
 - Hesitant speech
 - Language limitations cause some silence
 - Pauses to make non-formulaic statements and questions
3. Intermediate Production
 - Speech may be halting to search for correct expression
 - May be mostly fluent with some lapses
 - May falter with more complex ideas
 - Rhythms do not impede flow of message
4. Advanced Production
 - Generally fluent or with occasional minor lapses
 - Approximates that of a native speaker

TASK COMPLETION RUBRIC: Student Name: _____

Teacher: _____

Date: _____

1. Pre-Production
 - Minimal attempt to complete task
 - Responses frequently inappropriate or off-task
2. Beginning Production
 - Partial completion of task
 - Responses may be undeveloped
3. Intermediate Production
 - Completion of task
 - Adequate elaboration
4. Advanced Production
 - Completion of task above and beyond average and with elaboration

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GRAMMAR RUBRIC:

Student Name: _____

Teacher: _____

Date: _____

1. Pre-Production
 - Emerging use of basic structures. May be difficult to assess grammatical knowledge due to limitations. Errors so severe as to be unintelligible
2. Beginning Production
 - Emerging control of basic structures
 - Grammar/word order errors may make comprehension difficult
 - Produces basic patterns
3. Intermediate Production
 - Control of basic structures
4. Advanced Production
 - Emerging use of advanced grammatical structures

SEQUENCING RUBRIC:

Student Name: _____

Teacher: _____

Date: _____

1. Pre-Production:
 - Conveys little or no information about the order of steps/events
 - May be out of sequence
 - Includes inaccurate or off-topic information
2. Beginning Production
 - Minimally conveys information about the order of steps/events
 - Gives some details but may include inaccurate or off-topic information
3. Intermediate Production
 - Adequately conveys information about the order of steps/events
 - Gives the key details
 - May include some inaccurate or off-topic information
4. Advanced Production
 - Accurately conveys information about the order of all steps/events
 - Elaborates on key details
 - Includes consequences of not following the order of steps/events

The Contributors

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April Counciller is an Alutiiq tribal member of the Native Village of Larsen Bay. She is the Alutiiq Language Programs Manager at the Alutiiq Museum and Archaeological Repository in Kodiak, Alaska, and a semi-fluent speaker of Alutiiq, having apprenticed under language masters Nick Alokli and Florence Pestrikoff for five years. She has developed a number of learning materials for Alutiiq, such as the Kodiak Alutiiq Conversational Phrasebook with Audio CD. Counciller is a doctoral student at the University of Alaska Fairbanks, studying Indigenous epistemologies and language planning.

Shirlee Crow Shoe is a native speaker of the Blackfoot language. She has spent over 25 years as a teacher and investigator in many aspects of her own culture. For several years, she taught at the Cuts Wood School, the Blackfoot Immersion School and served as a researcher at the Piegan Institute.

Haley De Korne is from Michigan, and has participated in Anishinaabemowin language programs since 2004. She has a B.A. from Durham University, UK, and is studying Applied Linguistics at the University of Victoria in British Columbia. She works with the The Burt Lake Band, an Anishinaabe-Ottawa tribe whose homelands are in Northern-lower Michigan (www.burtlakeband.org).

Joan Dicker completed a B.Ed. in Native and Northern Education at Memorial University of Newfoundland. She speaks Inuttitut and has been teaching for over 20 years at Jens Haven Memorial School in Nain, Nunatsiavut (Labrador), where she currently teaches Inuttitut at many grade levels.

Ewan Dunbar completed his M.A. in Linguistics at the University of Toronto in 2008, where he studied linguistics and computing science. He is currently working on his Ph.D. in Linguistics at the University of Maryland, focusing on computational linguistics and modeling of first-language acquisition.

Riri Ellis is currently a project manager at Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangī, the tribal authority for Ngāi Te Rangī people, in Tauranga, New Zealand. Her background is in management, marketing and Māori resource management. Riri has a passion for community based action research and Kaupapa Māori initiatives in a range of fields, including Māori language re-generation in the home.

Candace K. Galla (Hawaiian) completed her M.A. in Native American Linguistics and is a Ph.D. Candidate in the Department of Language, Reading and Culture at the University of Arizona, with a focus on Indigenous language education and technology. She is also the Program Coordinator of the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI).

Lenore A. Grenoble holds a joint appointment in the Departments of Linguistics and Slavic Languages and Literatures at the University of Chicago. Her fieldwork focuses on Indigenous languages of Siberia and the North. She

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is currently engaged in research on the interrelations between language, culture and environment in the North. Other main areas of interest include issues of language contact, attrition and endangerment.

Ray Harlow M.A. (Otago), Ph.D. (Zurich) is a professor of linguistics at the University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand. His research interests include the Māori language of New Zealand, its history, structure, dialects and literature; Polynesian languages more generally, especially their historical relationships; and issues in minority language maintenance. His recent publications include *A Māori Reference Grammar* (Pearson, 2001) and *Māori: A linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Alana Johns is an associate professor in the Department of Linguistics at the University of Toronto. She publishes on theoretical linguistics and language maintenance. She has worked predominantly on Inuktitut, especially the Labrador dialect and has been involved with community language issues there since the early nineties.

Peter J Keegan (Waikato-Maniapoto, Ngati Porou) received his Ph.D. in Applied Linguistics from Victoria University of Wellington in 2003. He is a lecturer in Te Puna Wananga, the Faculty of Education, University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand. He coordinated the Māori language developments of Project asTTle (assessment tools for teaching and learning), a computer-based assessment tool for assessing literacy and numeracy in English and Māori. Peter's major research projects include examining changes in the pronunciation of Māori, teacher education, students' knowledge and attitudes towards the Māori language, Māori culture and The Treaty of Waitangi.

Larry Kimura has served as the chairperson of the Hawaiian Lexicon Committee since its official establishment in 1987. He is a cofounder of the 'Aha Pūnana Leo, Hawai'i's first Hawaiian language medium schools, which served as the impetus for the current Hawaiian Language Immersion Program, Kula Kaiapuni Hawai'i, through the Hawai'i Department of Education. He is an assistant professor at Ka Haka 'Ula O Ke'elikōlani College of Hawaiian Language at the University of Hawai'i at Hilo.

Jeanette King teaches Māori language at the University of Canterbury in Christchurch, New Zealand. She is a member of the MAONZE (Māori and New Zealand English) research team researching changes in the pronunciation of the Māori language. Her recent doctoral thesis examined the motivations of second language adult speakers of Māori, and she has also published articles on Māori immersion schooling and Māori English.

Darrell Robes Kipp (Blackfoot) is the cofounder and director of the Piegan Institute on the Blackfeet Reservation in Montana. Founded in 1987, the Institute's mission is to research, promote and preserve the South Piegan (Blackfoot) Language. He designed the Cuts Wood School immersion program. This privately funded school is one of the exemplary models of tribal language revitalization. He has worked with Indigenous communities in New Zealand, Hawai'i and the Balkans and with over 100 American Indian tribes. He is a noted historian and

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filmmaker and belongs to the two oldest Blackfoot societies: Okan Medicine Lodge and Medicine Pipe.

Paul V. Kroskrity is a professor of anthropology at the University of California at Los Angeles, where he has taught since 1978. He earned his B.A. from Columbia College in 1971 and his Ph. D. in Anthropology from Indiana University in 1977. His books and articles include studies of language ideologies, multilingualism, verbal art and language revitalization.

Margaret Maclagan is an associate professor in Communication Disorders at the University of Canterbury where she teaches phonetics and linguistics to speech pathology students. Her research interests include sound change over time in New Zealand English and Māori and language change in time over the course of Alzheimer's disease. She is a coauthor of two books on New Zealand English: *New Zealand English: Its Origins and Evolution* (Cambridge University Press, 2004) and *New Zealand English* (Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

Mizuki Miyashita obtained Ph. D. in Linguistics at the University of Arizona in 2002. Her graduate research focused on Tohono O'odham phonology. She is currently an assistant professor of linguistics at the University of Montana, and teaches various linguistics courses including introductory linguistics, phonology and graduate seminars in various topics.

Margaret Noori received her Ph.D. in English and Linguistics from the University of Minnesota. Her work primarily focuses on the recovery and maintenance of Anishinaabe language and literature. She also holds an MFA in Creative Writing and a B.S. in Education. Current research interests include language proficiency and assessment, and the study of indigenous literary aesthetics and rhetoric. For more information visit <http://www.umich.edu/~ojibwe/>. She served as Chair of the 14th Annual Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposium. Most importantly, she is a part of a bilingual household in Ann Arbor, Michigan, which includes her husband Asmat and daughters Shannon and Fionna.

Teraania Ormsby-Teki is the current Māori language advisor and community facilitator for Te Rūnanga o Ngāi Te Rangī, the tribal authority for Ngāi Te Rangī people, in Tauranga, New Zealand. Her background is in education from early childhood through middle school in both full immersion Māori language and mainstream. She has a passion for Māori language and cultural performing arts (kapa haka) and is currently completing a Masters thesis in gifted and talented education from a Kura Kaupapa Māori perspective.

Keren Rice is a professor of linguistics at the University of Toronto. She was the first director of the undergraduate Aboriginal Studies program and is director of the Centre for Aboriginal Initiatives. She has worked with the Dene in northern Canada, working on grammars and dictionaries and providing training in language work. She served on the board of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council, where she helped develop the Aboriginal Research program.

Margaret (Peggy) Speas is a professor of linguistics at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. She has an M.A. in Linguistics from the University of Arizona and a Ph.D. in Linguistics from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). She is the author of *Phrase Structure in Natural Language* (1990), coau-

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thor of *Diné Bizaad Bínáhoó 'aah* (2008) and a founding member of the Navajo Language Academy.

Ngareta Timutimu is a senior lecturer in a Māori medium teacher training programme at Te Whare Wananga o Awanuiarangi (a Māori university). She has a background in teaching Māori at several levels, including primary, secondary and tertiary level training. Her research interests relate to the revitalization of reo (Māori language), traditional knowledge, and any aspect of learning in informal or formal contexts. “Ko Mauao te maunga, ko Tauranga te moana, ko Aotearoa te whenua!” Mauao is my mountain, Tauranga is my sea, New Zealand is my land!

Catherine Watson is a senior lecturer in the Department of Electrical and Computer Engineering at the University of Auckland and has been working in acoustic phonetics for over 15 years and has over 20 years experience in speech technology. Her research interests include accent change, speech synthesis and modelling aging in speech production.